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SOWING THE GOOD SEED

THE INTERWEAVING OF AGRICULTURAL CHANGE,
GENDER RELATIONS AND RELIGION IN
SERENJE DISTRICT, ZAMBIA

HAN SEUR



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STELLINGEN

1. In tegenstelling tot wat vaak beweerd wordt is het niet zo dat boeren bij een voortdurende toename van de bevolkingsdichtheid en de daaruit voortvloeiende verkorting van braakperiodes, zich op een gegeven moment genoodzaakt zien over te stappen van de hak naar de ploeg.
2. De verspreiding van dierlijke tractie en/of handelsgewassen hoeft niet te resulteren in de marginalisatie van vrouwen. In Nchimishi en andere delen van Zambia zijn veel vrouwen actief in de verbouw en verkoop van mais en bonen en zij bewerken hun velden veelal met de ploeg.
3. Jehovah's Getuigen in ruraal Zambia zijn, in vergelijking tot veel mensen die niet tot de sekte behoren, meestal beter in staat problemen in meer abstracte termen te verwoorden en analyseren. Dit kan voor een deel worden toegeschreven aan hun opleiding en de toegang die zij hebben tot diverse publikaties zoals *Awake!* en *The Watchtower*.
4. Ook in Chibale Chieftdom is tot op zekere hoogte sprake van een verzuiilde samenleving.
5. De verkiezingsstrijd in oktober 1991 tussen UNIP en MMD had in bepaalde delen van Zambia het karakter van een generatie conflict.
6. AIDS in Zambia: de stille ramp.
7. Anthropologen en andere sociale wetenschappers zouden hun respondenten meer de gelegenheid moeten geven zich op de hoogte te stellen van de literatuur en academische debatten die op hen betrekking hebben.
8. *The theories and findings of the social sciences cannot be kept wholly separate from the universe of meaning and action which they are about. But, for their part, lay actors are social theorists, whose theories help to constitute the activities and institutions that are the object of study of specialized social observers or social scientists. There is no clear dividing line between informed sociological reflection carried on by lay actors and similar endeavours on the part of specialists. (Giddens, 1984).*
9. *The farther we are from the research location, the more we tend to congeal our fieldwork products into fixed objects, artifacts or fetishes that we dearly cherish and that, if attacked, questioned or denigrated, we fearfully defend (Pieter de Vries, 1992).*
10. *When you follow a path through the bush, you follow in the footsteps of those who were there before you. But as you are walking you are not only following others, but you yourself are also making and keeping that path, because by walking you step on grasses which could make the path disappear, or you can use your axe to cut some small branches or trees. Now some day a person can think: "Why do I always follow this path? Maybe if I cut through these bushes here, I can make a shortcut". So this person makes a new path. Now the next person, when he arrives at this junction, he can choose: "Shall I follow the old path or the new one?" If people only start following the new path, the old one will slowly disappear. But if some follow the old path you will have more roads in that area. The same with traditions, if you follow a tradition you are also keeping that tradition (Kaulenti Chisenga, 1988).*



11. Het doen van een restudy is in zekere zin een continue strijd van de onderzoeker tegen de mythes die rond zijn voorganger zijn geschapen en tegen de beelden die diens werk in het hoofd van de onderzoeker heeft achtergelaten.

12. Het indienen van een reeks stellingen zou niet langer verplicht moeten zijn. Het weglaten van de stellingen zou veel opponenten ertoe dwingen (delen van) het proefschrift daadwerkelijk te lezen.

13. Indirect vloeit een substantieel deel van de Nederlandse ontwikkelingsgelden naar Japan.

14. Personeel dat in het kader van NUFFIC projecten verbonden is aan universiteiten in Afrika is veelal gedwongen veel tijd te verknoeien aan de ontvangst van de zoveelste missie; het reserveren van hotelkamers, organiseren van reises, barbecues en diners.

15. Het lijkt er vaak op alsof veel experts op het gebied van rurale ontwikkeling alles doen om ieder direct contact met boeren te vermijden als ze 'op missie' zijn. Ze verblijven het liefst in een grote stad en zijn na 8 uur s'avonds meestal te vinden in de bar van hun 5 sterren hotel.

Han Seur

Sowing the good seed

The interweaving of agricultural change, gender relations
and religion in Serenje District, Zambia

Han Seur

TO BEHOLD
26 NOV 1992
IS-CAROT



BIJLIOTHEEK
LANDBOUW EN BOSCH
WAGeningen

Promotor: dr. N. Long, hoogleraar in de rurale ontwikkelingssociologie

Han Seur

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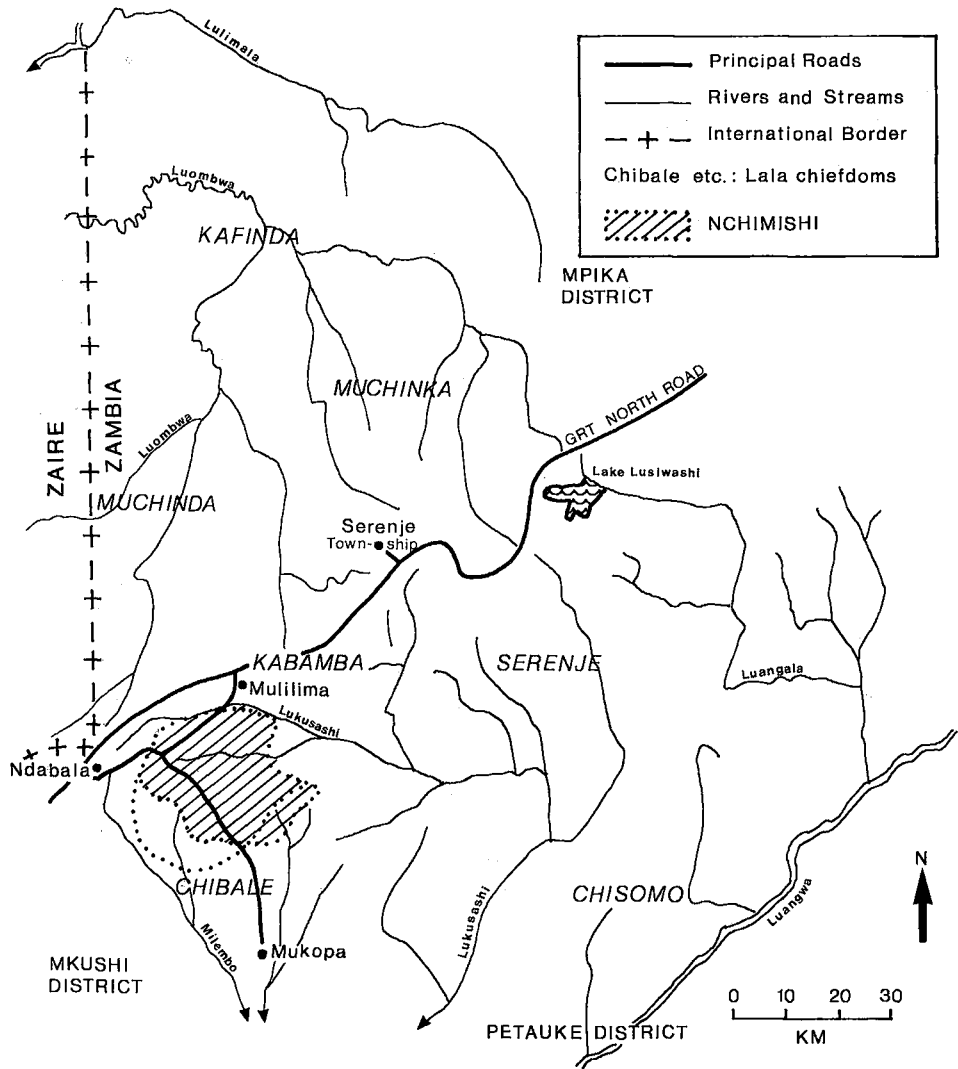
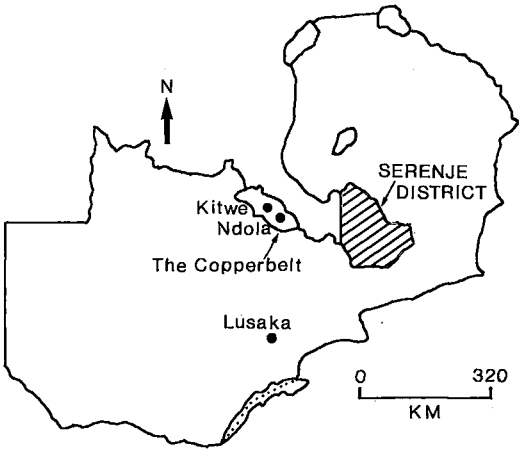
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Map1.1

Serenje District and
Chibale Chiefdom



Chapter 1

Introduction

The research problem

In 1963-64, Norman Long conducted research in Nchimishi, a rural community in Chibale Chiefdom, one of the Lala Chiefdoms located in Serenje District, Zambia. His study focused upon an analysis of the differential responses by different groups within the local population to changing agrarian and economic circumstances and to government programmes of agricultural development, and highlighted the important socio-economic role played by Jehovah's Witnesses (Long 1968).

An underlying theme of the study concerned the ways in which local groups, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, created space for themselves in order to carry out their own 'projects' which sometimes conflicted with the interests of the Government. Long showed that their ideology offered many Jehovah's Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized, who at that time made up 19% of the adult population) the justification for taking on new socio-economic roles and for rejecting certain elements of the existing system of matrilineal kinship which they regarded as contrary to their ethic. The study also stressed the significance of organizational and social network resources for the adoption of new forms of agriculture, including ox-plough methods.

Related issues included the ways in which farmers responded to the deteriorating ecological situation and the ways in which they incorporated new technological or organizational elements into their farming and socio-economic systems, often utilizing them in ways not envisaged or recommended by the Government (Long 1977: 22-3).

During a short visit to Nchimishi (in his work Long uses the pseudonym Kapepa) in 1984, Long found that the area, which had been going through a period of marked agrarian, social and economic change during the early 1960's, had changed markedly since the time of the study. As predicted in *Social Change and the Individual* (Long 1968: 80-98), the pattern of settlement had completely changed. Most of the villages that had still existed in the 1960's had disappeared, as former residents of these villages had established their own independent settlements, their own farms.

Long also noticed that major changes had taken place in the sphere of agriculture. Ox-plough technology, in the early 1960's only used by 36.4% of all adult male farmers (Long 1968: 247), seemed to have spread to much larger sections of the farming population. In 1964, only 25% of adult males were involved in the cultivation of cash crops, but by 1984 it appeared that a much larger percentage of people was engaged in a more commercially-oriented form of agriculture. Furthermore, Long found that

farmers had abandoned the cultivation of Turkish tobacco, which, after its introduction in the late 1950's, had quickly developed into the major cash crop of the area. Farmers who in the past had produced tobacco seemed to have changed over to the cultivation of hybrid maize, an activity in which the majority of the adult population was engaged. Long also obtained the impression during his visit that the area had become more prosperous, despite the closure of most of the shops which had been located along the main road to Chibale (see Map 1.2) in the early 1960's, and which in most cases had been set up by returned migrants.

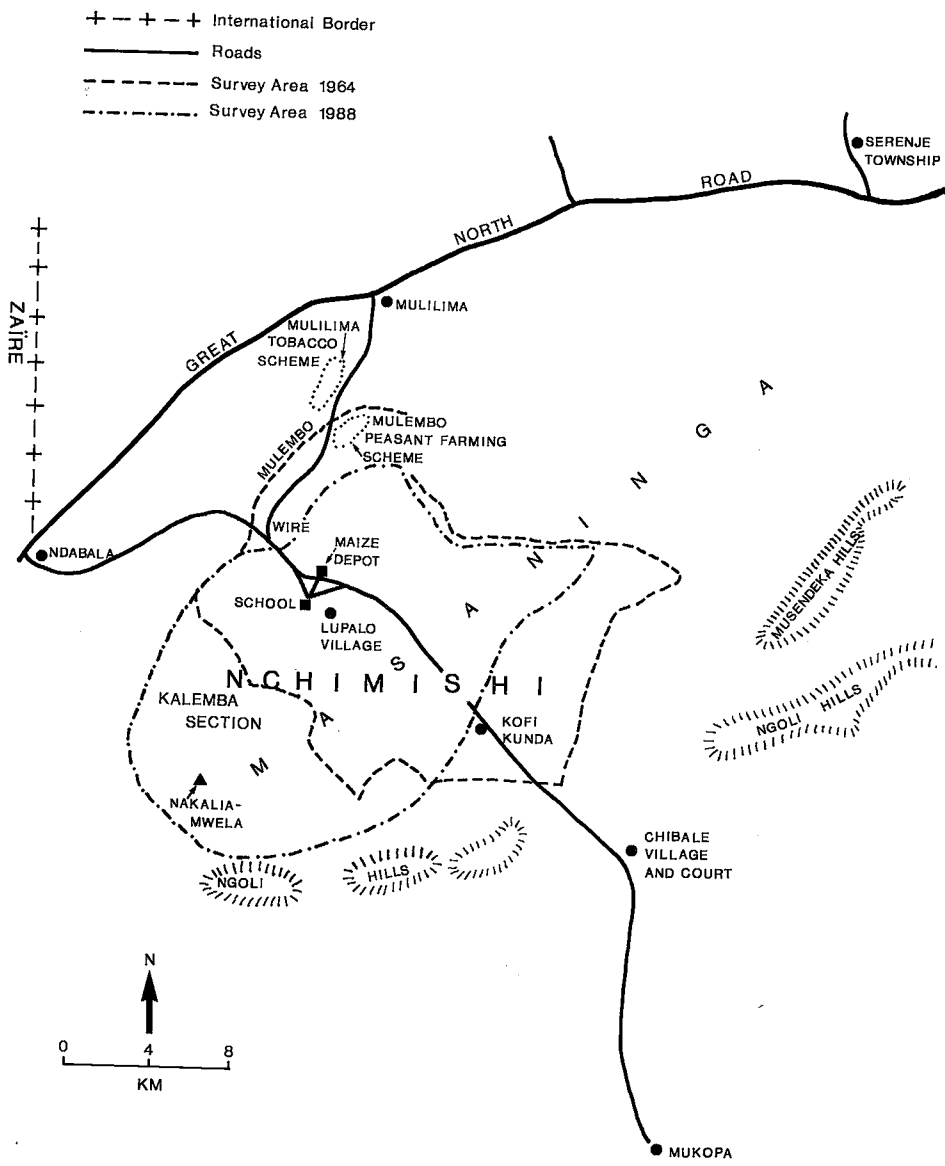
The impressions he obtained during this short visit gave Long the idea that it would be fascinating to carry out a restudy of his earlier work. He believed that following up his original case studies would enable him to trace the processes of change that had taken place since the early sixties. Since Long saw no possibility of conducting the research himself however, he approached me with the suggestion of writing a joint research proposal.

Long was particularly interested in finding out which factors had given rise to the changes that had occurred, and he wished to know whether, as in the 1960's, the Jehovah's Witnesses or networks mainly consisting of Witnesses, had played an important role in bringing about these change processes. Other issues that seemed to us worth examining concerned the questions of how farmers had incorporated animal traction and the plough within their farming enterprises and practices over the years, and of how new agricultural methods and techniques meshed with older types of agricultural practice based on the axe and the hoe. Furthermore, we wished to establish the extent to which the dissemination of ox-ploughing and other changes in farming systems could be attributed directly to the work of government programmes and the extent to which they represented relatively independent developments initiated by the farmers themselves. This issue links up with the more theoretical question of how external factors, such as government intervention, are both mediated and at the same time transformed by internal structures and processes.

We also wished to examine the wider socio-economic outcomes of the development of ox-ploughing and of cash-crop farming and provide answers to questions such as a) whether new agricultural technologies lead to increased dependence upon outside agencies, thus undermining the independent decision making of the farmer; and b) whether the adoption of new agricultural technologies tends to reinforce existing patterns of socio-economic differentiation or generate new ones, leading to the marginalization of resource-poor households.

In our search for studies dealing with the social consequences of ox-ploughing in the African context we came to the conclusion, to our surprise, that this issue had been largely neglected as a systematic research topic. This accords with Eicher and Baker's view (Eicher and Baker 1982: 140-6) that much of the work on animal traction is rather 'impressionistic' in nature and full of poorly supported generalizations. For instance, in writings dealing with the socio-economic position of women under conditions of agrarian change it is often maintained that, whereas under systems of shifting cultivation women occupied a central position because they carried out the majority of the tasks, within 'modern' agriculture it is the men who operate and control the new agricultural

Map 1.2
NCHIMISHI



technologies and implements (Boserup 1970: 25-6; Lancaster 1976; Barrett et. al. 1982; Murdock and Provost 1973). As a result, it is the men who gain control over the income derived from the sale of cash crops. It is said that while men plough and cultivate cash crops, women continue to use traditional hand tools and remain responsible for the cultivation of food crops (Boserup 1980: 11-6; Muntemba 1982: 27-50). On the other hand, when women are taking part in the cultivation of cash crops they only play a secondary role, namely that of unpaid helper. Boserup therefore states that the transition from subsistence agriculture to a more market-oriented approach represents the transition from female to male farming systems (Boserup 1970).

Another issue we wished to investigate concerns the widespread assumption that, in matrilineal systems, conflicts develop between a farmer's sons and his nephews (sister's sons) over the inheritance of farm property, and that this works against the long-term consolidation of such enterprise (Turner 1957: 133; Long 1968: 122-3). Matrilineal descent is thus considered to be incompatible with the development of mechanized and commercially-oriented farming since these types of agriculture imply the development of permanent rights to land and notions of private property based on patrilineality. The significance of particular patterns of kinship and descent in the development of modern farming enterprise seems to remain an open question, however (Okali 1983).

The major hinderance to answering these various questions is the paucity of detailed studies which spell out carefully the various technical, ecological, economic and socio-cultural concomitants of ox-ploughing in African contexts (see, however, the studies by Weil 1970; Hill 1972; Venema 1978; and Sargent, et. al. 1981, which provide some of this information for West African cases). This lacuna is matched by a similar gap in our understanding of new forms of farming enterprise: apart from the extensive literature on economic decision making and the economics of farm management among farmers and peasants (Clayton 1964 and 1983: 98-136; Upton 1973), there is only a handful of works that explore the sociological and organizational dimensions of farm enterprise (see Long 1968: 39-79; Parkin 1972; Okali 1983).

One of the objectives of the restudy was to relate the above-mentioned generalizations and assumptions to the agrarian, social and economic changes that have taken place in Nchimishi. To sum up, the aim of the restudy was to investigate and trace, over a long period of time, the differential social and economic responses of farmers in Nchimishi to the introduction of ox-ploughing and other agricultural innovations. The study proposed to examine both the social and economic responses to these innovations by different individual farmers, groups or sections within the population, and, equally, the consequences of these responses for the social and economic relations between the different members of the household, the farm and the extended family. Furthermore, the intention was to examine the extent to which the introduction of the plough and cash-crop farming, possibly in combination with other factors and processes, could be held responsible for the emergence in Nchimishi of new social forms, practices and processes.

Organization of the thesis

The above considerations led to the identification of a number of central issues which form the starting point for the different chapters. Chapter 2 discusses an analytical approach for studying the differential social and economic responses by farmers in Nchimishi to the introduction of ox-ploughing and other agricultural innovations.

In Chapter 3, I provide a detailed description of cropping patterns and the various agricultural technologies and methods farmers in Nchimishi used in the past and were using at the time of the restudy. Such a description is important, I think, not only because it facilitates the reading of the other chapters, but also because it gives an insight into the various agricultural practices found in the area.

Chapter 4 examines the introduction and diffusion of animal traction and some other agricultural innovations in Nchimishi. In 1949, a so-called 'peasant farming scheme' was established in Nchimishi. The five farming schemes in Serenje District formed part of a wider plan which encompassed the whole of Northern Rhodesia, and had as its main objective to make the peasant farmers within the scheme acquainted with new crops and methods of cultivation and soil conservation. I show that not all villagers in Nchimishi responded positively to the 'modern' farming techniques introduced by the British, and those that were interested in new methods of farming during the 1950's certainly did not adopt the 'package' in a passive way, but only accepted those elements which they considered to be useful. Moreover, the elements which were adopted were usually adapted by these farmers to meet the conditions present on their farm. In other words, this chapter shows how newly introduced techniques were meshed with other more traditional types of agricultural practice.

The more theoretical issue raised in this chapter concerns how one should go about studying the impact that government intervention can have upon a population and the natural environment. The conclusion reached is that such studies should not be restricted to an analysis of the 'official' evaluations carried out by the intervening party itself, since these are often only focused upon the question of whether or not the original objectives have been reached. Chapter 4 attempts to analyze intervention from an actor-oriented perspective by going beyond the space-time boundaries set by the project and by focusing upon the various responses of actors, instead of upon the relationship between original goals and achievements.

In Chapter 5, I argue that the inhabitants of an area may be forced to reduce the fallow period and adopt more intensive methods of agriculture as a result of the fall in the ratio of available land to population. This does not mean, however, (and this is contrary to what Ester Boserup, for instance, argues) that the plough becomes a necessity and thus replaces the hoe when the shortening of fallow periods has reached a certain level (Boserup 1965: 28-34). I show that different individuals respond in various ways to land scarcity caused by increasing population density, and that the choices and decisions farmers make regarding the use or adoption of new agricultural technology, such as the ox-drawn plough, are not only informed by problems related to agricultural production and land scarcity, but are also based upon other considerations. In Nchimishi, the plough has been adopted by farmers, not as a necessary

response to population pressure, but mainly because this technology enabled them to produce more crops for sale. Strange as it may seem to those readers who are familiar with the work of Boserup and other writers, farmers in Nchimishi who continue using the hoe are often those who live in the most densely populated parts of the area, who control very small tracts of land and who have no space to extend their fields.

In much of the literature discussing the potential role of the animal-drawn plough in the process of agrarian development in Africa, the advantages of the technology from an economic view point are mostly explained in terms of the benefits the technology has in store for its users once they have adopted it. In other words, the profitability of ox-cultivation is mostly assessed in terms of running costs. Not much attention has been paid to the difficulties faced by individual farmers who wish to purchase their own oxen and ploughs. This is probably due to the widespread belief that outside intervention and the provision of sufficient extension, training and credit will lead to the rapid adoption and diffusion of animal traction and the plough. Chapter 6, therefore, discusses the difficulties encountered by individual farmers who wish to change over to plough agriculture. Moreover, this chapter shows that despite the lack of extension, training and good credit facilities and despite the fact that many farmers have strong reservations when it comes to borrowing money, farmers in Nchimishi have developed various strategies to raise enough cash to purchase their own oxen and plough.

Chapter 7 gives an account of the process of economic differentiation in the area. I show that the diffusion of ox-technology has contributed to this process and that plough agriculture and cash-crop farming can, to a large extent, be held responsible for the rise of a large category of well-to-do farmers. I also show that it seems that, as a result of certain changes regarding the inheritance of property, this category is able to reproduce itself.

Many authors (see Chapter 8) argue that the introduction of agricultural mechanization and cash crops results in a situation in which men have a monopoly over the cultivation of cash crops and control both the related agricultural and technical knowledge and the new farming implements, while women have retired to the home where they concentrate on activities of a more domestic kind and/or devote themselves to the small-scale areas where food crops are cultivated using traditional methods. In Chapters 8, 9 and 10, I show that the advent of plough agriculture and cash-crop farming in Nchimishi has not resulted in the 'marginalization' of women. At the time of the research, women were actively engaged in and controlled a substantial part of the production of runner beans and hybrid maize, the two most important cash crops. I argue that if one wishes to understand the position of women in agriculture one should not concentrate only on issues and problems related to agricultural production or treat the household or farm as the only viable unit of production and consumption. I show that a good understanding of the changing social and economic position of women requires an analysis of issues related to consumption, distribution and exchange.

In these chapters I also pay attention to the fact that the changes in the economic and social position of many women over the last three decades cannot be considered in isolation from other important change processes that have taken place in the same period: processes such as migration to the urban areas; re-migration; the changing

settlement pattern; and the introduction and diffusion of plough agriculture and several cash crops.

In much of the literature on systems of kinship and inheritance it is argued (see, for instance, Poewe 1978 and 1981) that, in the African context, women belonging to matrilineal ethnic groups support the matrilineal ideology and the traditional system of kinship and inheritance since it offers them more security: under this system women tend to have better and more secure access to such basic resources as land and labour. I show, however, that most women in Nchimishi are not uncritical defenders of the traditional matrilineal ideology. On the contrary, most women repudiate many aspects of the ideology and system which they see as threatening their economic independence.

In Chapter 11, I examine the changing relationship between men and women on the one hand, and their use of space, the control over particular settings or arenas, on the other. I show that women in recent years have gained access to certain arenas which in the past were regarded as the exclusive domain of men. This change is interpreted by both men and women as a clear manifestation of the fact that women in Nchimishi have gained power at the expense of men.

In Chapter 12, the changing landholding practices are discussed. I show that farmers, as a result of various change processes such as population growth, changing settlement patterns, the introduction and diffusion of cash-crop farming and the plough, have come to attach a much greater value to land. The increasing number of land disputes reflects the fact that land is nowadays regarded as a scarce and valuable economic asset. I explain that the different parties involved in these disputes may develop and use a large variety of strategies to defend their claims. Although land was not inherited in the past, I came across a large number of cases where farmers, in order to defend their claims, had skilfully managed to extend the traditional matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance to include rights over, and inheritance of, land.

Chapter 13 examines the relationship between the religious ideology of the Jehovah's Witnesses and styles of farm management. In this chapter I argue that, if we are to understand the attitude of different Jehovah's Witnesses towards farming, we must not only analyze the 'official' ideology, but also consider the various meanings and interpretations different Witnesses give to particular aspects of their doctrine. In the 1960's, the Jehovah's Witnesses occupied a prominent place in the economic organization of Nchimishi. They constituted an important group of socio-economic innovators and many of them ran stores or commercially-oriented farming enterprises. When respondents were confronted with the writings of Long and Weber it became clear that the less prominent economic position the present-day Witnesses occupy can to a large extent be explained by the fact that the religious ethic espoused by a large number of Witnesses has changed since the early 1960's. The chapter 14 examines the patterns of religious, social and economic differentiation within the local congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses.

The common factor running through all chapters is the direct or indirect treatment of the social and economic consequences of the introduction and dissemination of ox-ploughing and cash-crop farming. Another important theme of the book consists of the analysis of the various change processes which can be held responsible for the

dissemination of these new agricultural methods and techniques.

In all chapters, extracts from conversations with respondents are reproduced. If a quotation is followed by the indicator (E), the person spoke in English. If the indicator is (L), the conversation was translated from Lala into English by Mudala Chisenga, my research assistant.

The setting

The material for this restudy was collected between August 1986 and December 1988. The research area, which lies approximately 27 kilometres from the Great North Road in the north-western sector of Chibale Chiefdom, roughly coincides with the area Long selected for his research, albeit that some parts now considered to form part of the Nchimishi area were not inhabited in the early 1960's. Chibale Chiefdom is one of the eight Lala chiefdoms in Serenje District. This chiefdom, which has a general elevation of about 1,200 metres above sea level, is situated on the plateau which forms the Congo-Zambezi watershed and is mainly populated by Lala people. Historically and culturally, the Serenje Lala form part of a wider complex of people that includes Bemba, Bisa and Ambo. The Lala also form a majority in the neighbouring Mkushi District, and many reside on the other side of the Zambia-Zaire border, which marks the eastern extremity of the Zaire pedicle.

In 1963, the total *de facto* population of Chibale Chiefdom was 9,238 persons of whom approximately 1,000 were living in Nchimishi.¹⁾ In 1987, the population of Chibale was estimated at approximately 17,500, accounting for some 24% of the District's population of 74,000. On the basis of a survey I carried out in 1988, I estimate that approximately 2,375 persons were residing in Nchimishi in that year.¹⁾

According to Long, the Lala, like the Bemba and the Bisa to the north, claim to have come originally from Luba country in Zaire sometime around the turn of the eighteenth century:

'Their migration seems to have been linked in some way to the collapse of the Luban Empire (Munday 1961, p.8). They reached their present habitat towards the end of the eighteenth century, after first moving south-eastwards through what is now Mwinilunga District and the Copperbelt, and then north-eastwards across the Luapula River to the fringes of the Bangweulu swamps before trekking south on to the plateau region. The evidence suggests that the original migrants moved in fairly small kinship groups and that the gradual drift of population from the Bangweulu swamp region has continued until relatively recent times (Munday 1940, p.438).' (Long 1968: 2).

Long concludes his description of Chibale Chiefdom by stating that:

'The area is well watered, with numerous perennial streams, and has an average annual rainfall of between 35 and 40 inches. The rains are mostly confined to a single wet season which commences in November and lasts until April. The mean maximum temperature is 78°F, rising to about 85°F for the months of October and November, just before the rains break. The soils are mainly of a light sandy nature with occasional pockets of better light-reddish and brown loams. The vegetation is of the *Brachystegia* woodland variety, with stony outcrops in the more hilly places and grassy plains

around the rivers (Trapnell 1943).’ (Long 1968: 2-3).

At the time of the restudy, Chibale Chiefdom was considered by the District authorities to be one of the more fertile and economically dynamic parts of the District. Even in colonial times the chiefdom was the most productive part of the District, and, according to a recent report, Chibale accounts for almost half of Serenje’s total marketed output. Between 1981 and 1986, crop sales increased at a faster rate in Chibale than anywhere else in the District (IRDP Information Paper No. 26: 2). Sales of hybrid maize, for instance, increased by 39% compared with the District average of 19% (ibid.).

Since 1981, Chibale Chiefdom has been one of the concentration areas for the British-funded IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Project; see also: Planning Study, No. 6, Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development, 1984). Under this programme, which covers the Central and Northern Provinces, funds have been used to finance projects designed to stimulate and encourage agricultural production. Particular emphasis has been placed on infrastructural projects such as the construction of maize and fertilizer depots, the construction and renovation of bridges and the rehabilitation of roads.

Notes:

1. The quantitative data presented in the main text of the study and the appendices were collected by means of a survey interview carried out among all adult farm inhabitants (who were willing to cooperate), of a random sample of 64 farms drawn from the total population of 198 farms in Nchimishi.

Although the sample consists of farms, I tried, by interviewing all adult farm inhabitants (272 adult persons out of a total number of 281 took part in the survey interview), to collect data about other important units of study: the household and the individual adult and non-adult farm-member. As Long did in his study, I defined an adult as a person of 15 years of age or more.

The 1988 survey area roughly coincides with the administrative-political unit called Nchimishi Branch, and consists of 10 so-called Sections (see also Chapters 5 and 12 and Appendix 5). The survey area also to a large extent coincides with the area Long delimited for his quantitative research. However, the 1988 survey area does not include the Kofi-Kunda and Wire areas (see also Map 1.2), but does include areas (which form part of Kalemba and Milulu Sections) which until recent years were uninhabited (see Chapter 5) areas which, despite the fact that they can be found at a considerable distance from the main road leading to Chibale, are considered to be part of Nchimishi and also form part of Nchimishi Branch.

The 1988 survey area coincides with the area delimited for intensive 'qualitative' research, be it that the farms of two key respondents, Kashulwe Kayumba and Musonda Chunga, whose farming enterprises I discuss in Chapter 6, were located in the Kofi-Kunda area. In 1988 the *de facto* population for the area in which Long carried out his survey was approximately 2,375, whereas 1,738 persons were residing in the 1988 survey area.

Chapter 2

The engagement of researcher and local actors in the construction of case studies and research themes: Exploring methods of restudy

Introduction

Long describes how Nchimishi was going through a period of marked agrarian, social and economic change during the early 1960's, and it seemed that in the 1970's and 1980's the area continued to be characterized by rapid change. As was the case in the original research, the aim of my study was to document these change processes, to examine their consequences for different individuals, groups or sections within the population and to discover which factors were responsible for the emergence of new social forms, practices and processes. As stated earlier, the restudy provided the opportunity to trace, over a long period, the process by which ox-plough technology has been incorporated into, and reshaped by, existing farming and social practices. I also wished to address the more theoretical problem of how external factors (for example government intervention programmes) are both mediated and transformed by internal structures and processes.

The analytical approach used to study the change processes resembled that developed and used by Norman Long and some of the other members of the so-called 'Manchester School' (Mitchell 1956; Turner 1957; Van Velsen 1964) who saw the extended case-study method as a key to the understanding of processes of social change and continuity. I believed that a certain analytical continuity, using the extended case-study method and the actor-oriented approach developed by Long (Long 1968 and 1977), would provide a better insight into the changes that had occurred in the area. I also hoped that following up some of the original case studies would reveal in detail the changes that had taken place on the farms and in the lives of particular individuals, and that these would reflect broader developments occurring within Nchimishi. On the other hand, however, I felt that the original study should not set limits to the research and that conducting a restudy had to allow not only for the taking up of new research themes and new case studies, but also for making changes and improvements with respect to the original analytical approach. Some of the modifications and extensions made can be interpreted as being the result of my attempt to integrate into the research some more recent developments in social science, some contemporary research findings and new analytical insights. Some of my theoretical and methodological modifications and innovations grew, however, out of the fieldwork itself. Not only did fieldwork reveal some of the limitations of the analytical approach used in earlier Manchester work but

also, as I show, following up the original case studies yielded some new and rather unexpected opportunities.

Personal and shared lifeworlds

The analytical concept which I consider to stand at the heart an actor-oriented approach is the concept of **lifeworld**. According to Habermas, a commonly shared lifeworld contains the experiences of past generations in the form of interpretations regarding reality, binding norms and fixed interpretations concerning needs. Habermas further states that:

'Subjects acting communicatively always come to an understanding in the horizon of a lifeworld. Their lifeworld is formed from more or less diffuse, always unproblematic, background convictions. This lifeworld serves as a source of situation definitions that are presupposed by participants as unproblematic. In their interpretative accomplishments the members of a communication community demarcate the one objective world and their intersubjectively shared social world from the subjective world of individuals and (other) collectivities.' (Habermas 1981: 70)

The components making up the lifeworld are, according to Habermas, world views, institutions and personalities. Social actors who are the product of a commonly shared lifeworld can therefore be considered the product of: 1) a certain tradition, 2) of solidarity groups, and 3) of socialization processes (Kunneman 1985: 102-3).

According to Schutz, the lifeworld, which is a world lived-in and largely taken for granted, is actor rather than observer defined and is shared with others (Schutz 1962; Long 1989: 247). Instead, however, of reducing the world to what the human mind happens to construct at a particular time and place as Schutz does, I, following Habermas, assume the existence of an external, factual world (which is made up of the 'natural world', the 'social world' and the inner life of human beings) which has a primary reality and which is external and prior to the individual. We construct our realities on the basis of certain categories, classifications, values, norms, etc. However, elements pertaining to the 'natural world' (of physical objects and occurrences) and the 'social world', when perceived by us, become part of our personal lifeworld and in some way or other force us to grant them a place in our definition of the situation. For example, the death of a teacher from the Nchimishi primary school was interpreted by some of his relatives and friends as being the result of witchcraft¹ practised by the school's headmaster with whom the deceased had often been in conflict. Others maintained, however, that the teacher had been suffering from AIDS, a condition which some Jehovah's Witnesses interpret as being another proof of the fact that mankind is living in the 'last days' because, as one Witness explained, the Bible clearly shows that, during the days preceding Armageddon, diseases will occur for which man will not be able to find a cure. (See also Chapter 13 and Long 1968: 200-236.) Notwithstanding the interpretations and explanations given for what had happened, the result is that something had changed, something irreversible had occurred; something to which all

those who had witnessed it, or who had heard about it later, had been forced to respond in some way or other. An individual may not only differ from others in their interpretations and definitions of the same situation (made up of elements pertaining to the natural and social world) but also himself hold several definitions of a particular situation based upon his perceptions. As Goffman argues, each participant can be in several complex layers of situational definition at the same time²⁾ (Goffman 1974; Collins 1988: 58-9). All these levels, these multiple realities, each built upon each other, are, however, anchored because some of them are more fundamental than others. Collins, writing on the theoretical continuities in Goffman's work, states:

'These levels begin with "primary frameworks": the natural world of physical objects in which people live, including their own bodies; and the social world of other people and their networks and relationships. At a higher level, a strip of activity in these primary frameworks can be transformed in make-believe, contests, ceremonials, or technical redosings (enactments carried out so that the activity itself can be tried out, practised, or observed, without being seriously committed to it).'

(Collins 1988: 58-63).

Leaving aside the issue of whether, on the one hand, as Kant maintains, there is knowledge (that is, that there are categories which precede, and which are independent of, experience) and it is the mind which imposes its categories and forms upon the external world (Kant 1966, 140-59), or, on the other hand, perception is organized by the existing forms present in the external world, I assume it is through the workings of the senses and the mind that all human beings are able to receive and process information from the external world and to differentiate between numerous different 'messages'. I should like to stress that assuming the existence of an external world because of the action of external things on our body does not mean that I believe in the ability to cross the boundary of the world given in perception and obtain an objective, an interpretation-free view of the natural and social world or the inner life of individuals.²⁾

Since human beings are to some extent exposed to the same sensory messages which come from the external world and act upon their senses, some perceptions, some experiences are shared by all individuals (provided a handicap does not prevent them from receiving and/or processing certain kinds of information). Because human beings are able to reflect upon their experiences (and at times are forced to do so) and are capable of language, they share the ability to attach certain notions, categories, to their perceptions. Since some experiences are shared by all it is likely that some of these 'primary' notions, categories and oppositions which are directly related to experiences, to the world given in perception, are to some extent shared by all human beings. It may be assumed that individuals share notions and categories such as, for instance, sight, touch, hearing, taste, smell; and oppositions like dark versus light, silence versus sound and cold versus warm; but the sharing of notions which separate the individual from others may also be assumed. Furthermore, individuals to some extent receive and process similar information from within their own body and, again to some extent, have the same needs. Some of the primary notions and categories, therefore, are directly linked with these needs (for instance pain, thirst, hunger, etc.).

Human beings, capable of gestures, of expression and language, use these categories to respond selectively to the external world (and their own body), and since human beings have a memory and are able to recall some of their previous experiences, these categories are also 'used' to anticipate new messages, new information. Individuals have a memory and a will, and therefore are able to order perceptions: to order them, for instance, according to their usefulness in the achievement of certain objectives. This means that individuals are able to attribute a value judgement to their (past) experiences and their own behaviour. Since part of their experiences can be seen as the result of the actions of other individuals, these value judgements can also be made with respect to the actions of other human beings.

To put it in more general terms, individuals - as a result of their capability to reflect upon their perceptions and thus upon the primary categories which are shared by all - are able to conceptualize, to create and add new formulations, interpretations, representations, categories and classifications. These categories and constructs are, like the primary categories, used by individuals to interpret, attribute meaning and bring order to experiences, to construct definitions of situations, and to create higher levels of awareness, of reality. Since, as mentioned earlier, individuals are capable of gestures, of expressions and of language, these constructs are equally used to interfere in the natural and social worlds, to transform some of their elements and to create new events, new material- and/or social combinations (see also Seur 1991: 40-42; Kenis 1991: 8-12): combinations which in turn may allow for new perceptions (for instance, the construction of instruments made new perceptions possible). These, what we might call higher level constructs (Goffman speaks of frames), categories and oppositions (for instance, beautiful versus ugly) are thus based upon the primary categories (or as Goffman explains, grounded in the primary frameworks).

These transformations, these constructs are, however, often qualitatively irreducible to perception as such. Since an individual has a memory and is able to learn, he is, to some extent, able to anticipate not only the occurrence of events or objects, his own reactions to certain events or objects, but also the responses of others to his own actions, for instance. An individual is able to perceive actions of other individuals, and can (or can learn to) communicate with them. He thereby assumes that other individuals have an inner life as well and are able to learn, to forget and to perceive, interpret and respond to the external world. His ability to communicate also enables him to obtain knowledge regarding the inner life (the needs, feelings, experiences, interpretations, values, objectives, categories, etc.) of other (specific) human beings.

The fact that individuals can and do communicate with others and thus can have - albeit indirect - access to the inner life of others means that individuals can share experiences and knowledge concerning the 'social world' and the 'natural world' and the inner life of human beings (knowledge which includes among other things the concepts, theories, categories, expressions which are developed and used to describe, attribute meaning to, and explain elements of the external world or the inner life, the needs and feelings, of individuals), as well as certain values and objectives. Individuals also have the ability to cooperate however, and a group of people is therefore in principle able, as a group, to develop and formulate (new) theories, concepts, rules and

sanctions and to coordinate their actions.

The fact that all individuals are surrounded by the external world, have a body, a memory and a will and share some notions and categories as well as the ability to communicate and to create higher level constructs does not imply, however, that an individual communicates with all other individuals or that these higher level categories and constructs are shared by all. A group of people, a family, a community, a village or an ethnic group may share certain experiences as it may also share a common language, discourse, certain expressions, ceremonies, norms, values and objectives. Outsiders, however, may not even be aware of the existence of that particular family or village, nor of its practices, its particular rules, or objectives.

I now wish to return to, and explore in more detail, the concept of lifeworld. Stating that lifeworld is intersubjective means that actors share primary categories and certain abilities but may also share certain interpretations, evaluations and understandings concerning elements belonging to the natural world (crops, tools, cultivation techniques etc.), the social world (relationships, groups, common symbols, customary behaviour, role expectations, rules, categories, concepts, ideas, theories and ideologies as well as formalities, rituals and other forms of social action) and the inner life of human beings (needs, feelings etc.). It is because people share knowledge of how to behave and how to interpret the actions of others that interaction becomes possible, that actions become meaningful to others (Holy and Stuchlik 1981: 2-3). Ortner in her discussion of Bourdieu's work states that, according to the latter, action is constrained by material and political factors but:

'...most deeply and systematically by the ways in which culture controls the definitions of the world for actors, limits their conceptual tools, and restricts their emotional repertoires. Culture becomes part of the self' (Bourdieu 1977 and Ortner 1984: 153).

At the same time, I think it is important to realize that as a result of his unique wanderings through time and space, each individual is different. Each individual has a unique history, a unique, **personal lifeworld**. An individual cannot know everything there is to know within a society at a given point in time, nor can he be omnipresent and a witness to all events, share all his experiences with others, take part in all activities, be a member of all groups. In every instance, an individual finds himself in a specific and unique natural and social environment from which he receives specific combinations of information to which he has to respond. At a given point in time all individuals occupy not only different spaces but also different positions within society because of their appearance, age and sex, and because during socialization they acquire their own (social) identities. During the course of his life, therefore, the individual is exposed to a unique set of elements (phenomena, situations, events) pertaining to the natural world and the social world. The fact that individuals belong to a particular community, a certain group, network or family, maintain relationships with other individuals means that they have access to, share and participate in different lifeworlds or what Berger and Luckmann call 'social stocks of knowledge, which can be passed on to the next generation' (Berger and Luckmann 1985: 56-60).

The uniqueness of each individual also results from the fact that an individual, through reflection and analysis, is capable of saying yes or no, that is, of questioning the validity and truth of knowledge, the legitimacy and rightness of certain norms and the sincerity of expressions. Furthermore, an individual is also capable of, as it were, combining in a unique way different elements from his (unique) stock of knowledge and formulating, creating new interpretations, theories, classifications, concepts and evaluations, but also new personal values or norms, choices, goals and objectives. The personal lifeworld of an individual is therefore not static but dynamic. It expands as a result of new experiences but also as a result of reflection.

Elements pertaining to the natural or social world enter and, at least temporarily, become part of the lifeworld of an individual the moment s/he perceives them; but, at the same time, it is against the background of this lifeworld that s/he perceives, interprets, classifies these elements. An individual can only perceive and attribute meaning to new experiences because he has a personal lifeworld which contains the memory traces of a unique set of previous experiences (and indirectly also the experiences of previous generations). At the same time, however, these new experiences may affect the personal lifeworld of the individual in such a way that previous experiences are placed in a new perspective.

It is possible, therefore, that different individuals may attribute different meanings to, for instance, customary practices, the actions of another individual or to certain processes of social or ecological change resulting from the interplay of exogenous and endogenous factors, because these changes can stand in a different relation to the models, theories, values, goals and objectives of the individuals involved. Some individuals may regard certain changes as having constraining effects upon their actions, as limiting their choices, denying them access to certain resources. Other individuals may interpret the same development as providing new resources or opportunities. It follows, therefore, that two persons can differ from each other not only because they have lived through different experiences, but also because, in a given context, they can place different interpretations upon shared experiences.

A problem is presented, therefore, by the assumption that a certain collectivity, community, religious sect or network shares a common lifeworld. As I have shown, there always exists at a given point in time a certain overlap between the personal lifeworlds of two adult persons even if they never met or even heard of each other, even if these persons have very different backgrounds and live in different parts of the world. Part of the overlap between their lifeworlds may be explained by the fact that they possess the same knowledge (for instance, they both speak English or Lala; they both know how to cultivate and prepare sweet potatoes; they are both Jehovah's Witnesses and therefore are confronted with the same texts from the Bible when they visit the Kingdom Hall on Sundays). Part of the overlap between the two personal lifeworlds of these individuals may also result from the fact that they give the same interpretations, attribute the same meaning and value to some of their observations, their experiences (they both, for instance, responded in a similar way to the message that in August 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait). A consequence of the fact that the lifeworlds of individuals to some extent overlap is that, in certain contexts, individuals assume they

can anticipate and/or retrospectively explain the responses of others to certain events or occurrences. A farmer in Holland may for instance feel he can predict the reactions of Zambian farmers, whom he has never seen or met, to a sudden sharp increase in the price of fertilizer, because the Dutch farmer assumes that he shares some ideas regarding efficiency and rationality, some experiences, farming knowledge and problems with people whom he may describe as his colleagues. In other words, he may assume that he shares to some extent a lifeworld with other farmers despite the fact that they live on different continents, cultivate different crops, are faced with a different climate, etc.

I thus make a distinction between **overlapping personal lifeworlds** and **shared lifeworlds**. When speaking of the lifeworld which is shared by a number of individuals or a group, I refer to a circumstance in which individuals assume that they share part of their personal lifeworlds with specific others. Although I discovered that in Nchimishi some knowledge (for instance the language, agricultural knowledge and knowledge related to kinship categories), values, norms and expressions were indeed seen as being shared by almost all inhabitants, I also found that individuals in different contexts assumed they shared with certain others different aspects of their personal lifeworld. Despite the fact that, for instance, many Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi explained to me that the Witnesses shared a common knowledge, and some common values, norms and experiences with the inhabitants of the area who did not belong to their religion, they at the same time differed from the rest of the population because they, as a group, also shared certain knowledge (about the Bible for instance), certain values, norms and rituals. But then again, although the Witnesses did share a common lifeworld against the background of which they were able to reach a common understanding about elements pertaining to the natural world, the social world and the inner life of individuals, it appeared that in certain respects the Jehovah's Witnesses were divided, in the sense that different individuals and categories of individuals within the local congregations - despite being confronted every week with the same Biblical texts and taking part in the same ceremonies at the Kingdom Hall - not only possessed dissimilar knowledge of the Bible, but also attributed a different meaning, attached a different interpretation, to particular Biblical texts, values, norms and occurrences (see Chapter 13). Furthermore, these different sections within the congregation tended to make up different groups which often took part in different activities. Whereas, for example, one group of Witnesses strongly condemned drinking in public on the basis of the Scriptures, another group could often be found at local beer parties.

It is because there exists some overlap between their personal lifeworlds that individuals are able to interact with each other, to engage in what Habermas calls communicative action and in principle reach a common understanding (which does not necessarily mean agreement) (Habermas 1984: 84-102).³⁾ The kind of overlap which exists between the lifeworld of these individuals determines the form of communication they can use. Interaction also takes place against the background of a shared lifeworld. For example, when an individual encounters a complete stranger s/he will usually try to express the message s/he wants to communicate in a 'language' (be it a spoken language or non-verbal forms of communication) s/he assumes or hopes s/he shares with

the other.

As I said earlier, a person's lifeworld is not a fixed entity as individuals are able to learn and forget. If individuals interact with each other, this necessarily results in the enlargement of their personal lifeworlds. It also results in an increased overlap between their personal lifeworlds. At the same time it is possible that the participants (be it two farmers, drinking companions, a religious group or the employees of an extension agency) will discover that they in some respects, in certain contexts, share something which to some extent separates them from others. As a result of these interactions, individuals come to share - and may become aware of the fact that they share - particular experiences and knowledge. Furthermore, they may also realize that they share, or have come to share, certain interpretations, expressions, categories, theories, norms, and values. A shared lifeworld does not, however, necessarily imply that individuals have the same ideas or values, or work with the same categories and classifications, attribute a similar meaning to certain objects and events, or that they give a similar interpretation to a particular phenomenon. Sharing a lifeworld also means taking account of specific others and being able, or feeling able, to anticipate and explain, in a particular context, the responses of these others (individuals or groups). And it is likely that an individual (be it a local farmer or a researcher) or a group of people will be better able to do so if (frequent) interactions render it possible, to some extent, to (re-)construct the line of reasoning of others, making use of what is known about the knowledge, interpretations, values and objectives of these others.

To sum up, interaction cannot take place other than against the background of what the participants consider to be their shared lifeworld, but at the same time (other) aspects of a shared lifeworld unfold themselves or are created, are produced, during interaction, during communicative encounters. It is their engagement in interactions with others (we should not, however, rule out the impact of other forms of communication) that prevents individuals from becoming, so to say, locked up in their personal lifeworld. It is also through engaging in interaction aimed at reaching a common understanding that the observer, the anthropologist, can obtain an understanding with regard to the shared and personal lifeworlds of the local actors he wishes to study. During communicative encounters, participants only 'make use' of a part of their stock of knowledge and the lifeworld they share, and parts of personal and shared lifeworlds are only revealed to others when actors carry out actions or when they engage in communicative encounters. It is during interactions that participants may find out and try to express where their lifeworlds do, or do not overlap.

Shared lifeworlds and their boundaries

The fact that shared lifeworlds have, as Schutz explains, a taken-for-granted character and consist, according to Habermas, of unproblematic background convictions, means that although to the observer conversations may reflect parts of the shared lifeworld of the participants, actors themselves often do not feel the need to specify their exact

elements in a discursive manner. Actors may be subliminally aware of the fact that in some respects they share a unique body of knowledge, particular practices, discourses, expressions, norms and values. The wish, or the need, to express and specify the elements which make up part of their shared lifeworld often only arises if actors are confronted with the boundaries of this lifeworld. This happens, for instance, when actors who share a lifeworld are confronted with the existence of individuals or groups who share alternative lifeworlds. In Nchimishi, for example, the awareness of a distinct Lala culture as a body of customs, traditions, values and norms has increased due to the inroads made by new ideologies like that of the Jehovah's Witnesses. As Cohen states:

'We become aware of another culture - more specifically of a culture -when we are brought up against its boundaries: that is, when we become aware of another culture, of behaviour which deviates from the norms of our own.' (Cohen 1982: 4).

The introduction of the ideology of the Jehovah's Witnesses and the contacts many Lala established with members of other populations while working in the towns of the Copperbelt played an important role in encapsulating certain practices and norms, previously taken for granted, as in fact making up what is often called 'our Lala tradition', placing it alongside other modes of legitimizing established practices (Giddens 1979: 200), or other cultural frameworks. One could even go further and argue that the introduction of new ideologies and practices gave rise to the creation of values and the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm 1983: 1-14), in the sense that certain individuals, groups or categories started attributing value to what they began to delineate as being their Lala tradition.

Actors may be provoked into drawing boundary lines between what they consider to be different shared lifeworlds by changes other than those that act to counter the grip of the taken-for-granted character of day-to-day interaction, or those that corrode, or call into question, traditional practices. At any given moment, a local community may consist of an indefinite number of shared lifeworlds. That is, individuals and groups may assume they share stocks of knowledge, practices, material resources, values, norms, discourses and expressions with a wide range of other individuals or groups. This means that during every communicative action an actor may for some reason feel the need to demarcate the boundary of the lifeworld s/he assumes s/he shares with others, or the boundaries between this shared lifeworld and what s/he considers to be other lifeworlds. Not only the shared lifeworld and the boundaries which are drawn by actors around or between certain collectivities, but also the part of their personal lifeworld which comes to the fore during conversations varies according to the context and the topic of the conversation. Boundaries may have a physical, political, religious or normative character, but in certain contexts boundaries may also be drawn around particular religious groups, economic interest groups, networks, specific sections of the farming population or around groups and categories that speak a dialect, use a particular discourse, etc.

To illustrate this connection between lifeworld and context I quote a few remarks made by Kaulenti Chisenga, a Jehovah's Witness and one of my key informants. These

short statements give an impression of the lifeworld which, within a particular context, Kaulenti assumed he shared or did not share with others:

'Europeans are different, but we Africans are too much involved in witchcraft.'

'We Lala are in many ways different from other tribes, we have our own traditions.'

'So you see, it's very difficult to have a friend who is not a Jehovah's Witness. Sometimes people follow other systems, they drink or smoke. So I cannot join them. Sometimes people can be against Jehovah's Witnesses. But a friend who is not a Jehovah's Witness can also complain about the time I spend at the Kingdom Hall, or the rules I follow, so he leaves me.'

'Many people here think that when a man dies his property should go to his relatives (close matrikin, H.S), but we Jehovah's Witnesses feel that we cannot neglect our children.'

'When you see people conversing, it's easy to see who is a Jehovah's Witness and who is not, because Jehovah's Witnesses talk very quietly and politely and they use words other people do not use./../ These are words from the Bible and the Society.'

'As I told you before, we have within our congregation different groups. We all know the Bible, but some of us think differently, they do not follow the rules very strictly. They also follow these Lala traditions.'

'Ah no, a peasant is very poor, he does not sell anything, but a farmer can be rich and sell a lot of maize.' (E)

Lifeworld and action

An actor engages in social interaction when he explains an action, or conveys to the researcher his goals and intentions - a unique configuration of thoughts and feelings; when, in other words, he grants the researcher indirect access to his personal lifeworld. Since we do not have direct access to the personal lifeworlds of others, the meanings that individuals assign to the natural and social world around them can only be elicited from their actions, which include their verbal expressions.⁴ I would, however, like to make the distinction between lifeworld and action. Emphasizing action means analyzing how individuals or groups in certain contexts, against the background of their personal and shared lifeworlds, on the basis of their perceptions, previous actions, interpretations and evaluations, act in, and respond to, the external world. Lifeworld and action are interdependent in the sense that (conscious) actions immediately become part, at least temporarily, of the personal lifeworld of actors and therefore may have an effect upon future actions.

But, when analyzing decisions made and actions performed we should not assume that the actor is merely a *homo calculus*, goal-directed and living in an objective world of existing states of affairs about which he can obtain knowledge, form beliefs and develop intentions and objectives (see also Habermas 1984: 85-8). Of course, in their attempt to bring about a desired state of affairs, to gain access to certain resources, actors can, and sometimes do, act strategically and try to anticipate and respond to decisions made by others. In their attempt to reach decisions and achieve objectives, however, actors also orient themselves towards values and norms. In other words, action is not only determined by the natural world (the influence of curtailing 'material'

conditions) and evaluated by its truth and efficiency, but is often, as Weber argues, also directed and regulated by norms and evaluated by its 'rightness' and 'legitimacy' (Habermas 1984: 88-90).

Besides strategic (or teleological) action and normatively regulated action, Habermas distinguishes two other types of action: 'dramaturgical' and 'communicative' action. Writing of the first he states:

'From the perspective of dramaturgical action we understand social action as an encounter in which participants form a visible public for each other and perform for one another. "Encounter" and "performance" are the concepts. A performance enables the actor to present himself to his audience in a certain way; in bringing something of his subjectivity to appearance, he would like to be seen by his public in a certain way. In dramaturgical action the actor, in presenting a view of himself, has to behave toward his own subjective world. I have defined this as the totality of subjective experiences (what I call personal lifeworld, H.S.) to which the actor has, in relation to others, a privileged access. According to the dramaturgical model of action, a participant can adopt an attitude to his own subjectivity in the role of an actor and to the expressive utterances of another in the role of a public, but only in the awareness that ego's inner world is bounded by an external world.' (Habermas 1984: 90-3).

In this external world, which is made up of the natural and social world, the actor, according to Habermas, is able to distinguish between normative and non-normative [i.e. strategic] elements of the action situation. Within the dramaturgical model of action, action is evaluated by its veracity and sincerity.

According to Habermas, it is only during communicative action that social actors, against the background of a shared lifeworld, aim at reaching mutual understanding about elements of the natural world (objective reality), the social world (social reality) and the inner world of the participants. It is only during communicative action that social actors handle all three standards of 1) truth and efficiency, 2) rightness and 3) sincerity to judge the degree of agreement between, on the one hand, their speech acts, and on the other, the three worlds (natural, social and inner) to which the actor juxtaposes his utterance (Habermas 1984: 94-101).

This distinction between these four types of action - strategic, normative, dramaturgical and communicative - is, I believe, heuristically useful in conducting social research for the following reasons. First it helps the researcher to identify which, and the extent to which, actions are strategic, how they are determined and which circumstances lead to the formulation of new objectives and new types of action. This means that a researcher has to sample the different (sometimes conflicting) objectives of different actors, groups or categories of the local population and analyze how and why, against the background of their personal and/or shared lifeworlds, these actors formulate these objectives, and which circumstances (for instance changes in the availability of certain resources) lead to the formulation of new choices, goals and objectives, to new types of action. It also means that the researcher must identify which resources (in quality and quantity) are considered to be necessary for the achievement of certain objectives. Furthermore, an analysis is required a) of how, by the use of which strategies, certain local actors or groups have obtained, or try to obtain access to different resources (such as land, labour, capital and knowledge) and b) of the

explanations offered as to why some actors or groups have poorer access than others. This is not to deny that norms and values may define, to some extent, which elements of the natural and social worlds are considered as resources. I also wish to stress here that differential access to important resources can be used by individuals and groups to create and demarcate boundaries between lifeworld communities. Analyzing strategic actions also involves considering the ways in which actors try to convince others, use different resources to exercise power (physical, political or economic) over others, predict the likely consequences of their actions (perhaps by the use of normative sanctions or mobilization of resources by others), and respond to the actions and power of others.

Second, the distinction helps to analyze the extent to which actions are guided or regulated by norms (often situation-specific) and values (which are situation-transcendent) (Holy 1986: 55). This entails examining the extent to which actors take account of significant others (reference groups etc.), the groups, networks and institutions to which they belong, and the extent to which they regard themselves as guided by certain shared values and normative frameworks, such as religious or political ideologies, whether and how their goals and objectives are informed or influenced by personal or shared values and norms, and whether this is reflected in their actions. A further set of issues concerns the extent to which actors actually adhere to certain norms or consider their actions to be constrained by the tensions that arise when these conflict with strategic interests or other value frameworks; or whether actors exploit the element of choice created by alternative norms or normative frameworks; and the extent to which they create room for manoeuvre by manipulating the internal contradictions and inconsistencies they detect within such normative frameworks (Moore 1978: 41, 49). It also includes addressing the question of how actors judge the actions of other actors, and of the extent to which they take or are obliged to take account of the opinions and normative standards of others, or act contrary to some of their own values and norms. Again, in certain contexts, norms and values may be used by individuals or groups not only to exercise power but also to create a boundary between 'us' and 'them'.

Third, the distinction leads to the exploration of the extent to which actions are meant to present a view of self, to give expression to certain inner feelings, desires, intentions, or needs. In the ways in which they express themselves, actors are also able to create boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. At gatherings in Nchimishi, groups may use a certain vocabulary or discourse to create a social distance; and the way actors present themselves to others may grant them better access to specific resources.

Lastly, the distinction may help to explore the extent to which action is aimed at reaching common understandings. Why, in particular contexts, in the presence of particular others, do actors engage in communicative action, while on other occasions their actions are labelled as merely strategic, or intended to project a particular image of self? It leads the researcher to identify groups and listen for those recurring topics of discussion through which participants strive to achieve a common understanding.

The actor and processes of change

An actor-oriented approach does not only involve an exploration of personal and shared lifeworlds of different individual actors, or an analysis of actions and decisions against the background of these lifeworlds. It also involves locating the individual, his personal lifeworld and his actions between, on the one hand, the world that is 'external' to him (the natural world, social world and the inner life of other individuals) and, on the other, the perception of his actions by other actors. It is through his actions (including his statements) that an actor intentionally or unintentionally constantly alters and/or recreates the external world that surrounds him. Therefore, it is through (motivated or unmotivated) actions and the perception of these actions by others that an actor, intentionally or unintentionally, knowingly or unknowingly, becomes (at least temporarily) part of the personal lifeworld of other actors, in this way playing a role in recreating and changing their lifeworld. It is through his actions, therefore, that an actor helps to reproduce or produce new agricultural methods and techniques, resources and ways to convert them, norms, values, relationships, groups, institutions, practices and patterns of behaviour, stereotypes, symbols, words, categories, classifications and means of expression. This means that if a researcher wishes to understand particular processes of change or continuity in the community under study he should analyze particular aspects of the personal and shared lifeworlds of, and actions carried out by, particular individuals or groups. It also means that he should pay attention to the ways in which the actions of these individuals and groups are perceived, interpreted and evaluated (with regard to their truth and efficiency, rightness and sincerity) by others living in the same community. Lastly, the researcher should try to assess the extent to which the actions of these particular individuals and groups have had an effect upon the decisions and actions of others.

Nevertheless, although the actor intervenes in the social world and therefore plays a role in its reproduction or change, it must be stressed that new social forms or patterns of behaviour may emerge as the result of the unintended consequences of numerous social acts and interactions (Giddens 1979: 198-233, 1984: 8-14; Long 1989: 228-31). Social change can result from the fact that actors respond, often have to respond, creatively to endogenous and exogenous change processes, such as population growth, ecological change, or contact with other communities and cultures with new ideologies (for a detailed discussion of social change see Giddens 1979: 198-233). In addition, change can result from the fact that actors, alone or engaged in communicative action, are capable of questioning the efficiency and legitimacy of 'traditional' social forms and practices, and of formulating or creating theories, new interpretations and concepts, or new ways of classifying phenomena and bringing solutions to problems arising from particular endogenous and exogenous changes, new values and norms, new objectives, strategies, transactions, and expressions. Furthermore, change can be a result of the fact that actors are also capable of combining resources in a new manner, or of developing new agricultural methods and techniques, tools, and styles of farm-management, etc.

My research paid special attention to the role that innovative farmers have played in changing the agricultural, social and economic landscape of Nchimishi, and how their actions have, over the years, generated new social forms and groups within a society characterized by marked social and economic differentiation, the existence of value dilemmas, and growing feelings of insecurity and instability. Their impact was examined by asking various actors to provide their own analysis of change processes and the role they ascribed to these innovative farmers. The latter were often described by local actors as having provided solutions to various (new) problems or as an example to others within the population, thereby playing an important role in the development of the area. On the other hand, the view was often expressed that their actions had frequently given rise to what might be described as value dilemmas and conflicts (cf. Barth 1966: 18).

The selection of cases

Conducting a restudy does not necessarily imply that only the cases and case studies of the original study should be investigated, even if the restudy adopts a similar analytical approach, but there were reasons for following up some of the original case studies from *Social Change and the Individual* (1968). First, I wished to examine in which respects and to what extent the farming enterprises analyzed by Long had undergone changes since the early 1960's: whether, for instance, agricultural or economic change processes, in the view of the farmers involved, had resulted in new constraints, opportunities and decisions; and whether or not certain tensions and conflicts, to the fore in some of the original case studies, had been resolved. In other words, I hoped, by tracing the histories of specific farmers and their enterprises, to identify some of the more general changes and developments that had occurred in the research area over the last decades. Following up the original case studies also provided me with the opportunity to confront the actors who appear in them with both the case-study material itself and Long's analysis based upon them. I intend to discuss this issue in more detail later.

Although I was convinced, however, that the pursuit of a few of the original case studies could lead to an understanding of longer-term change processes, I also felt the need to examine new cases. At the time of the restudy, most of the individuals who appear in Long's case studies were in their fifties or sixties. Restricting oneself to the original cases would probably, therefore, have meant that a whole new generation of farmers, whom I suspected played an important role in current processes of agrarian as well as social and economic change, would have been left out of the picture. Long explains, for instance, that during the early 1960's a majority of the individuals who initiated production of crops for the market were returned migrants, often pensioners, who in many cases had been working for prolonged periods as miners on the Copperbelt. These individuals used their town savings to establish farming enterprises. Early in my field work, however, I saw that many young farmers, both men and

women, had never migrated to the Copperbelt nor had they any plans to do so, since the economic crisis in Zambia, which started in 1975, had resulted in a serious decline in job opportunities. Others had either spent a short period on the Copperbelt or been born there and returned. Most of these men and women, therefore, not only took up farming at a much younger age, but were forced to devise and use other strategies to obtain access to resources needed for developing their farming enterprises.

Further, in addition to taking up some of the research themes, I found it necessary to tackle some new problems and new themes. I had my doubts as to whether it would be possible to obtain a sound understanding of issues and developments related to gender, for example, without selecting new cases. Their selection proved to be problematic, however, since neither Social Change and the Individual nor the other writings of the 'Manchester School' offered a well worked-out method for selecting cases (Mitchell 1956, 1983; Turner 1957; Van Velsen 1964; Long 1968). The selection of cases within Nchimishi was also complicated by the fact that ten of the eleven villages counted by Long during the early 1960's had disappeared by the time of the restudy. In the 1960's, 53.4 % of the total population still lived in villages, whereas at the time of the restudy virtually the whole population of Nchimishi resided on farms. These farms were mostly separated from each other by fields, bush-land or swampy plains and, even more frequently than in the 1960's, were often found in the more isolated parts of the Nchimishi area. [This change in settlement pattern, and the larger numbers of residential units resulting from it, made it more difficult to obtain an overview of the agrarian, social and economic diversity of the area on which to base the selection of new cases. I also feared that the random selection of cases among the estimated 198 farms (as against 60 settlements in 1963) would not necessarily yield a true picture of the diversity and variety of the area.]

In one of his later works, Long (Long 1989: 248-50) suggests that criteria for the selection of cases should be informed by the research themes. The research themes I had formulated at the outset of the research were indeed helpful in selecting cases, but taking them as the sole criterion for selection might have resulted in missing important and interesting changes or patterns of behaviour and in overlooking certain groups or categories, considered relevant by local actors themselves, which could help answer or reformulate some of the questions implied in the research themes.

I concluded that if an actor-oriented approach claims to highlight the differential responses to certain circumstances or changes, and if a case-study method claims to be instrumental in eliciting processes of agrarian, social or economic transformation and reproduction, then the cases selected should somehow reflect these processes, and their different faces. [In other words, the cases selected should enable us to obtain a picture of the diversity and differentiation existing within the research area. Second, as I argued earlier, if an actor-oriented approach claims that it takes account of actors, models, categories and classifications, then the cases selected should somehow also reflect the different personal and shared lifeworlds which accommodate these local models, classifications, etc.

A selection method, therefore, should be based not only upon the research themes but also upon the personal and shared concepts, classifications and categories used by

local respondents or groups to construct or discern the various types of change processes as well as the individuals, groups or sections within the local community which are said to have played a certain role in bringing about these changes.

Most interviews carried out were rather unstructured in the sense that no effort was made to follow a set of prepared questions strictly. Although discussion often began during the first visit to a particular farm with the introduction of questions closely related to the central research themes, respondents were always given the opportunity to take the discussion in directions that interested them. Much of the time was spent reacting to the accounts of respondents rather than getting them to react to the questions prepared. During subsequent visits, issues discussed during previous interviews were often taken as the point of departure. At any given moment therefore, at different farms and with different men and women, quite a variety of issues were being discussed. During these ongoing discussions, when respondents tried to explain something, when they expressed their theories and ideas, when they described their own situation, strategies and decisions, their descriptions often contained explicit or implicit comparisons. We could even push the argument further and argue that, in general, when trying to express, to communicate parts of their knowledge, ideas, theories, values, norms or objectives, or when trying to explain particular phenomena, their own situation or that of others, actors can only do so by explicitly or implicitly comparing and contrasting these elements pertaining to their personal lifeworld with other elements which form part of their interpretations of the social, natural world and inner life of human beings.

The kind of comparisons made depended, among other things, on the context, the issues being discussed, the questions asked, the composition of the group of participants and the ambience. Sometimes responses (containing judgements, comparisons and classifications) were shared by other actors, by the other participants; sometimes they were of a personal nature. An individual might present himself as being a farmer, and in discussing his method of land preparation or his strategies to obtain capital or labour he might compare himself with particular farmers or with what he considered to be categories within the farming population. In other contexts, a person might present himself as a member of a certain group and compare 'his group' with other groups, individuals, networks, or categories of persons. Jehovah's Witnesses, for instance, often spoke of 'we Jehovah's Witnesses', when trying to draw boundaries between themselves and those who did not belong to their faith, or when trying to explain 'their' rules, 'their' behaviour. In other situations they would not consider the religious aspect to be relevant. For example, a Jehovah's Witness would sometimes present himself as being a member of a particular clan, tribe ('we Lala'), or country ('we Zambians') or an inhabitant of a particular region.

The following statements recorded during several interviews with different inhabitants of Nchimishi provide examples of comparisons (both implicit and explicit) relating to central research themes:

'Those who have stayed in town have more modern ideas and are more interested in modern farming.'

(E)

'People who work with a loan from the LIMA Bank (a parastatal providing agricultural loans to farmers, H.S.) use different tactics to develop their farms.' (E)

'We Jehovah's Witnesses think that our children and not our relatives (close matrikin, H.S.) should inherit our property.' (E)

'Those who belong to the Luo clan think very traditionally when it comes to dividing property among children and relatives (matrikin, H.S.).' (L)

'Women have more ways to get money than men.' (L)

'Agnes Musonda Kalaka is a better farmer than Agnes Changwe because Agnes Changwe has always been helped by her children who live in town.' (L)

'Kashulwe is the best farmer here. He always comes up with new ideas.' (E)

'Lushwili is a very poor man. He and his wives do not even have enough money to dress themselves properly.' (E)

'People in Mukopa are backward.' (L)

'Only a few of us have good contacts in Serenje (township) with people from the Government and UNIP (United National Independence Party).' (E)

'Lala maize is good because you do not need money to cultivate it, like hybrid maize.' (E)

It was on the basis of such comparisons, categories and classifications that new cases were selected. At the beginning of the fieldwork period I carried out interviews at seven different farms, three of which were chosen because they are described and analyzed in *Social Change and the Individual*. The others were chosen for different reasons. For example, I selected the farm of a young couple who belonged to the local congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses in order to include farmers of the younger generation. Then on the basis of the research themes and the comparisons and classifications recorded during interviews at these farms and during more informal conversations with my research assistant and other inhabitants of the area, I started to select new cases. The following example provides an insight into the method which was developed and used to select these cases.

During one of the first interviews at the farm of the young couple mentioned above, the discussion centred around issues relating to gender, and in particular, concerning the economic relationship between husband and wife. Both spouses stressed that being Jehovah's Witnesses meant not only that they had to work together, but also that they had to come to joint decisions on spending the family income (which in their case was mainly derived from carpentry, cash crops, and the sale of bread), though the event of disagreement it was the husband who, according to the Bible, is the head of the family and, therefore, had the last word. When the couple were asked to elaborate further on this issue the man explained that among many non-Witnesses, and even at the farms of some Witnesses who did not 'take the words of the Bible seriously', husband and wife often had separate fields and incomes. On the basis of this conversation I decided to take additional cases: farms or households of both Witnesses and non-Witnesses that were characterized by these separations. At one of these farms it was pointed out that in some cases the separation between husband and wife occurred only over the production of hybrid maize and beans, whilst the income derived from the selling of maize was treated as joint family income. Within other households, however, economic separation occurred only in relation to spending on goods for household or personal consumption. Although in these cases husband and wife would work together on

common fields, the income was divided between the two. On the basis of this information I again decided to select a few farms or households that were characterized by these different divisions.

As this example illustrates, the comparisons and classifications made by local actors were used not only to select new cases and, as I show later, to adjust and reformulate the research themes, but also to identify the relevant social units for analysis, in this case the farm (*ifwamu*) and household (*inanda*). Conversations on other or related issues pointed to other social units, classifications and categories: the clan, the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses, particular social networks, etc. Tackling a research theme, attempting to understand certain processes, sometimes demands taking into consideration different social units for analysis. One of the implications and advantages of using an actor-oriented approach is that such units are not predefined by the researcher on the basis of his or her own ideas and current debates within the academic world but are contextually identified and defined by local actors themselves.

To conclude this section, I should mention that the use of actors' comparisons and categories to select cases often had a kind of centrifugal effect, in that individuals and groups often tended to compare themselves with farmers whom in many ways they considered to be quite different, different not only from themselves but from most other farmers as well. This meant that a number of farmers selected were described by others as being innovative, deviant or controversial ('A lot of us grow maize and use oxen. But Kashulwe, he is different: he also grows rice and he keeps pigs and pigeons.'), and their farming enterprises were often labelled as non-representative. Visiting these farmers and their farms proved to be extremely useful however: it opened up opportunities to explore in some detail the other pole of the comparisons made by farmers and to identify why these individuals were described and labelled by others as being different and in which respects these individuals considered themselves to be different from the rest of the population. As I show in some of the following chapters, another reason for visiting these farmers was that these individuals, their innovations and enterprises often served as examples for many other farmers in the region.

The Repertory Grid Technique

Another method used to select cases was the so-called Repertory Grid Technique based upon the Personal Construct Theory of the psychologist Kelly, a theory developed to identify and analyze the constructs and construct systems of individuals and groups (Kelly 1955, see also Bannister and Fransella 1971). Although the technique was originally designed for use in clinical situations as a means of understanding the psychological problems of patients, and as a guide to developing therapeutic procedures, several authors have shown that the technique can be adapted to many different situations which form the focus of research and can address anthropological questions (Fransella and Bannister 1967: 97-106; Easterby-Smith and Ashton 1975; Karst and Groutt 1977). The Repertory Grid Technique involves the definition of a focus of

attention (for example, a specific research theme), the building up of a number of descriptions of this focus and, finally, a systematic assessment of the focus in terms of these descriptions. According to Easterby-Smith, the normal procedure for obtaining a Repertory Grid includes three stages. First, a number of so-called 'elements' are selected. These may comprise people or a number of situations. In practice this may require asking participants to provide the names of, say, ten other individuals they know (for instance neighbours, acquaintances, friends and relatives). During the second stage the participant or participants are asked to describe the similarities and differences between groups of three (or triads) of the elements, against the background of a focus of attention which has been discussed with them. This means that the participant is asked to describe in what ways s/he considers two of the named people (for example A and B) as being alike and yet differentiated from the third (C). By selecting different triads of elements a number of times over, participants are able to build up in their own words a series of descriptions, bi-polar categories and classifications, which they use to make judgements about people or situations. Once a number of these 'constructs' have been obtained, the elements are ranked or rated along the scales defined by each of the constructs. This results in a matrix of numbers that can be analyzed by eye or computer to identify general patterns in the way the person describes and classifies the various elements defined at the beginning of this process.⁵ One of the advantages of using the Repertory Grid Technique is that participants - who, according to Kelly, differ from each other in their construction of events - are not forced to respond to, or express themselves in, the constructs, concepts or categories of the observer, but are able to describe in their own terms, the ways in which they perceive the natural and social world around them.

Using the repertory grid technique: an example

During the fourth visit to William Chimpabu's farm, the technique was explained to both William and his wife, Chibuye Kalale. Subsequently they were asked to give the names of ten farmers they knew in the area. In order to demarcate the focus of attention I explained that I was especially interested in comparisons and descriptions related to farming and the running of farming enterprises. The ten names provided were then each given a number and placed in a large number of different triads (for instance; (1-5,7) (3-4,8) (9-3,2) etc.). The following statements (all except the fourth made by William Chimpabu) show the ways in which he compared and categorized the different farmers he and his wife had selected:

'Mangala (1) works very hard but has no oxen like Kash Chipilingu (5) and Mushili Mukangwe (7).'

'Saliko Chisenga produces more bags (of hybrid maize, H.S.) than these two others.'

'Derrick Chisenga works harder, especially during the harvesting season. The others have no power.'

'Ester Mukonda is a woman, the other two are men, but she also produces a lot.'

'Ester Mukonda works alone, she has got no oxen and she hires people to plough for her. She also has no children who can help her, but she produces enough. The others have a lot of children and their own oxen.'

'Derrick produces a lot, between two and three hundred bags, but he has no oxen. The other two have

their own oxen but they do not produce very much.'

'Ntembwa Zebron works alone, but the others hire piece-workers.'

'That one, Chibuye, has a lot of cattle.' (L)

I found, as Kelly predicts (Kelly 1955; Bannister and Fransella 1971: 25-6), that after William and Kalale had been asked a number of times to compare sets of farmers and search for and describe certain similarities and contrasts, at a given point (after the ninth set) the same characteristics, oppositions and categories often reappeared and almost no new ones were introduced. I had similar experiences with other farmers and groups of farmers. The categories and classifications expressed in the statements above are, of course, the constructs of William Chimpabu.

Having used the technique at different farms, but also drawing upon other interviews and informal conversations, I concluded that some constructs were rather personal, and many of them were shared by large sections of the farming population in Nchimishi. When the technique was used at eleven other farms to elicit the different ways in which farmers evaluated the performance and enterprises of a number of their colleagues, the following oppositions and categories (see Table 2.1) appeared in a majority of the cases and could be said, therefore, to reflect what we might call a shared category system, a shared lifeworld. The figures in brackets refer to the number of times a certain opposition or construct was mentioned by the farmers in question. Many of the same oppositions were also identified by William Chimpabu and his wife.

Using the Repertory Grid Technique I could identify, through certain concepts and categories, some elements of the personal and shared lifeworlds of the participants. These pointed to the differences that existed in Nchimishi in respect of farming. The categories offered a sound basis for selecting new cases, taking cognizance of such factors as the availability of labour, gender difference and the ownership of cattle.

Let me conclude this section by making a critical comment on the Repertory Grid Technique. The technique claims that its main advantage lies in its ability to indicate how people see, in their own terms rather than in the terms of the observer, the natural and social world which surrounds them. The question remains, however, as to how far the technique is capable of preventing the participants from being affected by the ideas and categories of the researcher. I found it difficult, for instance, to introduce the technique during the first visit to a particular farm, since its use required considerable explanation and some experience on the part of the participant with interviewing and working with a researcher. Hence, in most cases, participants had already been made aware of at least some of the research themes and some of my own categories and concepts, since farmers were given, and often asked for, detailed information on the objectives and focus of the research before a working relationship could be established.

Table 2.1: Using the Repertory Grid Technique

	- Farmer uses hoe (10)
works hard/has power	- does not work hard/has no power (8)
owns cattle	- does not own cattle (9)
works with own oxen and plough	- has to hire plough and oxen (8)
is a man	- is a woman (8)
has enough labour	- hasn't enough labour/has to hire (7)
grows a large variety of crops	- only cultivates a small number of crops (7)
works with a loan	- does not work with a loan (7)
is old	- is young (8)
has enough land	- does not have enough land (8)
has modern ideas	- thinks traditionally (9)
works with husband/wife	- works separately from husband/wife (9)

The restudy: difficulties and opportunities

In this section I discuss the problems and difficulties as well as the opportunities which arose as a result of the fact that the research formed part of a restudy. When Long carried out his research during the early 1960's, Zambia stood at the eve of independence and was experiencing a period of profound social, economic and political change. Nchimishi itself was confronted with important processes of agricultural and socio-economic change. Long's criticism of structural and structural-functionalist approaches, therefore, can probably be traced back to the fact that, although these approaches were able to describe, more or less successfully, more static and stable societies, their shortcomings surfaced when such approaches were used to study societies and communities characterized by rapid change (Van Velsen 1964: xxv; Turner 1957; Long 1968: 6-11). Hence Long's contribution to the further development of an actor-oriented approach should not be seen merely as the result of following a trend set in motion by his predecessors from Manchester. Having to come to grips with a rapidly changing community in which different groups and individuals responded in different ways to certain processes of change, Long probably felt unable to describe and explain

these change processes by using a structural or structural-functionalist kind of approach.

To some extent the same can be said in relation to the restudy. In *Social Change and the Individual* Long gives no special attention to issues relating to gender. Despite pointing out that the strict sexual division of labour which had characterized the traditional ash cultivation system had disappeared with the transition to plough agriculture (Long 1968: 22), and despite the fact that women do appear in his case-study material and the analysis based upon these, the rural society Long describes is mainly a man's world. This, I think, can again be attributed to two factors. First, until the 1970's, issues relating to gender had not received much attention generally from anthropologists. Second, one might assume that since women played only a secondary role in Long's work, women probably played a less prominent role in agrarian, social and economic change during the early 1960's. Long shows, for instance, that in most cases it was the men, often returned migrants with cash, who controlled productive resources such as farming implements and cattle. Although he points out that women often received a share of the income from Turkish tobacco - at that time the major cash crop - and although some women had their own tobacco gardens (Long 1968: 24), in most cases it was the men who controlled the cultivation of this crop.

At the time of the restudy, however, gender issues had become an important focus in a lot of research. What is more, it became obvious early in the restudy that one of the major changes which had taken place during the 1980's was the transference of a large number of women into cash-crop production. In other words, the fact that in this study gender issues form an important focus results both from developments in the field of anthropology during the last decades, and from important changes which have occurred in the research area itself. These two developments made it clear that a restudy should create room for new research themes and case studies. Notwithstanding the fact that new research themes and cases became part of the present research, the restudy resembled the original work in one important respect, namely the same analytical approach was used, even though I attempted to improve some of the methods and techniques. Another problem which arose due to the nature of my proposed research was that in order to understand the changes which had occurred within some of the farming enterprises investigated, I was forced to bridge the gap between 1963-4 and 1988-9. This was certainly not easy, since farmers could not always provide detailed accounts of events that had taken place after 1964. Some farmers, however, did have a detailed memory and occasionally, in their attempt to explain developments which had occurred after Long had left the area, described changes and events which had taken place as far back as the 1940's and 1950's.

Another difficulty encountered was that farmers who appeared in the original case studies tended at times to give different interpretations of some the events recorded by Long. I found that, in some cases, farmers' reconstructions of the history of the period Long was there were clearly influenced by events and developments which had occurred since, such as, for instance, the rise of new conflicts between kinsfolk. In one case, I came to the conclusion that a farmer's reconstruction was influenced by religious convictions which, according to his own account, he had acquired during the 1970's, when he became a 'serious Jehovah's Witness' (see also Hobsbawm, 1983: 1-14).

I might add that conducting a restudy, if it means living and working in the same area, with the same sets of individuals, also involves dealing with the myths which have been created over the years about the previous researcher and his family, as the following remarks recorded during the first two weeks of my fieldwork indicate:

'If you are not *Ba Normani*'s son (*Ba Normani* being Norman Long, H.S.), then your wife must be his daughter, Chibale'. (L)

'You're not drinking much. Don't you like our *chipumu* (the traditional millet beer, H.S.)? Ah, *Ba Normani*, he really liked *chipumu* (see Glossary), and he could finish a crate of beer all by himself'. (E)

And after I had learned a few Lala words, such as those for 'thank you' and 'chicken', one of my new neighbours said to me:

'No, learning how to speak Lala is very easy. *Ba Normani* learned it in two weeks! (E)

Reading texts to farmers

Conducting a restudy and working with the same respondents as in the earlier study had its advantages, as I soon discovered, and offered some rather unexpected opportunities. First, *Social Change and the Individual* provided me with a detailed background knowledge of the research area and its population (and some farmers and their farming enterprises in particular), although I sometimes wondered to what extent my own perceptions and observations were influenced by the original work. Second, I was able to bring together findings derived from the original study, archival material and the historical accounts of farmers, in order to confront farmers with Long's case-study material, and thus obtain their responses and opinions regarding the way Long had recorded and interpreted certain events at which they had been present, or concerning the way in which he had described the development of their farming enterprises. A lot of additional information was collected in this way.

Furthermore, I confronted farmers with Long's analysis and conclusions and asked them to provide their own interpretation or analysis and to express their criticisms. In other words, I tried to create a more direct link between the original work and some of the farmers who appear in it, by making both the ethnography and the analysis the object of discussion. In practice, this meant reading and discussing with farmers substantial parts Long's book. I found the advantage of this technique to be that it provided the researcher with an additional means of comparing past and present, or of criticizing certain parts of the original work, since the researcher could include the insights gained from the comments and analysis of the local actors themselves in addition to making observations, constructing his own case studies and drawing his own conclusions. The use of this technique brought to light yet another advantage of an actor-oriented approach: farmers found it relatively easy to establish a link between the constituent parts of Long's case studies; the ethnographic material and the analysis.

Since this technique worked rather well, I decided not to restrict it to Long's work

alone, but to discuss with farmers other selected parts of the literature. These kinds of discussions had to be well prepared, of course, and involved a lot of ground work for the research assistant who often had to translate them into the vernacular and explain them. The parts and passages selected from the literature were always related to issues discussed during previous conversations. In this way, a connection could readily be established between a specific situation or events, the development of a particular farming enterprise, changes in the lives of particular individuals or the relationships between specific persons or groups, and the more abstract analysis and theories found in the literature.

On a few occasions I asked farmers to read articles or chapters in English, give their comments and criticisms and relate them to the issues we had been discussing or to their own situation or developments in the area. Although this technique yielded some promising results it was not always successful. On one occasion, for instance, a Jehovah's Witness complained to me that he had found reading Audrey Richards' *Bemba Marriage and Modern Economic Conditions* (Richards, 1940) more difficult than reading the Bible!

Having started to follow this path, I also felt that I should give respondents the opportunity to comment upon my own work, case studies and conclusions. First drafts of the chapters dealing with Jehovah's Witnesses and the changing position of women were therefore discussed with several respondents. During these discussions a distinction was made between observation and the way in which I had reproduced certain events and quoted certain individuals, and my analysis and conclusions. This technique not only enabled farmers to comment upon my observational data, but gave them an opportunity to criticize the link forged between these observations and the major research themes and conclusions, as well as the concepts and models which had been used or developed to arrive at these conclusions. The comments and criticisms obtained in this way were frequently used and integrated into later versions of the relevant chapters.

Making case studies the object of discussion in this way can provide an important addition to, and improvement of, the extended case-study method, since including the analysis and comments of some of the actors involved creates an extra dimension. Respondents are confronted not only with the interpretations of the researcher but also with the conceptual framework which the latter uses to analyze and classify observations. Opening up sociological and anthropological work to local actors, that is, introducing its discussions, concepts, theories and ethnographic material, whether by confronting actors with previous studies of their community or by presenting one's own work or by discussing selected articles and passages from other authors, is important and should where possible be an integral part of sociological and anthropological research.

Like the natural sciences, the social sciences are faced with interpretational problems relating to different theories and to the fact that data are described in a certain theoretical context and time. According to Giddens, however, the social sciences differ from the natural sciences in that their object, the social world, social reality, is already interpreted by the actors themselves. Giddens in this context speaks of a 'double



Plate 2.1 Farmers and texts

hermeneutic': the mutual interpretative interplay between social science and those whose activities compose its subject matter, which separates the social sciences from the natural sciences which are characterized by a single hermeneutic (Giddens 1984). As a result of this, Giddens argues that:

'The theories and findings of the social sciences cannot be kept wholly separate from the universe of meaning and action which they are about. But, for their part, lay actors are social theorists, whose theories help to constitute the activities and institutions that are the object of study of specialized social observers or social scientists. There is no clear dividing line between informed sociological reflection carried on by lay actors and similar endeavours on the part of specialists. I do not want to deny that there are dividing lines, but they are inevitably fuzzy, and social scientists have no absolute monopoly either upon innovative theories or upon empirical investigations of what they study.' (Giddens 1984: xxxii-xxxiii).

Giddens further states that contrary to the theories in the natural sciences: 'Theories in the social sciences have to be in some part based upon ideas which (although not necessarily discursively formulated by them) are already held by the agents to whom they refer.' (Giddens 1984: xxxiv).

If this is the case, and there is no clear dividing line between informed sociological reflection of lay actors and similar attempts by specialists, then what reason could there be for the social scientist, while conducting his research, to conceal academic knowledge, categories, conceptual frameworks and discourses from local actors who willingly share their own discourses and knowledge? If, as Giddens suggests, logical connections exist between concepts and theories developed and used in the social sciences and those used in daily life, why then should the evaluations and critiques concerning sociological data and theories, and the relation between the two, mainly come from within the community of social scientists, and not from members of the community under study, who, if we consider the African context, rarely have any access to anthropological writings?

Discussing sociological or anthropological texts with local actors, making these texts part of the shared lifeworlds of researcher and respondents, has several advantages. First, it stimulates discussion and encourages respondents to make comparisons and describe in which respects they consider their own community, religion or circumstances, different from the groups, communities and contexts which are described and analyzed in passages read to them. Second, actors may express their criticisms of the literature and explain which factors they consider responsible for the fact that a particular theory or concept does not account for certain change processes taking place in the area. Third, by discussing his own descriptions and analysis with local actors, the researcher may find out where and why his own texts (for instance the first draft of one of his case studies) depart from certain local models and theories. Fourth, the introduction of a comparative element and new theories or concepts may result in local actors seeing certain developments, traditional practices, institutions or relationships from a different perspective which may also result in local knowledge and social practice losing its obvious and taken-for-granted character and becoming discursively available to local actors. In other words, the introduction of alternatives by the

researcher may enable actors to transcend the particularity of the local situation.

I would immediately like to add, however, that it is not only the researcher who is able to introduce alternatives. Contacts with other populations and ethnic groups have made people in Nchimishi aware of the existence of alternative ways of life, and thus of their own distinctive 'Lala tradition'. Furthermore, as I pointed out earlier, individuals are of course able, through reflection and analysis, to formulate new, hypothetical alternatives for themselves.

An example: the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Weber Thesis

In *Social Change and the Individual*, Long tried to explain why, during the early 1960's, proportionately more Jehovah's Witnesses had taken advantage of the new economic opportunities brought by the introduction of new agricultural techniques and crops. To explain why more Jehovah's Witnesses were of high economic status Long refers to the Weber thesis. He writes:

'I firstly concluded that, like the correlation Weber suggested between the Protestant ethic and "the spirit of capitalism", there existed in Kapepa (the pseudonym Long used for Nchimishi, H.S.) a close correspondence between the religious ethic of Jehovah's Witnesses and their social and economic behaviour. Hence the ethic legitimized and provided religious sanctions for the mode of life, achievements and socio-economic aspirations of the members of the sect' (Long 1968: 239).

In this context Long also speaks of a this-worldly oriented ethic which made the Witnesses focus upon individual achievement, because improving one's living conditions was seen as a way to prepare oneself on earth for life in paradise (op. cit: 210, 215-6).

I had to explain the fact, however, that, towards the end of the 1980's, the Jehovah's Witnesses played a much less prominent role in commercial agriculture. The Witnesses were no longer the innovators they had been during the 1960's. Although none of them belonged to the category of poorest farmers in the area, neither did they belong to the group of very successful, commercially-oriented farmers. It struck me that Witnesses often stressed that they were quite content with their lives and the size of their farming enterprise, and that they had no intention of taking part in the kind of maize competition in which many other farmers, mostly non-believers, were involved. Most Jehovah's Witnesses, it seems, lacked the 'spirit of capitalism' Long talks about. Moreover, the more fanatical members of the congregation often had smaller farms and incomes than the less dedicated Witnesses. I concluded, therefore, that the current agricultural and economic position of the Jehovah's Witnesses could not be explained by using the Weber thesis in the same way Long had done before, since marked differences now appeared to exist between the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Protestant sects to which Weber was referring (Weber 1989). This led me to discuss parts of Long's work as well as some selected passages of Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* with several Witnesses.

To introduce the Weber thesis, the following passage from Giddens' introduction to The Protestant Ethic essay was read:

'Of the elements in Calvinism that Weber singles out for special attention, perhaps the most important, for his thesis, is the doctrine of predestination: that only some human beings are chosen to be saved from damnation, the choice being predetermined by God. Calvin himself may have been sure of his own salvation, as the instrument of Divine prophecy; but none of his followers could be. "In its extreme inhumanity", Weber comments, "this doctrine must above all have had one consequence for the life of a generation which surrendered to its magnificent consistency... a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness." (p 104) From this torment, Weber holds, the capitalist spirit was born. On the pastoral level, two developments occurred: it became obligatory to regard oneself as chosen, lack of certainty being indicative of insufficient faith; and the performance of "good works" in worldly activity became accepted as the medium whereby such surety could be demonstrated. Hence the success in a calling eventually became regarded as a "sign" - never a means - of being one of the elect. The accumulation of wealth was morally sanctioned in so far as it was combined with a sober, industrious career; wealth was condemned only if employed to support a life of idle luxury or self-indulgence.' (Weber 1989: xiii).

The following comments made by Dennis Changwe, a young Witness and an elder of the local congregation, are illustrative of the reactions I obtained when confronting Witnesses with parts of Weber's work (other parts read to Dennis Changwe and other Witnesses were Weber 1989: vii-xiv, 68-71). Dennis Changwe explained:

'If a person lives in uncertainty, I think he has no real hope. A person with no hope is what Max Weber was talking about. But the Bible, Hebrews chapter 11:1-3 reads: "Faith is the assured expectation of things hoped for". So you see these Protestants, whatever they did during their lives, whether they followed the Bible or not, they were never sure if they were chosen by God to be in Paradise. This is contrary to what the Bible says. They talked of being chosen, but God does not choose, he is interested in what a person is doing and whether a person is following his will. As Acts 10:34 reads: "At this Peter opened his mouth and said: 'For a certainty I perceive that God is not partial, but in every nation the man who fears him and works righteousness, is acceptable to him.'"

So you see he can not choose certain people leaving others behind. If a person follows what is written in the Bible he is assured of entering Paradise. This is quite different from the doctrine of the Calvinists. Secondly, as I understand Max Weber, since they were always having doubts, a lot of success in, for example, business, was interpreted by them as the sign of being chosen by God. This is not true. Being successful in this world does not mean anything. Being rich is not a sign. There is no point in becoming rich.' (E) (See also: New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures, 1961.)

Not only do these kinds of statements and discussions demonstrate the skills of some of the Witnesses to analyze at a rather abstract level the relationship between different religious ideologies and the socio-economic behaviour of its adherents, but the comparisons made by different Witnesses of their own ethic vis-a-vis the ethic of the Calvinists proved to be a good point of departure for analyzing the changes that had occurred within the community of Witnesses since the 1960's, changes which also help to explain the gradual disappearance of 'the capitalist spirit'.

Observations, conceptual framework and research themes

According to Williams, the traditional ideal of conducting research implies that

knowledge is gained through a deductive sequence which involves 'the derivation of testable propositions from axiomatic ones, the formulation of hypotheses from those propositions, the making of observations, and finally testing hypotheses and drawing conclusions.' (Williams 1988: 74). Within this structural-functional tradition, the observations made by the researcher (including accounts of local actors and other case-study materials) were mainly used for illustrative purposes, to provide evidence for claims made about certain practices, social institutions and change processes. According to Goffman, the problem with this type of sociological analysis is that it:

'....assumed that the details of the interaction order could be simply read off as reflecting a more real order "above" it - of the economy, of the legal system or whatever; it therefore failed to conceive of the possibility that face to face interaction could have its own ordering principles at all.' (in Williams 1988: 67).

Instead of assuming beforehand that a 'real order' exists of which local actors are not aware, I agree with Williams that a better way of conducting research is one which acknowledges that the observational process itself is capable of generating valid knowledge in its own right.

The concepts, models, theories and propositions an individual holds and may share with others are passed on to him through socialization. But, as I pointed out earlier, an individual also plays an active role and, on the basis of his own observations and interactions with others, may formulate new theories and hypotheses. During interaction (irrespective of whether a researcher is present) individuals may express their models, concepts and propositions, and may offer explanations for different elements (phenomena) pertaining to the natural and social world (such as, for instance, explanations regarding the existence of certain patterns of behaviour, concepts, ideologies or social and ecological changes) and/or the inner life of human beings. New ideas, models and theories of the natural and social world may also spring, however, from the interaction process itself, that is, they may be formulated during communicative action. Neither do they have to remain unchallenged. Individuals as well as groups can put them to the test by confronting them with other theories or (new) observations and experiences, by formulating hypothetical cases. Sometimes specific events also force people to reconsider their behaviour as well as the models they hold.

According to Long, an actor-oriented approach should give priority to the observations, concepts and models of reality of local actors (Long 1989: 247-8). Such a postulate, I think, implies that a researcher, apart from making observations in order to test his existing hypotheses, can formulate (new) ones on the basis of these observations and those of local actors. Secondly, it implies that the researcher is free to adopt and/or test some of the concepts, hypotheses, theories put forward by these local actors.

As mentioned earlier, I do not wish to see case studies merely providing illustrations or evidence for claims made (ie. on the basis of quantitative or other data) about the community under study. I agree with Long that the case-study method should be seen as an instrument which enables the researcher to elucidate and elicit different social

forms and processes. A case study, however, not only reflects the observations and models of the researcher, but also takes into account the observations and models of local actors. Therefore, a case study (in the construction phase) can also serve another purpose, rendering new hypotheses and concepts which, if they somehow relate to the main research themes, may then be incorporated into the research. I wish to show, by presenting some examples, that the adoption or formulation of new concepts and hypotheses may even lead to the adjustment or reformulation of the research themes.

During one of the first interviews with Agnes Musonda Kalaka, one of the first and most successful female farmers in Nchimishi, Agnes voiced her conviction that it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for her and the other female farmers in the area to take up the large-scale cultivation of cash crops if Turkish tobacco (the major cash crop at the time of the original study) had not been replaced by hybrid maize as the most important cash crop. This and other remarks encouraged me to pay more attention to the historical aspects of female farming in the area and to look at the consequences, for women in particular, of the transition from Turkish tobacco to hybrid maize: a transition which occurred during the early 1970's. This soon resulted in the formulation of a new hypothesis which posited that if one wished to understand the precise consequences for women of the introduction of cash crops then one should not, as many writers tend to do, start from the assumption that women become marginalized as a result. Rather one should consider the specific characteristics of the newly introduced crop. This involves looking at its labour demands and examining whether or not women can combine its cultivation with their household tasks. It also means considering the fact that some crops merely allow farmers to obtain a cash income, while others also serve as a staple food crop.

Mrs. Lupalo, the wife of the headman in whose settlement I lived, pointed out during a mixed group discussion that changes in the relationship between men and women were also reflected in the fact that women nowadays had access to the *nsaka*, the large open-sided men's hut or shelter (see Glossary). Before the arrival of *Ba Normani* (Norman Long) she argued, when the village, not the farm, was still the dominant type of residence, men and women to some extent lived separate lives. The men sat and ate together in the *nsaka* to which women were hardly ever admitted. The kitchen was seen as their domain. It was there that young girls were brought up. Boys received their education in the *nsaka*. With the transition from village to farm (where farms were often made up of one nuclear or three-generation family) it became, according to Mrs. Lupalo, impractical and to some extent impossible to maintain this separation between kitchen and *nsaka* ('Can you imagine *Ba Lupalo* sitting in the *nsaka* alone all evening and me sitting in the kitchen?'). She further pointed out that since nowadays husband and wife often sat together in the *nsaka* in the evenings, and often ate together, women have gained much more influence over decisions affecting the family and the farm.

These remarks by Mrs. Lupalo raised the issue of the relationship between gender and the control over certain spaces and access to certain arenas, which until that moment had not been part of my investigation. As a result, the relatively open research theme on issues relating to gender and farming was extended, and local concepts *nsaka* and *chiken*i (kitchen) were added to those from the literature in interpreting observa-

tions. So, starting from a relatively open and not very specified research theme (the relation between gender and farming) and a small observational base, I gradually moved to a more comprehensive conceptual framework for describing old as well as new observations. The research themes presented in the research proposal and my conceptual framework provided a starting point which I used to interpret observations (the researcher of course cannot start with anything else but his conceptual framework). But the two examples have shown that the observational and interactional process can lead to the formulation of new hypotheses, the adaptation of research themes and even the taking up of new themes. The same process may also yield new concepts that may help to interpret and explain (classify and compare) further observations. They may be concepts used by local actors themselves, concepts borrowed from the literature, or from other researchers. In some cases, however, when local concepts or other concepts derived from the literature or fellow researchers are not available to describe or analyze observations and (macro) processes, then the researcher may have to invent, to formulate new ones to help organize data in a new way and thus enable him to make new discoveries.

The main advantage of incorporating new concepts into the research during the fieldwork period is that the conceptual framework is extended and improved and therefore better able to deal with increasingly complex observational material (see also Williams 1988: 73-88). Baldamus calls this technique of continuously restructuring the conceptual framework, 'reciprocal double fitting' which he states:

'....may be envisaged by imagining a carpenter alternatively altering the shape of a door and the shape of the door frame to obtain a better fit, or a locksmith adjusting successively both the keyhole and the key. In one sense such a technique looks like deliberate falsification: the investigator simultaneously manipulates the thing he wants to explain as well as his explanatory framework.' (Baldamus 1972: 295; Williams 1988: 74-5).

According to Baldamus, this method ensures that both the conceptual framework as well as the discoveries it makes possible will seem to be more stable and established (Williams 1988: 82).

The hypotheses and original research themes with which researchers leave for the field should provide the starting point for their research and should not prevent them from taking up new issues or extending or altering initial ones. The new or adjusted themes, in their turn, should be considered as a new starting point which may also become subject to certain changes. Theories in the social sciences cannot be grounded only in empirical material, but are to some extent moulded by the themes, hypotheses and conceptual framework of the researcher. The willingness to adjust the original research themes and hypotheses and to adopt local concepts, hypotheses and theories enables the observer to formulate theories which are more adequately grounded empirically.

The survey

Quite frequently, surveys are carried out early in the fieldwork period. It is claimed that the main advantage of doing so is that, on the basis of the survey results, several 'representative cases' (individuals, households, farms etc.) can be selected from within the survey sample. The more detailed case studies which are subsequently conducted among these representative individuals or farms, mainly serve to provide illustrations for findings obtained with the survey.

This sequence, however, imposes several serious limitations upon the research because it is almost inevitable that the survey questions will be to a large extent informed by the conceptual framework, the categories and suppositions of the researcher, and derived from, or based upon, the original research themes. In other words, conducting a survey at the outset of the fieldwork makes it difficult to go beyond what is stated in the research proposal. Moreover, the researcher is unable to integrate into the questionnaire the major issues, change processes, concepts, categories, theories and research themes which are raised, discovered and developed in the course of the fieldwork. In this way the researcher, when designing the questionnaire, risks addressing issues which later turn out to be irrelevant. Furthermore, it is likely that the case studies, since they are not conducted to elicit certain practices and processes but merely to render illustrative material, will be severely restrained by the survey questions and results. In this research, therefore, the survey was conducted towards the end of the fieldwork period. In this way, several new issues and research themes, local classifications and concepts could be integrated in the questionnaire.⁹

Conclusions: actors, the researcher and the writing of texts

As maintained earlier, it is through the lifeworld shared with respondents and members of the community studied that the researcher is able to engage in what Habermas describes as communicative action. At the same time, the only way to conduct research, to understand and comprehend the actions of others, to gain (indirect) access to the personal and shared lifeworlds of those he is studying, is to become engaged in processes of communicative action. Since, as Giddens argues, the social sciences are confronted with a double hermeneutical task, the observer, according to Habermas, can only gain access to his data, ie. the object of his science, as a participant in the processes of reaching understanding (Habermas 1984: 110; Kunneman 1985: 40). This entails taking part in communicative processes during which shared understanding evolves. In other words, it demands the change-over from an objectivating to a performative attitude: 'The analysis of the "perception" of symbolic expressions makes clear how understanding meaning differs from perceiving physical objects: it requires taking up an intersubjective relation with the subject who brought forth the

expression.' (Habermas 1984: 111-2). According to Habermas, meanings, whether embodied in actions, institutions, products of labour, words, networks of cooperation, or documents, can be made accessible only from the inside. Lifeworlds are only accessible, that is, comprehensible, to subjects who make use of their competence to speak and act, to those who participate in communications with the members of the community under study and thus virtually become potential members themselves:

'In so proceeding, the social scientist has to draw on a competence and a knowledge that he has intuitively at his disposal as a layman. So long, however, as he does not identify and thoroughly analyze this pretheoretical knowledge, he cannot control the extent to which, and the consequences with which, he also influences as a participant - and thereby alters - the process of communication into which he has entered only to understand.' (Habermas 1984: 111-2).

Habermas, like Wittgenstein, argues that the meaning of expressions is dependent upon the conditions under which they are valid. But these conditions cannot be identified independently from the context in which these expressions occur. This means that if, in order to understand an expression: 'the interpreter must bring to mind the reasons with which the speaker (an actor) would if necessary and under suitable conditions defend its validity, he is himself drawn into the process of assessing validity claims.' (Habermas 1984: 115; Kunneman 1985: 42). This implies that (within the model of communicative action as compared with the teleological, normative and expressive models of action) the validity claims of actors are taken seriously. The ontological presuppositions of the researcher are therefore not considered to be more complex than those ascribed to the local actors themselves. This means that the researcher does not occupy a privileged position, he cannot any longer choose between the attitude of the observer and a performative attitude, but places his own interpretations on the same level as the actions and expressions of the actors themselves. The fact that the researcher is taking part in the same communicative actions (and structures) as the local actors themselves also answers the question of whether there can be objectivity within the social sciences:

'If the social scientist has to participate virtually in the interactions whose meanings he wants to understand, and if, further, this participation means that he has implicitly to take a position on the validity claims that those immediately involved in communicative action connect with their utterances, then the social scientist will be able to link up his own concepts with the conceptual framework found in the context of action only in the same way as laymen themselves do in the communicative practice of everyday life.' (Habermas 1984: 120-1).

Carrying out research and communicating with respondents during a certain period of time necessarily means the further expansion of the lifeworld which is shared by the researcher and his informants. Habermas rightly concluded that the researcher as a participant necessarily influences the communication process which s/he has entered. This means that all anthropological research, the creation of a shared lifeworld between researcher and members of the community under research, necessarily involves a kind of intervention: an intervention into the lives, the personal lifeworlds of certain local actors by the researchers and *vice versa*. If no research is possible without intervention,

then there is no reason why the researcher should maintain a kind of positivistic/objectivistic attitude by trying to intervene as little as possible and make himself invisible. As I have shown, there are several advantages in a researcher conducting research by experimenting with different techniques that involve different degrees and intensities of intervention. The use of the Repertory Grid Technique, for instance, involves relatively little intervention as compared with interviewing, in the sense that actors are not forced to express themselves in the categories of the researcher. Answering the questions of local actors, and confronting them with one's own work or the writings of other authors, involves a much higher degree of intervention, since, especially in the latter case, respondents are asked to relate previously unknown discourses, concepts, theories and ethnographic material to their own situation. Local actors, as we have seen, also intervene, introducing 'local' discourses, concepts, categories and theories that may be used to select new cases or become an integral part of the case studies and of our text, and are used to modify and adapt some of the research themes.

Acknowledging that meaning can only be grasped by taking part in communicative processes and that anthropological research always thus involves mutual intervention by researcher and researched opens up the way to exploit more fully the opportunities these interventions may present. Anthropological research could be much improved if it were seen as involving - and if it were directed towards creating - an exchange and discussion of ideas, concepts and theories between the researcher and the members of the community or group under study.

According to Knorr-Cetina, some authors (such as Winch 1983) hold the view that sociological explanations are exhausted by actors' explanations, while others seem to draw more upon Schutz's two-stage model of sociological methodology, according to which: 'Actions must first be described, and understood in terms of actors' meanings after which they can be explained by concepts meaningful to the analyst and the audience.' (Knorr-Cetina 1981: 18). The methods I have suggested in this chapter are able to dissolve this distinction to some extent. Allowing for the discussion and adoption of local discourses, concepts and theories, and of the (possible) connections that exist between certain contexts of action and the conceptual framework found in these contexts, and for the concepts and theories introduced through the reading of anthropological texts, means granting local actors a more active role in the construction of the analysis, the higher level constructs (or what Goffman describes as being higher levels of reflexive consciousness, see Collins 1988: 62), which will eventually become part of the text, the research report. The role a particular individual will eventually play in the construction of a case study, in both its ethnography and its analysis, is to some degree bounded by that individual's non-verbal actions as observed by the researcher, and by the content and the level of abstraction of the conversations recorded. Apart from the comments upon certain anthropological texts, the analysis made by local actors can be related to a large variety of other issues. In Nchimishi, for example, respondents were asked to describe and analyze certain contexts of action or their own situation (which could include descriptions of their farm, household, networks and other social relations, their position vis-à-vis particular individuals or groups, the opportunities and

constraints they perceived, the resources they had or did not have access to, etc.), and relate these to their own actions, theories, values, norms, and objectives. On some occasions, informants were asked to provide their analysis regarding certain aspects of the personal or shared lifeworlds and certain actions of other individuals or groups, and to compare these with their own ideas, theories and actions. Respondents were also invited to portray and comment upon a particular phenomenon, event or concrete case of social action recorded either by me or by themselves.

The analysis made by local actors should be seen as an extension and improvement of situational analysis and the extended-case method (Mitchell 1956; Turner 1957; Van Velsen 1964), since local actors can place an event, issue or discussion in local discourses or representations and in their historical and spatial context. Evaluating cases with local actors helps the researcher to decide whether they are unique, or whether they reflect more generally what is taking place or changing in the community or region. They may also provide additional information with regard to the meaning which can be attributed to certain statements or actions. Furthermore, respondents can explain why, in their view, contradictions exist between what has been stated by individuals or the members of a particular family or religious group, and some of their non-verbal actions. They may also provide additional information and explain the contradictions and discrepancies which often appear to exist between social practice and what is prescribed by particular norms, traditions and ideologies, thus leading to a better understanding of their meaning and how they influence behaviour. They may also help to explain why and to what extent certain new patterns of behaviour in turn have an effect upon certain social forms or their reproduction.

While engaging in communicative action, actors often do not feel the need to state and specify in detail the knowledge, the models, the values, norms, goals or resources they share or assume they share with others. Instead they tend to formulate partial statements, situationally relevant statements or give only the answers to the questions of the researcher (Holy and Stuchlik 1981: 22-3). These statements may, however, only reflect and thus only reveal parts of models, values, norms and theories. When evaluating a particular discussion or statement with local actors, the researcher can obtain a better picture since respondents may be asked to provide detailed descriptions both of their models, values, and theories, and of the contexts in which they are usually invoked or refer to.

The last question we must address is that of the role left for the anthropologist, apart from recording and transmitting to the reader what people say or do and the reasons or justifications they provide for their behaviour or the behaviour of others. In other words, is the researcher in a position, as the Schutz two-stage model suggests, to add his own conclusions, to build his own analysis upon the ones provided by local actors? Is the anthropologist in a position, is he allowed, to criticize the comments and theories of his respondents by offering alternative explanations, or by presenting some of the quantitative data gathered? Habermas suggests an answer to these questions. According to him:

These same structures [of communication] also simultaneously provide the critical means to penetrate

a given context, to burst it open from within and to transcend it; the means, if need be, to push beyond a *de facto* established consensus, to revise errors, correct misunderstandings, and the like. The same structures that make it possible to reach an understanding also provide for the possibility of a reflective self-control of this process. It is this potential for critique built into communicative action itself that the social scientist, by entering into the contexts of everyday action as a virtual participant, can systematically exploit and bring into play outside these contexts and against their particularity.' (Habermas 1984: 120-1).

Habermas further states that:

'The social-scientific interpreter, in the role of an at least virtual participant, must in principle orient himself to the same validity claims to which those immediately involved also orient themselves; for this reason, and to this extent, he can start from the always implicitly shared, immanent rationality, take seriously the rationality claimed by the participants for their utterances, and at the same time critically examine it. In thematizing what the participants merely presuppose and assuming a reflective attitude to the interpretandum, one does not place oneself outside the communication context under investigation; one deepens and radicalizes it in a way which is in principle open to all participants.' (Habermas 1984: 130).

Several conclusions can be drawn from these statements which support remarks made earlier in this chapter. If the potential for critique is built into communicative action itself, and if thematizing and assuming a reflective attitude is open to the researcher, and in principle to all participants, then also the actors themselves are able on the basis of their own knowledge to criticize the concepts, the interpretations and validity claims of the researcher. It also means that, like the researcher, actors are able to transcend the particularity of everyday life, for instance, by comparing themselves or their group with others, with other groups, or by analyzing passages from the literature and comparing them with certain local phenomena, situations and events. Taking part in communicative action, ascribing to the actors the same judgemental competence, opening up one's own work and some of the literature, means exposing our interpretations and the interpretations of other authors in principle to the same critique to which communicative agents must mutually expose their interpretations. I should quickly add, however, that including actors' analysis in the report, or the opening up of some of the literature to them, does not create a symmetrical situation or encounter and it does not turn local actors into co-authors of the text, since it is the researcher who selects the passages to be discussed and thus in a way (whether he wants it or not) controls the access to the literature. Furthermore, it is also the researcher who decides which statements, which analysis he will include in his report. The fact that room is left for 'local' concepts, new research themes, the analysis of the actors themselves, the fact also that local categories and classifications are being used to select cases, does not mean that the researcher, the ethnographer, disappears or is reduced to someone who is merely transmitting information from the field to the reader. It is the researcher who writes up his findings, who decides on the research methodology and techniques, who formulates and reformulates the research themes, who composes the bibliography and selects passages for discussion with respondents or for constructing his analysis. It is the researcher who raises new questions and issues during discussions, who selects cases

and constructs case studies and decides what to leave in or out. It is the researcher who, on the basis of partial, contradictory, situational relevant and descriptive statements, constructs folk models. Furthermore, it is the researcher who is faced with the aggregation problem, with finding out the extent to which his detailed, micro-level information, and the analysis based upon it, can be said to apply to larger sections of the local population, or to reflect more general processes of change. In other words, it is up to the researcher to assess the extent to which certain models are shared or not shared by larger sections of the population, and the extent to which particular practices are indicative of, or reflect, large-scale change processes. Although discussing his case studies with local actors can help the researcher to obtain an insight into the relation between these case studies and certain macro-processes, he nevertheless may feel the need to collect quantitative data (for instance by carrying out a survey) to support and generalize his own findings and those of his respondents.

Since all research activities involve acts of interpretation and the making of choices, and since it is the researcher who decides what room is given to the local actors, s/he is bound to play a very active role in the research. Furthermore, although as a result of their engagement in communicative action researchers will enlarge their personal lifeworlds and adopt local concepts, classifications and theories, or construct new ones, they cannot escape their own cultural backgrounds and conceptual frameworks. Since phenomena pertaining to the 'outside world' are perceived against the background of the personal lifeworld, but at the same time become part of that lifeworld, a researcher's work will necessarily reflect old (pre-fieldwork) as well as new concepts, categories and theories, which s/he may have adopted from respondents or which are the result of her or his own reflections. But what is more, in most cases the researcher may not even want to detach her or himself from her or his own background, her or his own 'school of thought'. This is because s/he considers a particular analytical approach to be useful, or certain research themes or concepts to be important; or because s/he believes that some macro-processes, some of the unintended outcomes of action cannot sufficiently be described or explained by sole reference to 'local' conceptual frameworks; or because s/he may wish, as I do, to locate findings in current debates, which means that observations have to be analyzed against the background of particular hypotheses and theories, a process which often requires making use of certain concepts, a certain jargon and ways of presentation which are characteristic of the academic world.

Notes:

1. The *Collins Dictionary of Sociology* defines witchcraft and sorcery as 'the use of Magic in an attempt to achieve ends which are socially disapproved, e.g. harmful to the victim'. It further points out that a distinction is often made between the two. 'For Evans-Pritchard (1937), in *witchcraft* the powers claimed or alleged are typically seen as "inherent" and portrayed as pervasive in the individual, whilst in *sorcery* these powers are regarded as learned and are usually more specific.' (See also Johnson 1971: 416.) Since the term 'witchcraft', as used in Nchimishi, covered both witchcraft and sorcery, it has been retained in this text.
2. As Merleau-Ponty pointed out: 'We never cease living in the world of perception, but we go beyond it in critical thought almost to the point of forgetting the contribution of perception to our idea of truth.' (Merleau-Ponty 1964: 3).
3. According to Habermas, actors who are engaged in 'communicative action' attempt against the background of their shared lifeworld to reach a common understanding regarding elements pertaining to 'objective reality', 'social reality' and the inner life of the actors involved in the communication process. Habermas compares 'communicative action' with, among other things, 'strategic action' during which actors attempt to realize their own objectives and do not aim at reaching a common understanding (see also Habermas 1984: 84-102).
4. Although I separate action and meaning analytically, in practice it is often difficult to separate them since the meaning which is assigned to the natural and social world which surrounds the actor can only be elicited from his actions, which of course include his verbal expressions.
5. This description is largely based on Easterby-Smith (1975), and Karst and Groult (1977).
6. For example, when discussing the selection of cases, I pointed out that conversations with farmers about the economic relationship between husband and wife resulted in the selection of a number of cases which, as far as agricultural production and consumption are concerned, were all characterized by a different form of cooperation and/or separation between husband and wife. On the basis of these cases and case studies, the following three survey questions were formulated, that contain categories which reflect the variety encountered during the fieldwork.

Who in this household have their own (separate) fields or gardens of:

- 1) Millet
- 2) Maize
- 3) Beans
- 4) Vegetables.

What happens with the cash income derived from the sale of beans (choose more than one possibility if necessary)?

If working separately:

- A1) The money is used to support the whole family/household.
- A2) It's an individual income and each can decide how to spend his or her money.
- A3) The money is given to, and kept by, the husband.
- A4) The money is given to, and kept by, the wife.
- A5) The husband decides how to spend this money.
- A6) The wife decides how to spend this money.
- A7) Both decide.
- A8) Other possibilities / ask to specify.

If working together:

- B1) The money is used to support the whole family/household.
- B2) The money is divided between husband and wife.

- B3) The husband decides on the spending of the money.
- B4) The wife decides.
- B5) Both decide.
- B6) Other possibility / ask to specify.

Now repeat for maize.

Chapter 3

Cropping patterns and agricultural practices

Introduction

In this chapter I describe the intricate pattern of agriculture for the 1940's and 1950's and compare it with the agricultural practices that had evolved by the time of the restudy. Apart from giving the reader an insight into the agricultural practices of the inhabitants of the Nchimishi area, such an overview will facilitate the reading of the following chapters in which I discuss some social and economic consequences of agrarian change, and some factors which have given rise to major changes in the pattern of agriculture.

The cite me system

Traditionally, the Lala of the Serenje Plateau operated a type of axe agriculture, known as the 'small circle' *cite me* (plural: *fiteme*) system, for the production of their staple crop, finger millet (*eleusine coracana*), in combination with a system of hoe agriculture used to produce a large variety of subsidiary crops (Peters 1950; Long 1968: 12-3). Peters, who in the 1940's conducted a detailed study into the indigenous forms of agriculture practised among the Serenje Lala, described the *cite me* system of the Serenje Lala as follows:

"The name (*cite me*, H.S.) literally means "cutting place", and the area is devoted to the growing of finger millet (*Mawo*) by what has become known as the '*Chitemene* System' (from the corresponding Bemba name), the variant here used being known as the 'Southern' or 'Small circle *Chitemene* System'. The trees are felled at breast height (except for an occasional large or hard wooded tree, which is lopped) and the branches severed from the trunks and ranged over the ground for drying. This is done between May and July. When so dry as to be light enough to carry easily, but not so dry that there is wastage of leaf (about August and early September), the branches (*Fisaku*) are stacked, stems uppermost, in a neat and orderly manner in small circles (*Myunda*) or, where the nearby supply of branches is thought to be sufficient, in long narrow strips (*bacitwe camba* or, if very long, *bakulakula*). The burning is delayed until it is thought that the first rains are due, and in this way the minimum of ash is lost and the risk of weed seeds accumulating on the patch is negligible. In December, finger millet is broadcast in the ash patches, but an unsown border is left along the margin of each. In a few of the patches in some gardens two (or, less frequently, one or three) pumpkins or gourds are planted after the first rains in what is to be the unsown border of the patch. Very

occasionally a few castor oil seeds are planted. No cultivation is necessary. Harvesting is by cutting off the heads of the plants from April to June (a month earlier for the rarely sown *Luka* variety). The *fiteme* are made wherever areas suitable in extent and with sufficiently generated tree growth can be found. (Such a place is called *Uluwuvu*.) Thus *fiteme* may be made singly or, more often, in groups of from two to four (or sometimes more). The people of any one village have two or three or more such groups of *fiteme* at varying distances and in various directions from the village (the total number, on the average, being from eight to nine). A few *fiteme* are completely fenced or form part of a contiguous block of *fiteme* which is completely fenced, and some others are fenced only along that part of their border from which wild animals are expected. Such a fence is made by cutting a further belt of trees along the margin of the *citeme* and using the branches to make a barrier some six to nine feet high. Formerly all *fiteme* were fenced (and aerial photographs show the practice universal as late as 1930) but the lack of predatory animals renders it now unnecessary in most situations.' (Peters 1950: 7-8).¹⁾

During the cutting period, people lived away from their villages in temporary grass encampments (*nkutu*) built close to the cutting areas since the *citeme* gardens were usually several miles away from the permanent settlements (Long 1968: 12). After the harvest, the millet heads were packed down as tightly as possible in the grain bins (*butala*) made in or at the side of the *citeme*. Small quantities were collected by the women twice or three times a week for pounding at the village.

The *citeme* system of the Lala is regarded as a variant of the *citemene* system operated by the Bemba. Under the Bemba system, however, trees are not felled at breast height but are pollarded, and the branches are stacked for burning in large circles instead of small circles. Another characteristic of the Lala *citeme* system, when compared with similar cultivation methods operated by neighbouring peoples, is that the Lala only used the burned patches in the *fiteme* for one single crop of finger millet. Under the so-called 'Northern *Chitemene* System' various sequences of crops were grown on the single ash patch. Even in the closely related agriculture of the Mkushi Lala and the Swaka (though here finger millet was subsidiary) *myunda* were again used in the second season with an average total area of one-tenth of an acre and one-quarter of an acre per family for the Swaka and Western Lala, respectively. In addition to that, the Swaka left a much wider margin of approximately 1 metre around the circle where they planted pumpkins, gourds and fish poison plants at relatively close intervals. Among the Serenje Lala, the use of the borders of the ash patches was negligible (Peters 1950: 75-76).

Peters concluded that of all *citemene* systems the 'small circle' *citeme* method appeared to be the most primitive, and he found it difficult to imagine a simpler agricultural method (Peters 1950: 72). The main advantage of the *citeme* system, in Peters' view, was that the finger millet crop could be grown in situations and on soils that would otherwise be quite impracticable for agriculture. The system also had a high degree of certainty of providing a good yield, and the only capital equipment required was an axe blade. Finally, the labour requirement was very low and discontinuous. The main disadvantage of the *citeme* system appeared to be its low carrying capacity. Under the *citeme* system, the critical carrying capacity is 2.24 persons per square kilometre. The average population density of Serenje District in the mid 1940's, however, was 2.8, rising to 3.16 in Chibale Chiefdom and to 4.25 in Mailo Chiefdom. In this period,

therefore, woodlands were consumed at a phenomenal rate, and 75% of all trees felled had not fully regenerated. Peters calculated that under average conditions on the Serenje Plateau full regeneration of trees cut at breast height took at least 35 years, but he found that the average period between fellings was only 17 years (Peters 1950: 22-7). On the basis of these findings Peters concluded that the *citime* system was on the verge of collapse. From measurements of 44 *fitime*, Peters found that the average area of the *citime* was 7.5 hectares, and increasingly greater acreages of woodland would need to be cut to provide the same amount of ash as the trees themselves became smaller and smaller. A follow-up study carried out in 1958 showed that indeed the average woodland cut had increased to about 10.1 hectares.

Although the *citime* method stood at the heart of their agricultural system in the 1940's, the Serenje Lala also cultivated a wide variety of hoed gardens where such crops as sorghum, sweet potatoes, cassava, groundnuts, groundbeans, runner beans and cow peas were grown. The 1958 study showed that the area devoted to subsidiary gardens was inversely related to the size of *citime* cut (Smyth 1958). In Muchinka Chiefdom the average *citime* was 13.87 hectares and the average hoed garden, 0.405 hectares. In Kabamba Chiefdom, however, the *citime* only covered 6.67 hectares and the hoed gardens, 2.18 hectares. The figures for the southern part of Chibale were 9.97 hectares of *citime* as against 0.485 hectares of hoed gardens (Long 1968: 14-5). According to Peters, the continuing decline in the available supplies of finger millet would cause families to increase the size of hoed gardens where alternative staples such as sorghum, cassava and sweet potatoes were grown.

Long found in the early 1960's that 63.6% of the adult male population used only *citime* methods (Long 1968: 247), whereas in 1988 only 14.3% of all households used *citime* methods to cultivate finger millet. Many of these farmers, however, employed a somewhat modified version of the system which differs from the traditional method in that during the second season the area between the *myunda* is hoed and planted with finger millet, while the old ash patches are used for the cultivation of either another crop of finger millet or a crop like groundnuts.

Ploughed fields

The *citime* system has thus almost disappeared in Nchimishi, and on almost all farms the axe has given way to hoe and plough. A survey I conducted in November and December 1988 shows that more than 80% of all households included in the survey cultivated crops in ploughed flat acres²⁾ (*ama acre*). Not only are crops such as sunflower, groundnuts (*mbalala*), groundbeans (*ntoyo*), runner beans (*chilemba*) and cotton planted in such areas, but also staple food crops such as hybrid maize (*mataba*), sorghum (*masaka*), and finger millet (*mawo*). (7.5% of all households cultivated part of their bean crop on ploughed acres. The corresponding figures for maize and millet are 72.6% and 79.2%, respectively).³⁾ Apart from the second planting (called the

mabwela) of runner beans and cowpeas (*kashaba*) which takes place in February or March, all other crops are planted in the first months of the rainy season, generally in the period between early November and late January. The most important crop, hybrid maize, is usually sown with the first good rains (early November to December) with basal dressing applied at the same time. Hybrid maize, when cultivated on ploughed fields, is planted in various ways: behind the plough (by 71% of all farmers who cultivated the crop); in string furrows (27%); or using a planter (1%) ⁴.

With the rise of the plough and the hoe, millet has been partly replaced as the most important staple food by local maize varieties (Lala maize) but especially by hybrid maize (mainly the SR 52 variety). The 1988 survey showed that in 18% of all households maize was the staple food, while in 74.5% of households both millet and maize served as staples. Finger millet proved to be the staple in only 6.4% of households. The following observations made by one young farmer, Kaulenti Chisenga, reflect clearly the reactions I obtained from most respondents when they were asked to comment upon these changes:

'Maize *nchima* (porridge) has become our most important food. People here are not so interested in millet any more. The problem with millet is that it does not grow so well in a flat field. For example, you need two acres (0.81 ha., H.S.) to have enough to feed your family. But with hybrid maize one acre provides enough for both eating and selling. Millet, you cannot sell. That's why in December people prefer to work in their maize fields.

- But why do so many people still grow millet?

Because many prefer the taste of millet *nchima*. The old, in particular, like our traditional *nchima*. And millet is also used to brew *chipumu*, our traditional beer. And if the hammer mill breaks down (a frequent occurrence, H.S.) you can grind millet between stones, but you can't do that with maize. With maize you depend on the mill. Another thing is that in the rainy season millet does not rot as easily as maize. That's why some people here eat a lot of millet from January to May.' (E)

Another argument brought forward by many farmers in favour of the continued cultivation of finger millet is that millet fits well into their rotation scheme. Millet, they maintained, not only grows well in newly cleared acres but is able to 'eat away' the residual fertilizer which has accumulated in the soil after hybrid maize has been cultivated for a number of years.

Although finger millet is now cultivated in ploughed fields, the yields per hectare are considerably lower than under the *citeme* system. Farmers attribute this to the fact that in ploughed or hoed fields millet plants have to compete with weeds for fewer nutrients. In the *myunda*, however, the weed seeds have been burned and the ashes add the necessary fertility to the soil.

Until at least the 1970's, sorghum was grown in so-called *amabala* fields (singular: *ibala*). The land for these fields was cleared as for *citeme* and burnt circles called *fikuka* (singular: *cikuka*) were made as for finger millet. Sorghum, and sometimes millet, was planted in the burned patches in the first year. Between these patches, mounds (*mputi*, singular: *uluputi*) were made in November and December and were planted with either sorghum or other crops such as groundnuts or beans. Cassava roots were usually planted around the base of each mound. Later in the season the garden was sometimes extended by adding more mounds at the perimeter, the first of these being planted with

transplants obtained by thinning the early-sown sorghum. Other mounds were planted with runner beans or sweet potatoes. Such an extension was called *mikose* or *mikosa*. The next season, however, it lost its identity and became part of the *ibala*. At the beginning of the second season, sorghum was usually sown in the mounds. The *fikuka*, unless planted with perennating sorghum, were hoed into small mounds, named *bakaputya* (singular: *kaputya*), on which maize and sweet potatoes were generally planted. (This description of the *ibala* is based upon: Peters 1950: 9, and Long 1968: 13). At the time of the restudy, sorghum was mainly grown in ploughed or hoed fields. The usual procedure is for the seeds to be broadcast and then ploughed under. Farmers explained that they had stopped preparing *ibala* gardens mainly because this activity coincides with the operations related to hybrid maize. Since the introduction of hybrid maize in the late 1960's, sorghum has gradually become a less popular crop in Nchimishi. In 1988, sorghum was cultivated by 28% of all households. Many farmers complained that yields are low as compared with maize especially since the crop suffers a lot from attacks by birds, mainly redbilled quelea (*Quelea quelea*). Farmers who continued cultivating sorghum maintained, however, that the crop has the advantage that its cultivation does not require the use of fertilizer.

Although the traditional version of the *citeme* system is only practised by a small number of cultivators, a majority of the farmers in the Nchimishi area use *citeme* methods to clear and develop new acres. Usually, a rectangular piece of woodland is stumped (note that in this case trees are not felled at breast height) in the dry season, often in the period between April and August. In August or September, when dry enough to carry, the branches and tree stumps are stacked in long *bakulakula*, which are burned when the first rains are due. In November and December, finger millet is broadcast in these long patches, and pumpkins and occasionally water melons are sown near the border. Sometimes the land around the *bakulakula* is ploughed in the early rainy season, but usually farmers wait until they have finished working in their other fields. In most cases this so-called winter ploughing is done in March. According to farmers, winter ploughing facilitates ploughing in the next rainy season and gives grasses and leaves time to rot and thus to add fertility to the soil. The next rainy season, farmers then plough the whole perimeter, after which some of them plant finger millet ('the field is new so you won't get much grass between your millet'). Many farmers, however, prefer to plant hybrid maize⁵. In the following seasons these fields are usually planted with hybrid maize or finger millet, and in some cases with sunflower or sorghum. When soil fertility shows signs of decline, or when a field becomes infested with weeds, farmers often leave the field fallow for a number of years, or plant part of it with groundnuts or groundbeans. Sometimes part is converted into a mound garden and used for the cultivation of Lala maize, beans, cassava, or sweet potatoes (see Chapter 5 for more details on crop rotation schemes and fallow periods). After the fallow period, fields are usually cleared and winter-ploughed in order to prepare them for the next season.

According to many respondents, the fact that some millet still comes from *myunda* and *bakulakula* is not to be seen as a sign of backwardness or that the traditional *citeme* system is still alive, but has to be interpreted as a sign of progress since it shows that

seasons before the land is left fallow or turned into a *katobela* garden (the *katobela* is described later in this chapter). In 1988, 40% of all households in the survey sample cultivated *inkule* fields.

Mikose

Having finished the planting and weeding of other crops towards the end of the rainy season in March or April, many farmers prepare mounds or ridges on upland soil as distinct from *dambo* soil. (A *dambo* is a treeless, grassy and often swampy plain bordering seasonal or perennial watercourses. The water is often relatively high and there is often waterlogging in the lowest parts.) These mounds or ridges are called *mikose*. A *mikose* can be made on recently cleared land or on land that has remained fallow for some years, as well as on acres, *inkule* or *katobela* which were cultivated the year before. Sometimes the *mikose* is made as an extension of last season's *inkule*, acre or *katobela* (see also the earlier remarks made on the *ibala*). A *mikose* is usually planted with Lala maize, runner beans, sunflower, or hybrid maize. The latter crop, on which fertilizer is used, is often planted in the second and third season, whereas Lala maize or runner beans are frequently planted in the first season. Planting takes place a few weeks before, or just after, the start of the rainy season (mid-October). Some farmers, however, prepare their *mikose* early, that is in late February or early March, in order to sow their second crop of runner beans (the *mabwela*) which is harvested in April or May (the first crop is harvested in February and March). Most farmers who follow this practice argued that the extra fertility added to the soil by the beans results in a better maize harvest. Some farmers pointed out that, although it had been the Agricultural Assistants who had imparted the knowledge that beans plants added nitrogen to the soil, it had been common knowledge for a long time among farmers that cultivating runner beans helped to restore soil fertility. I found that some farmers later split their *mabwela* bean mounds and worked them into new mounds. Others, however, plant their maize in the same mounds. If *mabwela* beans are planted in *mikose*, farmers generally do not plant this crop again in the next October-November period since experience has shown that this second harvest of beans is usually disappointing.

During one of my conversations with him, Kaulenti Chisenga made the following remarks concerning *mikose* mounds in relation to cultivation in other gardens:

'*Mikose* is an old custom here. When we make *mikose* we cover the grasses with soil. The idea behind it is that you cannot sow seed between grasses and when you cover the grass, the soil becomes very fertile. This work is easy compared to *inkule* because the land between the ridges is not worked. And the soil is still soft. The disadvantage of *mikose* is that because of the ridges you can sow fewer seeds of maize or sunflower (per hectare, H.S.). *Mikose* is often the last work we do in the rainy season.

- But why do farmers make both, *mikose* and *inkule*?

People make *mikose* because at the end of the rainy season there is not much work to do. So they think: "Let me prepare for the next season because I have no place to plant the maize very early". *Mikose* is good, you can plant your maize very early, and the maize grows faster than in *katobela* because the maize is not disturbed by the beans.' (E)

After one or two seasons the *mikose* often loses its identity and becomes part of, or may be converted into, an acre, *inkule* or *katobela*. Some farmers may use an old *mikose* to plant *mabwela* beans. *Mikose* mounds were cultivated by 60.3 % of all households in the survey sample.

Katobela

The term *katobela* does not refer to a type of garden as such but refers to an activity: working in the dry soil with a hoe, splitting old mounds and making new ones. According to my research assistant, Mudala Chisenga:

'*Katobela* means destroying the old mounds, working in the hard soil. *Katobela* is not really the name of a garden; it's the name of a type of work, it means working in the dry soil, destroying the old mounds. But since all these gardens look the same, people often talk about their *katobela*.' (E)

In *katobela* gardens, sometimes referred to as *fisalika*, or *fisalika fya fitonga* (singular: *cisalika*), either Lala⁶ or hybrid maize and occasionally sunflower are interplanted with runner beans on mounds (see also Peters 1950: 9-10).⁷ The period during which *katobela* mounds are prepared ranges from August to January. Most farmers start preparing their *katobela* after finishing the processing and sale of their hybrid maize crop and after preparing their *imitipula* gardens, an activity which usually takes place in August and lasts until early September (the *mutipula* garden will be discussed later). In October and November, before or just after the first rains, usually two or three seeds of maize are planted in one hole together with five to eight beans. Most farmers prefer to finish the planting of their *katobela* before the start of the ploughing season. When the maize has reached a height of approximately 7 centimetres (and the beans a height of 10 centimetres), farmers will usually plant new seeds of maize where plants have either dried out, or been washed away by heavy rainfall. Apart from being prepared in the dry season, another characteristic feature of *katobela* gardens is that each new season the old mounds are crushed, split in half, and worked into new mounds in order to cultivate another crop of beans and maize. According to farmers, it is only possible to make mounds in the dry season if the soil is reasonably soft. *Katobela* gardens are therefore almost never made in recently cleared woodland: in addition to the land being difficult to work, the harvest of beans from virgin soil, or from land that has lain fallow for a number of years, is said to be disappointingly low.

Most farmers consider *katobela* to be one of their most important gardens since it is in this garden that, in addition to Lala maize, they grow hybrid maize for sale. The major importance of the garden lies, however, in the fact that it produces the bulk of the harvest of runner beans, Nchimishi's second cash crop and an important means of payment in the local barter trade. Notwithstanding the fact that farmers increasingly plant beans and maize in ploughed and hoed fields, the *katobela* garden has continued to gain in popularity over the past decade. In 1988, *katobela* gardens were cultivated by 97.3 % of all households included in the survey, and a large majority of all adult men and women jointly or individually cultivated maize and beans in *katobela*. The *katobela*

is especially popular among the younger generation of farmers who stand at the outset of their career and who lack financial resources. Since beans, contrary to hybrid maize, do not require the use of chemical fertilizer, their cultivation in combination with Lala maize offers these farmers the opportunity to earn a cash income without having to purchase inputs. For the more settled farmers also, the *katobela* remains an important source of income, and richer, commercially-oriented farmers sometimes employ outside labour to help them with their *katobela*: areas covered can exceed one hectare. In recent years there is a tendency for Lala maize to be replaced by hybrid maize in *katobela* because hybrid maize is both a food and cash crop, whereas local maize varieties are mainly cultivated for home consumption. At most farms, however, the *katobela* remains an important supplier of basic foodstuffs, providing households with fresh maize and runner beans during the hunger months (late February to early April). The seven different *katobela* gardens I measured ranged in size between 0.05 and 1.4 hectares. Depending on the condition of the soil, it may take an adult man or woman between twenty-two and thirty days to prepare a *katobela* of one hectare.

Until the 1950's and the 1960's, *katobela* gardens (see also Peters' description of the *cisalika*, Peters 1950: 9-10) were mostly made on the upper slopes, the drier parts of the *dambos*, or on upland soil near and on the sides of anthills (the cultivation on the flat tops of anthills was called *fiulu*, singular: *culu*) where the soil was considered to be equally fertile. According to farmers, the introduction of hybrid maize and fertilizer in the late 1960's has resulted in the extension of *katobela* operations, but also in a gradual shift in location away from *dambo* and anthill (see Figure 3.1).

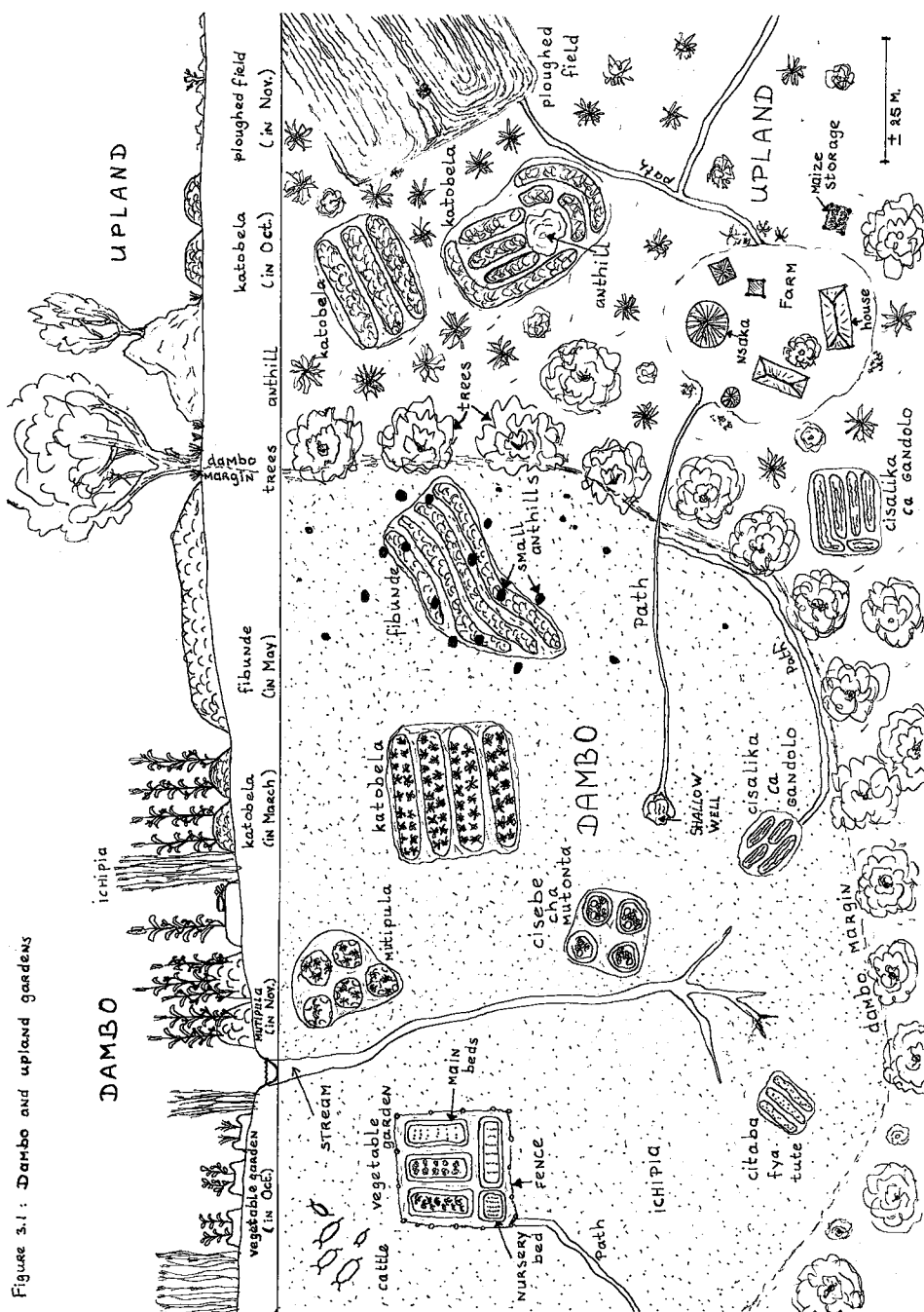
One farmer, Zebron Bulwani, explained this process as follows:

'In the past, people made *katobela* near streams and near anthills, where there is a lot of *ichipia* (tall elephant grass, H.S.) because the soil is very fertile there. But now most *katobela* can be found on the land (on upland soils, H.S.). This change has come as a result of fertilizer. If you apply fertilizer you do not have to make your *katobela* in the *dambo*. And even if you do not use any fertilizer you can expect a good harvest of beans and maize (Lala maize, H.S.).

- But why do farmers make *katobela* on upland soils nowadays?

More people became interested in making *katobela* because there is money in beans and maize. So it has become difficult to find enough land in the *dambo*. And then many people keep their cattle in the *dambo* and, if herdsboys do not take care, the animals can destroy your maize. (L)

Other respondents offered another explanation and stated that farmers had started cultivating their *katobela* 'on the land' because, as land became more scarce along the *dambo* due to the extension of *katobela* operations and population growth, the experiments of some farmers had gradually made large sections of the farming population aware that, although less fertile than the soils found in *dambos* or near anthills, upland soils were also sometimes reasonably fertile and could, therefore, be opened up for cultivation⁹.



After a number of years (often between three and six, the length of the cultivation period depending on the fertility of the soil and whether or not fertilizer has been used) a *katobela* may be left to lie fallow, or may be converted into a ploughed field or *mikose*. As previously mentioned, many farmers considered that the cultivation of beans and the working in of grasses tend to make the soil fertile and suitable for the ploughed cultivation of hybrid maize.

The citaba garden

The main crop in *citaba* gardens (plural: *fitaba*) is cassava (*tute*). *Citaba* gardens, in the past as well as at the time of the restudy, were almost invariably found on *dambo* margins or even on the drier upper slopes within the *dambo*. Occasionally *fitaba* were found on upland soil near the *dambo* (see also Peters 1950: 10 and Long 1968: 13). Cassava, which is planted in the period January-April (and during March in particular) or in November, has a long maturation period of eighteen months and its life span usually coincides with that of the garden, individual roots being dug up from time to time as required without destroying the remainder of the plant⁹. Some farmers saw advantages in the long maturation period of the crop and had planted cassava on upland soil in order to create a kind of boundary between their land and that their neighbours. In 1988, cassava was cultivated by 69.3% of all households included in the survey. The crop is mostly grown for home consumption and is only rarely sold to other farmers or traders from the Copperbelt.

Cisalika ca kandolo

What has been said about the size of *fitaba* in comparison with the *katobela* also applies to some extent to the hoed gardens where sweet potatoes (*kandolo*) are cultivated, the *fisalika fya kandolo*. These gardens are generally located on the higher, drier parts of *dambo*s. Sweet potatoes are considered to be an important food crop but are marketed on a very small scale only¹⁰.

Sweet potatoes, cultivated by 98.2% of all households included in the survey, are planted in January and February and harvested in July, August and September. These sweet potato gardens are often cultivated for at least two years with a maximum of five consecutive seasons. No fertilizer is used on sweet potatoes.

Hoed gardens planted with groundnuts or groundbeans

On upland soil and along the *dambo* many farmers also maintain small mound gardens where they cultivate such crops as groundnuts and groundbeans. These mounds are sometimes made in old acres, (*katobela*, *inkule* or *mikose*). After several years of cultivation (often between two and five years) these gardens may be left fallow, be converted into a *katobela* or become part of an acre. In 1988, groundnuts and groundbeans, respectively, were cultivated by 83.8% and 64.8% of all households included in the survey. The size of the gardens I measured ranged between 0.03 and

0.13 hectares for the gardens planted with groundnuts, and between 0.01 and 0.04 hectares for mounds planted with groundbeans.

Mabwela: the second crop

In *mabwela* mounds, either cowpeas (*kashaba*) or runner beans are the chief crops. Pumpkins (*fipushi*) and cassava may be planted around the base of each mound. Sweet potatoes may also be planted along the border of each bed. As in the case of *katobela*, the term *mabwela* (which literally means 'coming') refers to an activity, namely the planting and harvesting of the second crop (of beans), or what is called 'the second work'. *Mabwela* mounds are often made in old acres, *inkule*, and *mikose*. Sometimes they are made in an old *katobela* which has lain fallow for two or three years. I also found *mabwela* beans or cowpeas being planted on land which had been cleared the previous dry season. The making of mounds and the planting takes place towards the end of the rainy season, in February and March. Sometimes farmers use the beans they harvested a few weeks earlier from their *mutipula* and *katobela* gardens, but most farmers prefer to use seeds from the previous year's *katobela* and *mabwela* harvest. The *mabwela* crop does not necessarily require cultivation on mounds, and some farmers use a plough to prepare the land. If the plough is used, farmers usually wait one or two weeks before they start planting, to allow the grass to rot. The *mabwela* crop, apart from providing households with an additional supply of food, is also cultivated with the objective of having a sufficient quantity of high quality seed for the next season's *katobela*¹¹. At most farms, *mabwela* gardens were small when compared with *katobela* gardens, in most cases ranging somewhere between 0.05 and 0.30 hectares. After a number of years of cultivation, or even at the end of the first season, gardens or fields where *mabwela* crops were cultivated may be converted into an acre. Some farmers saw the making of *mabwela* mounds as a way of gradually extending their acreage under cultivation. It is not common to convert *mabwela* mounds into a *katobela* garden since farmers have found that the beans harvested from these *katobela* are usually disappointing. Sometimes *mabwela* mounds are used later in the year for the cultivation of Lala maize or hybrid maize. *Mabwela* beans and/or cowpeas were cultivated by 78.4% of all households.

Cibunde

Fibunde (singular: *cibunde*) are large beds of variable length. Some beds are up to 100 metres long, 3 metres wide and 1 metre high (see also Plates 3.1 and 3.2). They are always made on the upper slopes of the *dambos* (see Figure 3.1). The beds are mainly used for Livingstone potatoes (*mumbu*), but cassava is sometimes planted in a single line along the border of the bed. The beds are prepared in April and May, and the harvest takes place in March or April the following year. Each year the *cibunde* beds are made at a new location, and old beds may lie fallow for as long as twenty-five years. In the past, the *fibunde* were regarded as the particular property of the women, but nowadays men can also be seen assisting their wives or preparing their own beds. At the time of

the restudy, *cibunde* beds were cultivated by 67.6% of all households. According to most respondents, Livingstone potatoes have lost some of their popularity and are cultivated by fewer households than a few decades ago, as they are considered to be of low nutritional value; their cultivation utilizes more 'power' than the crop provides; suitable land is difficult to find over the last few decades due to population density; and the crop has no sale value, it serves only as food.

The mutipula garden

Imitipula (singular: *mutipula*) are made on seepage sites within the *dambo*; maize and runner beans are the chief crops. In *mutipula* gardens these crops are mainly grown for home consumption. Some of the minor crops cultivated in *mutipula* gardens are *impwa* (I was unable to trace the English or Latin name), wild cucumber, and hemp (*daka*). *Imitipula* gardens are usually prepared in July, August and September. The *dambo* grass is hoed into large mounds. Sometimes when the grass is very tall it is cut first and then covered with heavy lumps of wet *dambo* soil. The mounds usually measure between 0.6 and 0.9 metres in height, 3 to 4 metres in length and 1 to 2 metres in width. After the mounds have been prepared, maize and runner beans are sown¹²⁾. As in the *cibunde cha mutonta*, a garden which will be discussed later, and in contrast to the crops cultivated in all other gardens, the maize in the *mutipula* garden is sown and reaped early, for the wetness of the soil obviates dependence on the main rains for the growing season. The main reason farmers have for cultivating *imitipula* is the provision of a harvest of maize and beans during the hunger months. *Imitipula* were cultivated by 68.5% of all households included in the survey. Women and men who did not cultivate this type of garden were often those who had no access to land in the nearby *dambos*. Some farmers argued that they had stopped cultivating *imitipula* since neighbouring farmers' cattle had caused considerable damage to their crops. As the seepage sites within the *dambo* are usually covered with green grasses until late in the dry season, the ever-increasing number of cattle in the area is often herded in the *dambos* from August until November.

The cisebe garden

According to many respondents, *fisebe* (singular: *cisebe*) used to be very popular in the past throughout Serenje District. By the 1950's and the 1960's, however, *cisebe* gardens had become less popular in the Nchimishi area and had been replaced by *mutipula* and *katobela* gardens¹³⁾. At the time of the restudy, 20.4% of farmers cultivated *fisebe*. There existed two types of *cisebe*¹⁴⁾ in Nchimishi, namely the *cisebe cha mutonta* and the *cisebe cha nfula*. The *cisebe cha mutonta*, like the *mutipula*, is made on seepage sites within the *dambos*. Lala maize, beans and pumpkins are the major crops.

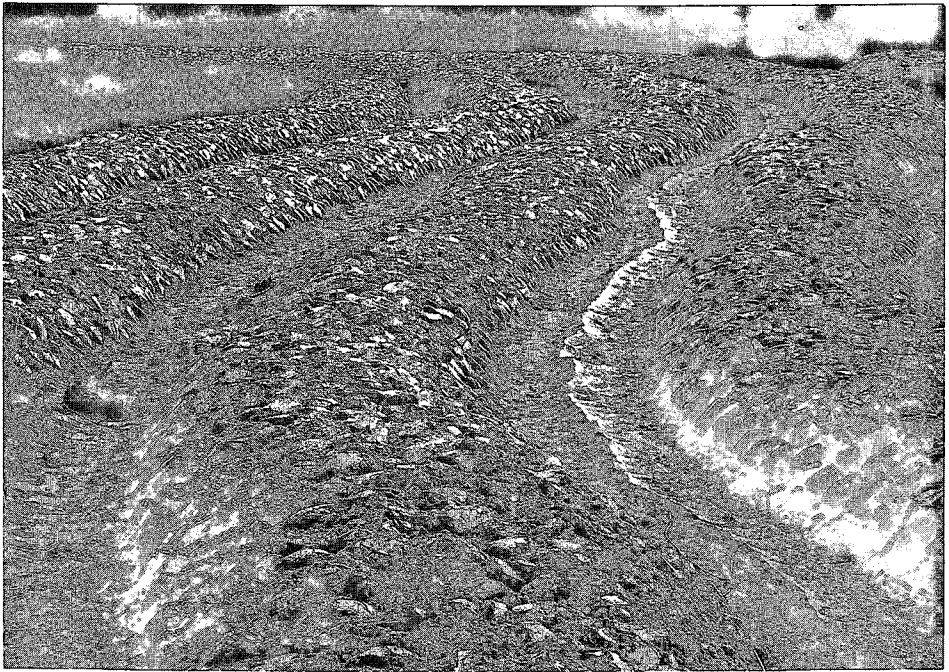
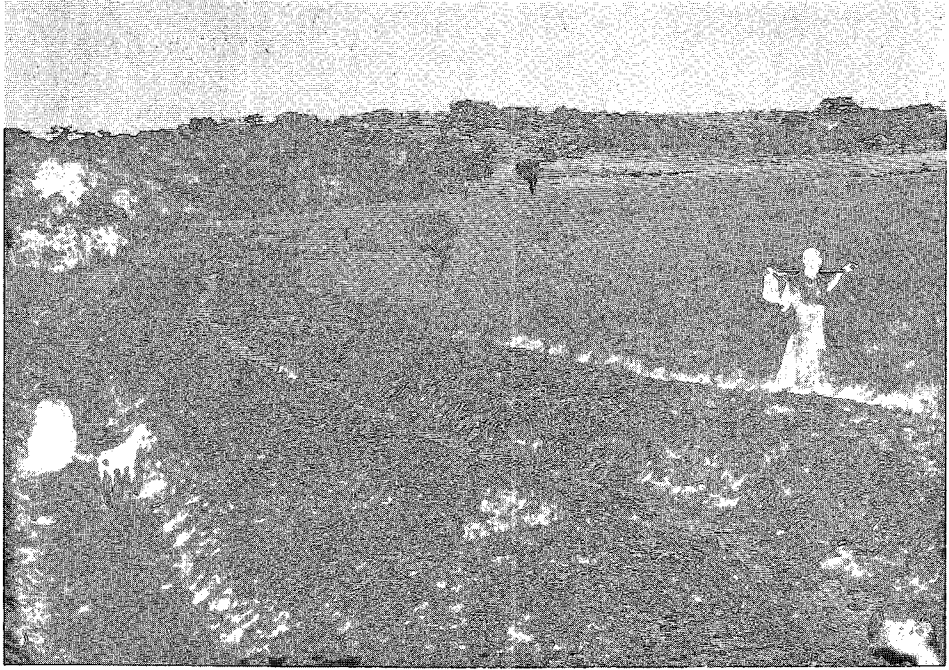
The vegetable garden

The cultivation of vegetable gardens is a relatively recent phenomenon in Nchimishi, and in recent years an increasing number of younger men have specialized in the cultivation of such crops as tomatoes, onions, rape, cabbage, carrots and Irish potatoes. In 1988, vegetable gardens were cultivated by 39.6% of all households included in the survey. Vegetable gardens are usually cultivated on the higher or lower slopes of the *dambo* (see Figure 3.1). I met a few farmers who stated that they had searched the *dambo* for a place that was located near an anthill, because they had heard, or had found themselves, that such a site was best suited for the cultivation of vegetables. Contrary to the other gardens I have described, the cultivation of vegetable gardens is not restricted to a particular time of the year, to particular seasons. Some farmers prepare their nursery and main beds in July, but others start in August or September and a few even after the first rains in October or November. Gardens located in the lower parts of the *dambo* are usually cultivated in the dry season, whereas gardens on the higher slopes are used for the production of vegetables during the rainy season. A few farmers cultivated their gardens the whole year round. As regards the watering of vegetable gardens, we can discern two methods in Nchimishi: hand irrigation and furrow irrigation. Farmers with relatively small vegetable gardens in most cases use a bucket or watering can to water their plants and take water from the stream or from a hand dug well. The small number of farmers who maintained relatively large gardens, with an area of 0.08 hectares or more, all made use of furrow irrigation and had tapped perennial streams. Two of them had even constructed dams in streams and had dug long furrows of between 200 and 500 metres. Farmers who water their plants by hand often make beds of approximately 10 to 40 centimetres in height. Those who make use of furrow irrigation make much lower beds. Farmers who cultivate gardens during the rainy season also tend to make relatively high beds in order to provide for better drainage (see also Chapter 6).

In *dambo*s where large numbers of cattle are herded, farmers often construct fences around their gardens. These fences, however, do not always offer enough protection against a hungry herd.

Some vegetable growers use fertilizer in their gardens, but a majority prefer to use a mixture of chicken droppings and soil. Some farmers do not use fertilizer in their garden because they believe that this attracts insects. Some of the largest vegetable growers use insecticides and pesticides. Vegetable seeds are purchased in Serenje or Mkushi townships, but some farmers go as far as Kabwe or Lusaka to buy imported seeds from South Africa which, although much more expensive, are said to be 'stronger' than seeds produced by ZAMSEED.

Vegetables are grown for home consumption as well as for sale. Since vegetables are in high demand but cultivated by only a minority of the farmers, most vegetable growers are able to sell their produce locally. A few large-scale cultivators take their vegetables to Serenje, where they are sold at the market, to restaurants, the secondary school or the teacher training college.



Plates 3.1 and 3.2 *Fibunde* beds

In Nchimishi, many farmers have no knowledge of vegetable cultivation, despite the fact that information can easily be obtained from farmers who do cultivate vegetables. Horticulture is certainly not popular among all farmers in Nchimishi, not because it demands starting capital, but mainly because a vegetable garden requires a lot of care and attention. According to George Mukosha, one of the most successful market gardeners in Nchimishi:

'A garden needs a lot of attention. You need to make a nursery and main beds, you must transplant seedlings, fight diseases, collect chicken droppings and you need to water your plants, or check your furrow and keep it open. You have to check that cattle are not destroying your tomatoes and that people are not stealing. When you finish sowing maize and beans in *katobela* you can forget about them, the rain will take care of your plants, but you have to think about your garden every day. That's why many do not want to have their own garden. They do not want to make time to go to their garden every day. Those who go to beer parties do not want to leave their beer just to go and water their garden; they just waste their time watering the bushes. But these people do not think about their future; they have no other plans apart from drinking beer or smoking *daka*. They do not think about providing relish (see Glossary, H.S.) for their families. But the cost of living is getting higher, and vegetables can bring you money and relish. Some of my friends have tried to make their own gardens. The work looks easy but is difficult. I have seen many who, after transplanting, forgot to water their plants every day. Their plants withered and after that they stopped making a garden.' (L)

According to Kaulenti Chisenga, there are several explanations as to why relatively few farmers in Nchimishi cultivate a vegetable garden:

'First of all, some do not know how to make a garden. Others have no nice place to make a garden near to their farm. Some have a nice place but also a lot of cattle. Some do not know how to make a garden and how to plan, how to make a timetable. They only know how to make money with maize and beans. Others do not want to work every day; they do not want to fight insects, lice, cattle and thieves. They do not want to go to the garden in the early morning or at sunset. Some men think relish is a problem for the women, that it's not their responsibility.' (E)

Fruit trees

Like vegetable gardens, fruit trees are also a relatively recent phenomenon in Nchimishi. In the 1940's, apart from bananas, fruit trees were hardly found in the villages. There are no reports of fruits such as mango, paw-paw, oranges, guava and passion fruit being cultivated in the Nchimishi area in this period. Peters in his report advises the introduction of fruit trees near all the more permanent centres of population (e.g. schools, courts and villages), within the framework of programmes and measures aimed at the long-term improvement of the farming system of Serenje District (Peters 1950: 77-86). Many of the ex-migrants I interviewed stated that they had become accustomed to eating and growing various fruits when working on the Copperbelt in the 1930's and the 1940's. Nevertheless, after their return to Nchimishi they had not decided to grow fruit. They explained their attitude by pointing out that the *citeme* system, which involved the movement of villages every five to ten years or so (see also

Peters 1950: 51-4), was incompatible with the growing of fruit. Also, the system of kinship and inheritance was responsible for the frequent fission of villages and the establishment of new ones (Long 1968: 80-131). According to these respondents, it was only after major changes occurred in the pattern of settlement - resulting in the disappearance of almost all villages and the establishment of farms frequently composed of the conjugal family - and only after farmers had changed over to more permanent forms of agriculture, that the growing of fruit became feasible. Some respondents believed that the growing of fruit has also received an impetus from the fact that from the 1960's onwards children attending the Nchimishi primary school have learned to appreciate various fruits and how to grow them. Fruit is indeed very popular among children, and most mangoes and guavas are eaten by them, often before they are ripe. Although the growing of a range of fruit is gradually becoming more common (especially among Jehovah's Witnesses), many farmers do not seem to have much interest in this activity and limit themselves to the cultivation of bananas. I found only a few farmers with orchards where they cultivated oranges for sale (see also Chapters 5 and 12, for more details on the cultivation of fruit).

The woodlands and the dambo

In addition to the crops they cultivate, the inhabitants of Nchimishi also gather certain foodstuffs and other necessities from the woodlands and *dambo* areas which surround their farms. Farmers of course cut and collect firewood; the bark of certain trees is used to make ropes; and parts of other trees are used to make medicines. The roots of certain bushes are used to make a kind of soft drink which is called *munkoyo*. Mushrooms, wild fruits and caterpillars, for instance, are collected from the forest and form an important part of the diet at certain times of the year. The *dambo* areas provide farmers not only with water but also with grasses and reeds which are used for thatching roofs. In addition, the hunting of small game, such as duikers, often takes place in the *dambos*.

Conclusions

Peters believed it to be very likely that the continued decline in the available supplies of finger millet would force families to extend the size of their hoed gardens in order to provide for their staple requirements. This compulsion to devote more time and effort to new staples such as sorghum and cassava would, in turn, force farmers to reduce the amount of labour devoted to crops subsidiary to those chosen as staples, because unlike the cultivation of finger millet under the *citeme* system, the cultivation of cassava and sorghum in hoed gardens more or less clashes with the cultivation of these subsidiary

crops.

In other words, according to Peters, families in Serenje District would, as a response to the continuing decline of the *citeme* system, start making fewer different types of gardens and increase the size of those types made. Unless a favourable market made the extra effort necessary for their cultivation worth while, Peters argued, a reduction would occur in the acreage under the remaining subsidiary crops. Apart from the fact that maize, and not sorghum or cassava, has become the new staple it definitely seems as if Peters has drawn the right conclusion. As I show in the following chapters, hoed agriculture has become increasingly important in recent decades, this despite the introduction of the plough. It was calculated in 1958 that the average area devoted to hoed gardens in the southern part of Chibale was approximately 0.5 hectares. An IRDP report on Chief Chibale's area shows that in the 1982-1983 season the average size of hoed garden was more than 2.33 hectares (IRDP 1984). At the same time we must conclude, however, that the bulk of the increase can be attributed to the gardens where cash crops such as runner beans, hybrid maize and groundnuts are cultivated. Although gardens where subsidiary crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes are grown do not seem to have suffered from the emphasis on cash crops, the cultivation of Livingstone potatoes and sorghum has definitely become less important because these crops have not developed into major staples or cash crops.

Notes:

1. According to Peters the average diameter of the *myunda* was 5.72 metres and the average distance between *myunda* was 13.92 metres. Peters found that 59% of all *fiteme* had *bakulakula*, the range being from 1 to 8 with a mean of 3.3. The mean length of the 85 *bakulakula* he measured was found to be 41.45 metres with a range from 29.26 to 167.64 metres. The average width was found to be 5.12 metres (Peters 1950; 87-90).
2. In local usage, the term *ama acre*, rather than referring to a unit of measurement, describes any large flat cultivated field.
3. I did not collect any detailed figures for the Nchimishi area, but the table below gives some idea of mean cropping patterns for thirty-four farms in Chief Chibale's area during the same seasons:

Crop	1981-1982 (hectares)	1982-1983 (hectares)
Hybrid maize	1.56	1.80
Local maize	0.55	0.50
Maize and beans	0.17	0.28
Finger millet	0.75	0.73
Beans	0.28	0.26
Groundnuts	0.04	0.04
Cassava	0.08	0.07
Cassava and beans	0.05	0.11
Sweet potatoes	0.10	0.08
Intoyo	0.01	0.02
Sunflower	0.05	0.07
Sorghum	0.01	0.08
Maize and cassava	0.04	0.03
Others	0.01	0.06

(Source: IRDP 1984, 15).

4. The preparation of acres for finger millet starts in late November but is concentrated in December as farmers often prefer to finish planting their maize fields first. After ploughing, seeds are broadcast on the flat and raked in, requiring little labour (see also IRDP 1985: 25). The optimal time for the planting of sunflower is late December to early January, but in many cases I found the crop was planted later, as farmers first wished to finish their maize and millet operations. Although Agricultural Assistants recommended fertilizer levels of 200-400 kg/ha many farmers apply much less, or even no fertilizer at all. The planting of both groundnuts and groundbeans usually begins in mid-November and ends by mid-December.

Hybrid maize is the only crop on which fertilizer is always used, and the crop is always weeded. Weeding is often carried out approximately a month after planting, when plants are between 40 and 60 cm tall. Small ridges are made with the hoe to cover both the weeds and the top dressing which is often applied the same day. I found no farmers who weeded their crop more than once.

Groundnuts and groundbeans are usually harvested in April. Sunflower is harvested in May and June, an activity which often coincides with the millet harvest. June is also the month the sorghum crop is harvested. Hybrid maize is usually harvested in July and August, although the last maize is gathered in September on some of the larger producers' farms.

5. Most farmers I questioned on this issue explained that they preferred to make *bakulakula* instead of *myunda*. Kaulenti Chisenga:

'Only if there are few trees will people make *myunda*. But since you are stumping and not cutting branches there will be enough wood most of the time. People like to make *bakulakula* because they want to prepare acres and it is easier to plough around straight *bakulakula*.' (E)

Other farmers stressed that border damage was much less if they made two large *bakulakula* instead of a larger number of round *myunda*.

6. The fact that most respondents spoke of Lala maize when referring to the various local maize varieties does not mean that these varieties do not have their own name. *Sombe*, *kateneke* and *sandakabala* are names belonging to varieties which some farmers considered to be traditional Lala varieties. According to other respondents some varieties, such as for instance *kateneke*, originate from other parts of Southern Africa. Cobs of Lala maize contained roughly 280 pieces, whereas cobs of hybrid maize contained 480 to 680 pieces.
7. The mounds usually have a width of approximately 1 metre, a height of 0.4 to 0.6 metres and a length which varies between 4 and 30 metres. Pumpkins are often planted at the base of the mounds, and sometimes cassava is planted at the sides. A *katobela* is usually made in old *inkule* fields, *mikose* or old ploughed maize, millet or sorghum fields, where the soil is relatively soft and loose and has lost some of its fertility: that is to say, soil which is not considered to be suitable any more for mono cropping but is well suited for interplanting Lala or hybrid maize with runner beans. Places where there is a lot of tall elephant grass are also popular *katobela* sites. If Lala maize has been planted, farmers can usually start eating their fresh maize towards the end of January and in February. If hybrid maize has been planted, *katobela* yield fresh maize in March and April. This fresh maize is eaten either boiled or roasted. Some women dry the maize in the sun after which it can be ground and used for the preparation of *nchima*. The dry maize is harvested to some extent in May, but especially in June and July. Runner beans are harvested in February and March. Having been dried, the best beans are selected and later used as seed.
8. Mudala Chisenga made the following observations regarding *katobela* mounds and some of the developments these gardens have undergone in the last decades:
'People make *katobela* because it means they can work the soil before they can do other jobs, before the rains come. They also make them because they do not have to use fertilizer for their maize to do well. In *katobela* you plant on mounds. Even if there is a lot of rain, the maize is still going to be okay, whether you use fertilizer or not. But if you plant in an acre and there is a lot of rain your maize can be destroyed, and if you do not use any fertilizer you won't have a good yield. Making mounds, turning the soil and covering the grasses makes the soil become so fertile. In the past they made *katobela* in the *dambo* because of the grass and the soil, not because of the water. Even if a field has been used for some years, mounds can make the soil fertile again. Making mounds is our tradition. But people can also make mounds to get roots from the soil, for instance in the case of *mumbu* or sweet potatoes and cassava. The roots grow better and bigger if they are planted in mounds. People can also make mounds to prevent water from destroying the crop, like in the case of *mutipula*. But in the past people made much bigger mounds than nowadays and these mounds were round and not straight.

- Can you explain?

Mounds are getting smaller nowadays, because people use fertilizer and because they want their *katobela* to look like an acre. So now you can see small mounds everywhere, contour ridges. People say if you make small and straight mounds or ridges you can grow more maize in one acre. So in the past someone could say: "I made ten mounds", but now he will say: "I prepared 2 acres" (0.81 ha.).

In the past, if you made small mounds others did not consider you to be mature. A strong man or woman made big mounds also to make sure that seeds were not washed away by the rain. The seed had to be on top of the mound and some people wanted to plant two lines. They made big mounds because they said that in big mounds the soil would be very fertile. People make small mounds nowadays because they know they will be using some fertilizer sooner or later. Some do not even bother to make *katobela*, they just cultivate maize and beans in separate acres, or they plant them together in one acre. But in small mounds it is easier for the seed and the plants to rot.

- What about the seed in acres?

Seed can rot in acres, but, when weeding, farmers will cover the roots of the maize with soil. Then the plant will get some nutrients from that soil. We make ridges with a hoe in our maize fields when we are weeding. If you weed your crops it helps the crop to spread its roots without being hindered by the weeds. If you do not weed, your plants will remain small.' (E)

9. Typically, each mound has five or six cassava cuttings. Occasionally, cassava, a crop on which no fertilizer is used, is interplanted with sweet potatoes or beans. Although Peters expected that with the further degeneration of the *citeme* system and the diminution of millet supplies cassava and cassava cultivation would assume a more prominent role, such a development has not taken place in the Nchimishi area where Lala and hybrid maize have replaced finger millet. Cassava gardens are, in most cases, fairly small (often between 0.03 and 0.15 hectares), especially when compared with *katobela* gardens. I only met a few, relatively poor, subsistence-oriented farmers who maintained reasonably large cassava gardens. One of these farmers, Paul Lushwili (see also Chapter 5), explained that cassava, since it demanded relatively little attention, was a suitable crop for people like himself and his two wives who suffered from bad health.
10. A large market for sweet potatoes arises only when food shortages strike the urban areas. Such a situation occurred, for instance, in 1988 when there was a shortage of wheat flour in Zambia. Soon after the disappearance of bread from the stores and the markets, sweet potatoes took over the role of bread in the diet of many town dwellers. After a few weeks, the first traders turned up in Nchimishi and started buying sweet potatoes. At first, there was some confusion among farmers, since they had no idea what price they could demand for their *kandolo*. After several months, when large supplies of wheat flour were imported from Canada, the price of sweet potatoes on the urban markets dropped dramatically within a matter of days and soon the trade came to a complete end.
11. As compared with *katobela* beans which are harvested in the rainy season and are dried in the house, *mabwela* beans are harvested in April at the beginning of the dry season and thus have the advantage that they can dry in the field, which apparently turns them into better seed. I found that a small but increasing number of farmers sold some of their *mabwela* beans.
12. As in the case of *katobela*, maize seeds and beans are sown in one hole. Usually no fertilizer is used in *imitipula*. Runner beans are harvested in November and December; green maize, in January and February. If, due to poor rainfall, the soil on seepage sites has become too dry, farmers refrain from cultivating *imitipula*.
13. These remarks by Kaulenti show that farmers in Nchimishi have several reasons for cultivating crops like Lala and hybrid maize in different types of fields. First of all, this strategy enables farmers to obtain fresh supplies of maize in different months; secondly, it allows them to use the available time more effectively since the various fields are not only prepared at different times of the season but also the maize harvest in one type of field tends to take place earlier than in the other. Green Lala maize cultivated in *imitipula* and *fisebe cha mutonta* is harvested as early as December and January. Hybrid maize cultivated in *mikose* is usually harvested towards the end of May or early June, whereas the maize crop from other fields (*katobela*, *inkule*, and ploughed acres) is harvested several weeks later.
14. The *cisebe cha mutonta* is usually started in June and July, and the tall grass (*ichipia*) and turf is hoed into small circles (averaging about 2 to 3 metres across and a like distance apart) which often have an outer ring formed of upturned sods (see also Peters 1950: 10-1). In August, the turf is burned and, when the ashes have cooled, the burnt area is planted with maize, beans and pumpkins. Sometimes beans are planted later in December when the harvesting of fresh maize starts. If the water level in the *dambo* is not too high, the *cisebe* is often used for the cultivation of another crop of beans. Kaulenti Chisenga:

'When we had finished harvesting the maize and beans from *fisebe cha mutonta* we started working the soil over. The first time we just sowed in the ashes, but after the harvest in March we covered these ashes with soil. These round heaps were planted with beans. Beans only. We called this *ichifumbule* which means the second cover, the second work. Sometimes people planted sweet potatoes and they grew very big because of the ashes. The next year we crushed the heaps and made new ones where we planted beans or maize. After three years the fertility of the soil decreased. At that point we left it (fallow, H.S.) for some years to let the grass grow tall again.' (E)

Unlike the *cisebe cha mutonta*, the *cisebe cha nfula* (*nfula* = rain, H.S.) are made on the drier upper slopes of the *dambo*s. Kaulenti Chisenga:

'The second type, *cisebe cha nfula* was also made in the *dambo*, but in places which always dry up in May or June, the same places where people now make *katobela*. We started making that kind of *cisebe* in July, cutting the grass and leaving it to dry. In October this grass was put in lines or in circles and mixed with soil. After that these heaps were burned. In November after the first rains we sowed crops in these heaps: crops like maize and beans and sometimes Irish potatoes. So these crops started growing because of the rains. In November and December the maize grew and we could start eating the fresh maize in January and February. We harvested the beans in January. In March we made new heaps like for *mabwela*, but we did not call it a *cisebe* any more, we called it *ichifumbule*, because it was the second time we covered the ashes, the second time we worked in that *cisebe*. But if I say *ichifumbule*, everybody knows that this garden was previously a *cisebe*. Then after three years we left it (fallow, H.S.). (E)

When I asked Kaulenti why in the past many villages had maintained two different types of *cisebe* he gave more or less the same answer as most other respondents with whom I discussed this issue:

'Here people like to make *mutipula*, but some, especially people in Mitunta, like to make two types of *cisebe* because they get food from these gardens at different times of the year. You start eating maize from *fisebe cha mutonta* in December and January, and from *fisebe cha nfula* you start eating in February and March, because that maize has grown with the rain. At the end of the rainy season the maize from a *cisebe cha nfula* is dry, and you can take it to the milling machine. So if you have both types you always have enough maize to eat.

- Why do we not see *fisebe cha mutonta* here any more, why only *mutipula*?

Because a lot of people live here in Nchimishi and that's why we have to use the land for many years. A *cisebe* has to be made on new land which has never been used before or not used for a long time, but in *mutipula* you can grow maize for many (consecutive, H.S.) years. And people have stopped making *cisebe cha nfula* because now they make *katobela*. You can grow maize in *fisebe* and *katobela*, but this *cisebe cha nfula* is different from *katobela*. You see, we do not burn *katobela*, and *katobela* utilize old land, old acres. But *fisebe* always require virgin land. Many young farmers do not know how to make a *cisebe* any more. There is more money in *katobela*, and the work is easier. It is more difficult to work in the *dambo*, in the tall grasses and to make a large *cisebe*. That's why people stopped making *fisebe* and changed over to *katobela*. We are in a development stage and people are changing bit by bit. In the past, people made small fields with maize near anthills. But when the British came they established markets and started buying our crops in tins. So people said: "Ah, we can make money with maize, let us make bigger fields". So people just stopped making *fisebe* near the streams and many started making *katobela*, also along the streams. It became difficult to find enough land near the *dambo*. Some farmers, therefore, made *katobelas* which were a bit on the land (on upland soil, H.S.). That's when farmers saw it was possible to make *katobela* on the land. They also found that working on the land was easier, fewer weeds, and you could use a field for many years, especially when using fertilizer. Later, people found that they could crush the heaps and make an acre out of their *katobela*. If you work on the land you can make your own plans. One year you can grow millet; the next two years, maize and beans; the next, sorghum or sweet potatoes. You can rotate crops. These are reasons why people have abandoned *fisebe cha nfula* and that's why they have moved away from the streams. Also because people found that near the streams is the best place to keep cattle.' (E)

Chapter 4

The introduction, adoption and transformation of agricultural innovations in Nchimishi

Part I: Peasants, policy and the plough

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the introduction and diffusion of animal traction and some other agricultural innovations in Nchimishi. A major part of the chapter is devoted to an historical analysis of the process of agrarian change and the dissemination of new farming methods in Chibale Chiefdom. In 1949, so-called 'peasant farming schemes' were set up by the Colonial Government at five different localities in Serenje District, one of them being Nchimishi. The farming schemes in Serenje formed part of a wider plan which encompassed the whole of Northern Rhodesia, and had as its main objective to make the peasant farmers within the schemes acquainted with new crops and methods of cultivation and soil conservation. It was believed that this package would spread from the scheme to the rest of the population and would induce villagers to give up their form of ash cultivation which the Agricultural Department considered destructive of the natural environment.

This chapter presents an analysis of the objectives the Colonial Government wished to achieve with the establishment of the schemes. I show that, apart from research reports which anticipated the collapse of the *citemene* system as a result of population growth, other social and economic changes in Northern Rhodesia, both in the rural and urban areas, also influenced the decision to create the peasant farming schemes.

In 1958, agricultural policy shifted its main emphasis from peasant farming schemes to so-called 'individual' or 'independent farmers' outside the scheme. Contrary to the Agricultural Department who at the end of the 1950's evaluated the scheme as not having met its objectives, farmers in Nchimishi nowadays maintain that the scheme has been a success in the long term and has had a decisive influence, and thus a lasting effect, upon the agricultural development of the whole of Chibale Chiefdom. Two questions follow from these contradictory views: why did the Agricultural Department decide to change its policy at the end of the fifties, and what exactly has the influence of the peasant farming scheme been upon developments in agriculture during the last four decades?

An important and more theoretical issue which is raised here is, of course, how one should go about studying the impact that government intervention can have upon a

population and the natural environment. The Nchimishi case shows that studies should not be restricted to an analysis of the 'official' evaluations carried out by the intervening party itself, since these often only focus upon the question of whether or not the original objectives have been attained. In this chapter, I attempt to analyze intervention from an 'actor-oriented perspective'. According to Long, such an approach:

'...is based upon the idea of differential responses to changing circumstances. It assumes that we can expect different patterns of response and change. These different forms are in part created by the farmers themselves: farmers are not simply to be seen as passive recipients, but as actively strategising and interacting with outside institutions and personnel. The understanding of agrarian change is complex and requires working from the very beginning with the concept of heterogeneity. Farmers and other local actors shape the outcomes of change. Change is not simply imposed upon them' (Long 1988: 118-9).

One advantage of approaching intervention from an actor-oriented perspective is that, since it focuses upon the different responses of actors instead of upon the relationship between original goals and achievements, we can move beyond the space-time boundaries set by the project and tackle such questions as: why and when do farmers decide to adopt a package or technology introduced by a project, and how and why are these packages incorporated and transformed by local actors?

It was only towards the mid-1970's that animal traction started spreading at high speed. A census carried out by Long in 1963 shows that in Nchimishi 'out of 214 male cultivators, 136 (63.6%) continued to employ only *citeme* methods, 52 (24.3%) were engaged in plough cultivation, and the remaining 26 (12.1%) used a combination of both' (Long 1968: 20). These figures seem to have remained fairly constant during the sixties. A census carried out in December 1988 shows that 14.3 % of households use *citeme* methods to cultivate finger millet, be it that in many cases these households were also engaged in plough cultivation. The census also shows that 72.6% of all households cultivated maize on ploughed fields. In 1960, 1,000 bags of hybrid maize were produced in the whole of Chibale Chiefdom (Serenje Tour Report No. 12, 1960). In 1980, 29,090 bags were sold to the 12 maize depots in the chiefdom and by 1985 this figure had risen to 65,505. The same year 6,055 bags were delivered to the Nchimishi depot. Just a few years later, in 1989, more than 20,000 bags were sold to this depot.

In what follows, I provide several explanations as to why the rapid diffusion of animal traction occurred almost three decades after its introduction. The Nchimishi case also demonstrates that the influence of a development project upon the environment, and upon the population with which it is working, does not necessarily end after the project has been abandoned, and after the project personnel have left the scene. I show that those farmers who have been using the plough in Nchimishi since the early 1950's played a major role in its further diffusion in the sixties, seventies and early eighties.

Besides considering the introduction of innovations at the peasant farming scheme in Nchimishi, I look at some important developments which took place before the scheme was established. Furthermore, I focus on other factors and developments, such as migration to the urban areas, the changing settlement pattern and the ideology of the Jehovah's Witnesses, which, although seemingly unrelated to agriculture, have had an

important impact upon the process of agrarian change.

The peasant farming scheme policy and its objectives

In 1946, David Peters undertook a survey of the agricultural system in Serenje District and came to the conclusion that the 'small circle' *citemene* system, under which the staple crop, finger millet, was cultivated, was beginning to show its vulnerability (Peters 1950; Long 1968: 12-4). Due to increased population pressure on woodland resources, the yield per acre of woodland cut had declined since there were not enough mature trees for felling. Peters predicted the total collapse of the system and that, as a result, hoe agriculture would increase in importance and new cultivation methods would emerge or be introduced. Therefore, one of the aims of the Agricultural Department, in introducing the so-called 'peasant farming schemes' (or 'blocks') throughout the Territory, was to initiate agricultural change through the introduction of improved methods with more efficient implements together with soil conservation measures which would, it was hoped, make people abandon more traditional and destructive cultivation methods, such as the *citeme* system, and thus alleviate population pressure on land (Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1956; Review of Ten Year Development Plan for Northern Rhodesia, 1948; Long 1968: 16-7).

At the Administrative Conference of Provincial Commissioners in 1949, John Moffat, at that time the Commissioner for Native Development and one of the designers of the peasant farming scheme policy, pointed out that the farming scheme had a dual purpose: it tried 'on the one hand to improve the methods of agriculture of the African, and on the other to stabilise him on the land and thereby encourage his social progress which could not develop under his present unstable method of life and agriculture.' According to Moffat, the objects of the Scheme could be summed up as:

'(1) the need for a stable rural economy to permit the African to make an adequate living on the land, (2) the concentration of the population in suitable areas since until this should come about costs of social and economic services were too high, and (3) to check absorption of able-bodied men by industry which threatened to reach a point dangerous to social stability' (Extract from Minutes of the Administrative Conference of Provincial Commissioners and Heads of Social Service Departments, 1949).

Two years earlier the Commissioner for Native Development, in pointing out the necessity for the establishment of peasant farming schemes, had written:

'The poor quality of our plateau soils and the "chitemene" system evolved to cope with it require the constant movement of villages over wide and scattered areas. Until the people can be anchored to the land any general improvement in living conditions is practically impossible and the cost of Government's social services is far greater than it should be. For this reason I consider that the peasant farming scheme to meet immediate needs of foodstuffs is also the only satisfactory starting point for a long term programme of balanced development' (The Commissioner for Native Development, Month Ending 31st August 1947).

It was also hoped that the establishment of peasant farming schemes would enable the Agricultural Department to obtain greater control over the autonomous developments in agriculture which were taking place in different regions of Northern Rhodesia. In an attempt to urge the Agricultural Department to speed up its efforts to establish the peasant farming schemes, John Moffat wrote:

'But there are other and more urgent reasons why we should not delay. The African is changing at a pace which is, frankly, alarming: this process is cumulative and each succeeding year shows acceleration. Present conditions are admirably suited to a full scale development plan but it would be a profound error to assume that it will always be so. The will to change is very marked in some areas, and it is our duty and our opportunity to see that this will is directed along constructive channels. If our plan fails to present a way of life which is fully satisfactory to the more progressive element in our African population they will adopt their own line and we shall have ample cause to regret our lost opportunities in the not very distant future' (The Commissioner for Native Development, Month Ending 31st August 1947).

At the Administrative Conference in 1949, the Provincial Commissioners and the Heads of Social Service Departments concluded that:

'Praiseworthy though some individual farmers efforts were there is a danger in this type of farming if uncontrolled since it might lead to uncontrolled expansion which, in its turn, would develop a land-owning class employing a farm-labourer class of considerable proportions' (Extract from Minutes of the Administrative Conference of Provincial Commissioners and Heads of Social Service Departments, 1949).

Developments in Chibale Chiefdom before 1949

When we compare pre-1949 agriculture and agricultural development in Serenje District with areas in Southern province, such as Mazabuka (Anthony and Uchendu 1968; Chipungu 1988) where animal traction took off in the 1930's, developments in Serenje seem insignificant. And although there was a trend towards a greater reliance upon hoed gardens, most people were still practising what in Government circles was labelled as the most primitive form of agriculture in the world (Peters 1950: 74-8; Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1956). In Nchimishi, however, quite a number of villagers already owned cattle, some of them since the beginning of the century, and a few had already started castrating and training their animals. Zebron Bulwani, an inhabitant of Nchimishi who had been consulted on several occasions in the late 1940's by both the Agricultural Department and the Commissioner for Native Development with regard to the question of which area in Chibale Chiefdom provided the best location for the scheme, stated:

'Before the peasant scheme at Mulembo started we had cattle already. Like, for example, Lupalo; he bought his first animals in 1917. They were kept for food. Later, George (Zebron's brother, H.S.) and Blackson Mulilima started to train oxen, after seeing Pontio Kunda do it. Mister Pontio Kunda was the first. He used his oxen to transport things on a sledge. He learned it from Chirupula Stephenson. The latter, Chirupula Stephenson, was a white man. He was called Chirupula because he used to beat a lot of people. Wherever he went he was always organizing a lot of people. Pontio Kunda learned it from Chirupula because he was working as a tailor at Chirupula's farm near Mkushi

(Mkushi township, located in Mkushi District, H.S.). He saw Chirupula working with oxen and started doing the same thing here, when he established a farm near Ndabala (an area located near Nchimishi, H.S.). The knowledge about training oxen was obtained outside the scheme, but the plough was obtained from the peasant farm block. Through the scheme we really learned how to plough. That is also where we bought our implements, like ploughs and scotch carts, because there was a store there.' (L)

The Colonial Government and its policy towards peasant farming before 1949

Prior to the 1940's the Colonial Government, defending the interests of both the white settlers and the mining companies, had been opposed to peasant farming (Muntemba 1977; Klepper 1979; Chipungu 1988: 2, 10-1, 34-59). After the Second World War, however, demand for Northern Rhodesian copper rose considerably as the metal became important in the post-war industrialization and reconstruction of Europe. In response to this increased demand, the mines employed more African labourers (Chipungu 1988: 83). The resultant increase in the urban population, especially on the Copperbelt, led, in turn, to a growing demand for foodstuffs - a demand which could not be met by the European farmers alone. Although the 1930's had witnessed the rise of peasant farming in Southern Province (Chipungu 1988: 34-59), food shortages continued to exist, especially during the 1946-1947 season when, due to unfavourable weather conditions, maize production along the Line of Rail dropped from 440,000 bags in the previous season to 244,000 bags (Chipungu 1988: 82, 84). For this reason at the end of the 1940's the Government, through the establishment of peasant farming schemes, tried to stimulate subsistence cultivators to start growing crops (especially maize, sorghum and runner beans) for sale, using new methods of cultivation.

Both the Department of Agriculture and the Commissioner for Native Development saw little value in just encouraging 'subsistence cultivators' to grow more food. In their view, an intensive campaign on this basis would not be successful since 'traditional cultivation techniques' with axe or/and hoe could only yield small surpluses for sale. By establishing peasant farming schemes the Government intended to initiate what was called 'an agricultural revolution in limited areas', which meant getting the maximum number of villagers in the shortest possible time to abandon their *citemene* methods or other indigenous systems in favour of more modern methods. The problems faced by Government in providing enough food for its urban population were not, however, mentioned during the discussions which took place with inhabitants of Nchimishi in 1948 and 1949, when the authorities presented the plan and tried to win recruits. In 1948, the Commissioner for Native Development wrote to the Secretary for Native Affairs concerning the way in which the idea was to be presented to the villagers:

'In discussions with the ordinary villager it is better not to mention the Territorial shortage of native foodstuffs. The villager cares nothing about Government's difficulties in finding food for industrial labour. Discussions on this topic confuse the issue (which must be presented in as simple a form as possible) and tend to give the impression that the scheme is more for the benefit of the Government than for the peasant farmer' (Letter from the Commissioner for Native Development to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1948).

The scheme had to be presented to the male villagers as enabling them to produce enough food for themselves and their families, but, over and above that, as a way of earning an income without having to migrate to the Copperbelt. The argument designed to sway older men and young women was that, if the scheme succeeded, it would mean that more able-bodied men would be able to stay at home. The scheme targeted in particular the younger and more ambitious individuals, but since in Chibale Chiefdom, for example, over 50% of the male population had already migrated to the Copperbelt, they were a difficult group to reach. Notwithstanding the fact that the agreement the prospective peasant farmers had to sign stated that every farmer was at liberty to abandon his farm at any time, the scheme soon stopped admitting younger volunteers at all, and preference was given to middle-aged farmers and returned migrants because the majority of the young peasant farmers recruited into the scheme had migrated to town after only one or two years.

The Mulembo peasant farming scheme

The first peasant farming schemes established in the Territory in the 1948-49 season at Serenje and Fort Jameson (now Chipata) were considered an experiment (Bulawayo Chronicle 6-1-1950; see Appendix 1).¹ According to the Commissioner for Native Development, however, the critical food situation of the Territory and the steadily increasing demand for foodstuffs gave no time for lengthy experiments. It was hoped that developments at the Serenje schemes would indicate whether the scheme policy, with such modifications as experience required, was suitable for application on a Territorial basis.

The Serenje peasant farming schemes were thought to be of particular interest because they represented an important trial in farming under plateau soil conditions, and the results would apply to a vast area of Northern Province. Until then Serenje District, like most other areas in the central and northern part of Northern Rhodesia, had always been regarded by the Colonial Government as unsuitable for farming due to its poor soils and had, therefore, only been seen as a regular supplier of male labour for the towns of the Copperbelt.

A reason for selecting Serenje instead of other regions on the plateau was that research reports had shown that the density of population in the District exceeded the land carrying capacity of the *citemene* system (Peters 1950; Allan 1965: 107-13; Long 1968: 16). In addition, the Lala system of 'small-circle' *citemene* was regarded as having been more devastating in its effects than the Bemba 'large-circle' *citemene* system because the Bemba system only involved the lopping of large branches and tree-tops. Furthermore, the stacking of branches in large circles also resulted in less border damage (Peters 1950; Allan 1965: 107-37; Long 1968: 12-6; Peasant Farming Schemes CN PRJ/40).

In Nchimishi, Mulembo - an area not far from the Great North Road and named after one of the many streams which can be found in Chibale - was chosen as the site



Plate 4.1 Aerial photograph of Nchimishi. The photograph taken in July 1965 shows the effects of the *cite me* system upon the landscape

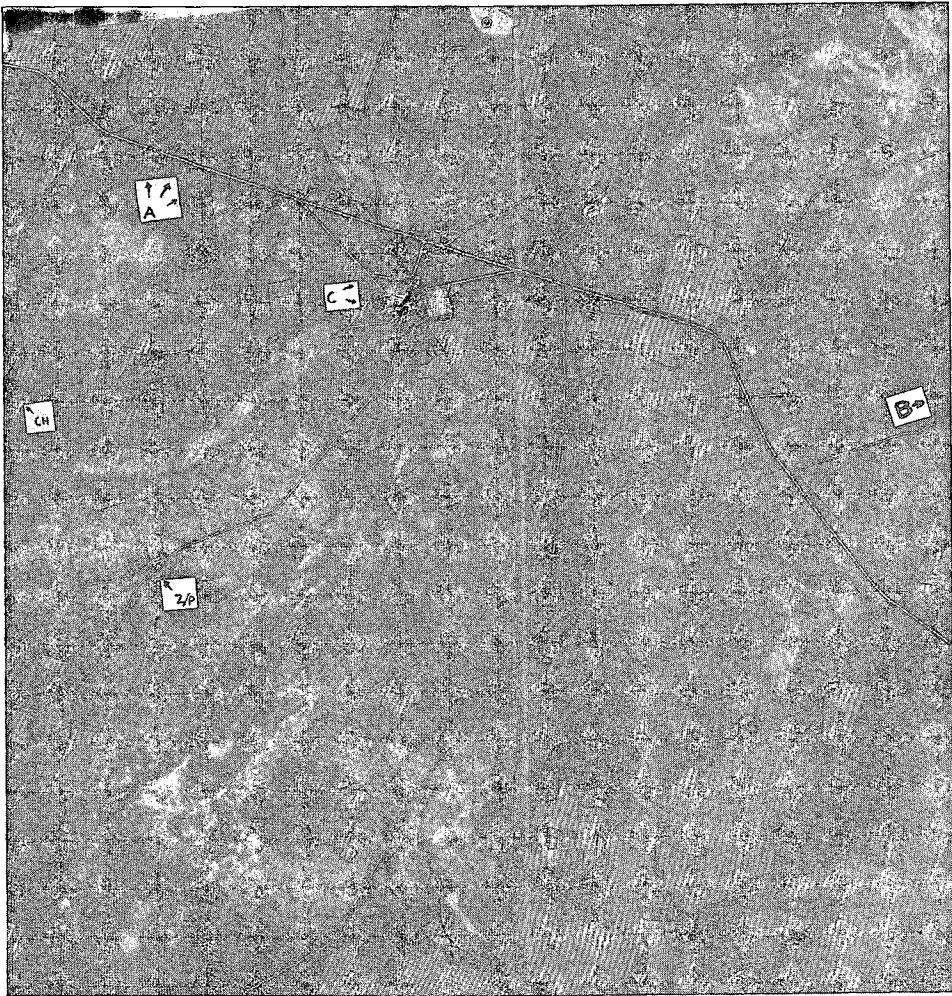


Plate 4.2 Aerial photograph of Nchimishi taken in July 1983. The photograph shows that the *citeme* system has almost disappeared and been replaced by more permanent types of agriculture.
 A = The farms along Chibale road; B = Paul Lushwili farm;
 C = Nchimishi Primary School; Z/P = The farm of Zebron and Peleshi

for one of the five peasant farming schemes in Serenje. The area had a high population density (Long 1968: 4) as compared with most other regions in Serenje District, was free of tse-tse fly, had about the best soils in the District (Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1959) and, in contrast to other chiefdoms, some farmers already owned cattle.

Despite the fact that the peasant farms were, according to the District Commissioner of Serenje, a main topic of conversation among the people in Serenje at that time, the response of the Lala was disappointing as few were prepared to leave their villages and settle at the scheme area. The district authorities found out that rumours were circulating among the Lala that they were being encouraged to farm merely because the British required a demonstration of the capacity of the land as a preliminary to driving them out and taking possession themselves (Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1948). In addition, the inhabitants of Nchimishi had reservations with regard to the scheme. Many believed, for instance, that leaving their villages and changing over to completely new agricultural methods might jeopardize their food security.²¹ The District authorities and the Commissioner for Native Development were well aware of this. Through the organization of demonstrations the latter, for instance, tried to win the confidence of the villagers and convince them that millet could in fact be grown without the use of ashes. Zebron Bulwani explained:

'When I came back from town in 1940 I didn't find anyone using the plough. I only saw people cutting *citemene*. Also, in 1944 when I moved from Ndabala to Lupalo village, most of the people were cutting *citemene*, no one was using a plough, until later when John Moffat came (around 1948, H.S.). When he inspected the area he found that most people were depending on *citemene*. So he started to wean people away from the practice, because he saw that most of them were travelling long distances to look for large enough trees. So he started to teach us, saying: "You can also grow millet on the flat land, not in *myunda* only". But people did not believe it. So the first man whom he told to try growing millet on an *acre* near the *dambo*, but where there was no water, was Mister Changa. He ended up having a lot of millet on that piece of land. So most people saw it was true.' (L)

Although, according to Zebron Bulwani and others, the yield per acre that was obtained was considerably less than if *citeme* methods had been used, the experiments of the Commissioner for Native Development must have made quite an impression. Many farmers of the older generation remembered the experiment at Mister Changa's place well, and some of them told me that they were astonished when they saw for the first time that it was possible to grow millet without ashes. It was only after these demonstrations were carried out successfully that a number of Nchimishi villagers were prepared to leave their villages and settle at the scheme area. In 1949, the first ten farmers settled at what was called the Mulembo farm block number one. Two years later another group of ten settled at Mulembo farm block number two. According to Long,

'It was intended that each block would initially have ten farmers who would be issued with oxen, plough and farming implements. Every three years another 10 acres (4 ha. H.S.) would be added to each plot until the ninth year when each farmer would then have a total of 40 acres (16 ha. H.S.) of land. Each year, however, a total of 10 acres only would be under cultivation: thus every 10-acre plot would be worked for three years and rested for nine. By the end of 1949, 49 farms had been opened

on the five Serenje blocks and a total of 330 acres (133.5 ha. H.S.) was already under cultivation. In the first year of joining the block the farmer is under close supervision and is taught modern methods of agriculture and soil conservation, and thereafter he continues to receive regular technical assistance and advice from trained agricultural demonstrators. In addition he is offered credit facilities so that he can acquire various items of capital equipment and cover the costs of stumping and clearing the land. On arrival he is issued with one plough with yoke and chains, one shovel and fork, one harrow and one scotch cart, plus two oxen and two cows, which he is required to pay for on a system of ten annual repayments. Later he may be encouraged to purchase a planter, a ridger, a wheelbarrow and a small hand grinding machine' (Long 1968: 16-17).

For its part, the Government took care of the repair of implements and made sure spares were available. Farmers had to learn how to use the implements entrusted to them. Ploughing, in particular, was considered to be at the heart of 'modern farming', since it enabled farmers to cultivate large tracts of land, but equally because the plough symbolized the radical move away from axe and hoe. When, for example, in a report on peasant farming in Serenje it was suggested that, in order to clear new land for the scheme and to reduce clearing costs which placed a heavy and unexpected burden on the total budget, it was worth considering the use of *citime* methods instead of tree pullers and other heavy machinery, J.E. Madocks, the District Commissioner responded by writing that: 'One of the scheme's objectives is to wean the people away from axe agriculture: to demonstrate that food can be grown without fire and the axe. It seems to me psychologically unsound at this stage to conscript the enemy.' (Memorandum on the Report on Peasant Farming in the Serenje District, 1953).

Although settlers were allowed to cut a *citime* and this fact was even used as an argument in winning recruits, it was believed that farmers would not have enough time for it while participating in the scheme.

The package: soil conservation and the plough

According to the Agricultural Department, soil conservation methods, gradually leading to a build-up of soil fertility, were crucial if the scheme was to become a success. One of the objectives of the scheme was to grow more food, but it was also hoped to introduce a sustainable form of agriculture which did no damage to natural resources. Therefore, apart from making farmers acquainted with the plough, a lot of attention was given to crop rotation, fallow periods, composting, the use of manure and contour ridges.³ The crop rotation scheme which was used consisted of two years of cereal (maize, finger millet or sorghum) cultivation to one of legume. The need to maintain soil fertility through the intensive application of manure was also stressed:

'A correct rotation, fallow and cultivated grasses may help to maintain the soil's fertility, but something more is needed. It has been said that the plateau soils are deficient in phosphates, and that more nitrogen is required before there can be satisfactory crop returns. Compost and manure could help to make up these deficiencies - particularly nitrogen' (Memorandum on the Report on Peasant Farming in the Serenje District 1953).

Despite the fact that the package which the scheme offered consisted of different

elements, it had to be presented as a whole to the villagers. This was because the Commissioner for Native Development feared that otherwise farmers would adopt only part of such newly introduced techniques and measures:

'While it is true that to the Agricultural Officer soil conservation measures are one thing and the use of implements are another and that the one can exist without the other, there is no need to draw the peasant farmer's attention to this fact. The scheme should be presented to the villager as a whole - implements, composting, crop rotation, fallow, contour ridges and the like' (The Commissioner for Native Development, 1948).

Clearing the land

The villagers who were selected and invited to settle at the scheme were provided with houses and cattle kraals. The Government took care of the clearing of the farm plots which were prepared with the help of a tree puller. By signing the agreement, a farmer committed himself to an annual repayment for this service after the sale of the crop.

The Government had several reasons for undertaking this work instead of leaving it to the farmers themselves. By clearing the land, the Government put itself in a strong position vis-a-vis the Chief. The scheme was located within Native Trust Land and, by clearing the land, the Colonial Government showed the Chief that it had a real interest in the scheme. Secondly, it gave the Government a hold on the land because if a farmer failed to observe the rules of peasant farming on fields which had cost a substantial amount of money to clear, the scheme personnel had an obvious case for claiming that the settler should vacate his plot. Thirdly, it was thought that the scheme would be more attractive to potential settlers if the plots were already cleared. Fourthly, as mentioned earlier, the scheme was seen as an instrument in the accomplishment of an agricultural revolution, and it was thought unwise to leave the clearing to the settlers because they would probably have used *citeme* methods.

Clearing was thus seen as a means of gaining better control over the farming practices of the settler population. Yet another reason the Government had for undertaking this work with the help of heavy machinery was the wish to create the optimum conditions for the use of different farming implements in order to win farmers over.

The scheme and the further diffusion of new farming methods

With the farming schemes the Agricultural Department hoped to attract the more 'progressive' cultivators, for example those who already differed from the majority of the peasantry in that they were experimenting, or intended to experiment, with new forms of agriculture, or those who had in some way shown interest in growing food crops for the market. It was believed that new methods of farming and soil conservation would spread from these 'peasant farmers' to the peasants outside the scheme, either through direct contacts between the settlers and their relatives or acquaintances living elsewhere, or through organizing so-called 'farmers' days', when outsiders were invited to visit the scheme and to attend demonstrations, which were often held at the farm of

a successful settler. The Agricultural Department also hoped that 'farming blocks would become permanent centres for community development. It was envisaged that a kind of village would evolve around the nucleus of a group of about 50 farmers wherein would live various non-farming specialists, such as carpenters, blacksmiths and storekeepers' (Long 1968: 17).

The 1950's: optimism and setbacks

During the early 1950's, optimistic comments were heard with regard to the peasant farming schemes in Serenje District. In 1953 J.E. Madocks, the District Commissioner for Serenje District, concluded:

'But despite the poor soil, ignorance, unenterprising human material and other difficulties, the scheme has made considerable headway and does constitute a striking advance against the background of probably one of the most primitive forms of agriculture in the world. In 1951 these farmers produced nearly 600 bags; in 1952 the production was 805 bags. They have produced more grain for sale than the rest of the District' (Memorandum on the Report on Peasant Farming in the Serenje District, 1953).

When compared with the other peasant farming groups, the Mulembo peasant farmers appeared to be more productive and industrious than those of the other schemes (Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1959). By the mid-1950's, Chibale Chiefdom had developed into the granary of Serenje District. This was partly a result of the establishment of the Mulembo peasant farming scheme and partly a result of the emergence of a small group of individual farmers who, on their own initiative and more or less outside the framework of the scheme, had adopted the plough and were selling part of their produce as well.

In Chibale Chiefdom, it was in the Nchimishi area that the bulk of all crops sold to the buying depots was produced. Nchimishi also attracted a substantial number of traders from the Copperbelt who were interested in maize, sorghum and groundnuts, but especially in runner beans. Cattle density in Chibale continued to be high as compared with other Chiefdoms. In five villages, touring officers from the District found as many as thirty cattle per village (Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1955).

But apart from these positive comments, the atmosphere which surrounded the Mulembo scheme during the early 1950's was one of doubt and failure. The unexpectedly high costs of stumping and clearing the plots (costs which were initially borne by the Government) prevented the scheme from becoming economically successful, since farmers were not able to support all repayment and maintenance charges and have a reasonable income at the same time. The Agricultural Department tried to overcome these problems through a reduction of the total acreage of each farm and the introduction of a shorter fallow period. By 1950, the total farm size had already been reduced from 16 to 7.3 hectares, and a system was adopted whereby a plot of 2.4 hectares was left fallow for six years after which three years of cropping followed, although it was doubted whether the Serenje soils could recuperate after such a short fallow period. Therefore, to maintain soil fertility and thus food production, the

application of manure was emphasized more than ever, and a system of individual kraaling, which replaced the use of communal kraals, was introduced. Individual kraaling, it was thought, would lead to a greater sense of responsibility and would lessen the distance that manure had to be carted. In this way, farmers could see a direct return for any additional care they took of their cattle (Memorandum on the Report on Peasant Farming in the Serenje District, 1953). Despite these adaptations and the fact that soil conservation measures and the use of the plough were always presented to farmers as being part of an indivisible farming system, composting and the use of manure never became widespread among either settlers or individual farmers outside the scheme. This was attributed to the fact that the Lala, due to the shifting character of the *citeme* system, had never developed what was called 'a real love of the land'. In 1956, J.E. Madocks wrote: 'We can look in vain for the affection (towards land, H.S.) we find in the Chinese peasant or in the Japanese or dare I say it? the English yeoman' (Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1956).

Farmers adopted only a few elements of what was presented as an indivisible whole. Later in this chapter I show why and when the plough in particular became a success. A touring officer, who visited Mulembo and the Nchimishi area in 1959, concluded that, despite frequent instruction on crop rotation by the Agricultural Department, most individual farmers outside the scheme who had changed over to the plough or who were relying on hoed gardens had little idea of how to implement rotation (Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1959). Others who did know, did not seem interested.

In trying to explain this attitude, the Agricultural Department arrived at two different conclusions. First, farmers who had changed over to the plough or who were working with a hoe saw no advantage in putting a lot of effort into soil conservation in either *dambo* gardens or 'acres', since their farms were in most cases surrounded by virgin land. According to the above-mentioned touring officer:

'The population is sparse in Serenje District and therefore the inherent necessity for a rotational, or intensive farming system is lacking. This is a major difficulty which is facing us. Why should land be planted to pigeon peas or legumes when there are acres of virgin country on all sides?' (Serenje Tour Report No. 1 and No. 2, 1959).

There is a lot of truth in this; farmers with whom I discussed this issue arrived at a similar conclusion. Finding enough mature trees to cut a *citeme* had become a problem during the 1950's, but, for farmers who had adopted more intensive methods and were using a plough or a hoe, land was still in abundance. Nothing prevented a farmer from using his plot continuously for many years before moving to a new one. Secondly, although the Agricultural Department and the Native Authority in Serenje had tried their best to introduce crop rotation, they had apparently overlooked the fact that in those days women had the last word in most cases with regard to the location of gardens and fields and the time for sowing the different crops. Both within and outside the framework of the scheme, agricultural education had always been directed towards the male population. Women only received training in domestic work, and classes were given in cooking, knitting, child-care and hygiene (Serenje Tour Report No. 13, 1956;

No. 2, 1958; No. 11, 1961). It was only by the end of the 1950's that the Agricultural Department came to the conclusion that soil conservation techniques would only have a chance of being adopted in the area if 'the women folk' were included in agricultural education programmes as well.

'Settlers' and 'individual farmers'

The fact that the scheme had not proved to be an economic success in the eyes of the Government and the fact also that farmers had, as it were, dismantled the package did not represent the only threats to its survival. A majority of both settlers (those who lived in the scheme area) and non-settlers always regarded the scheme as a kind of training institution rather than a permanent home; a place where one had the opportunity to master new techniques and get the necessary farming implements to aid in the establishment of one's own farm. Long is correct when he says that those who remained within the scheme were often regarded by others as 'the slaves of the Government (*abasha babuteko*), whilst those working on their own farms were their own masters (*basultani bafwamu*)' (Long 1968: 17; Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1958).

During the early fifties, the scheme became increasingly unpopular among a number of settlers and subsequently also among farmers outside the scheme. As I have shown earlier, the Colonial Government tried, through the peasant farming schemes, to control and direct developments in agriculture and to check the process of economic differentiation among the rural population. But even within the boundaries of the scheme it proved to be impossible to control fully the agricultural practices of each particular settler. On the one hand, some settlers continued to cut *citeme*, or recommenced the practice after some years, and often seemed not to be very interested in 'modern farming'. Some others did not follow the regulations set by the scheme and, for example, did not practise crop rotation on their plots. On the other hand, the Agricultural Department rightly concluded that, due to the limitation of acreage and the limited number of cattle which the settlers were allowed to keep, the scheme did not offer sufficient scope for the more progressive and ambitious farmers and did not leave enough room for individual initiatives and experiments. Moreover, these farmers were convinced that they had received all the necessary knowledge and equipment and that the scheme could not offer them anything more. In their eyes, the scheme had served its purpose and had lost its role as an education centre. As a result, an increasing number of farmers left their plots and established themselves as independent farmers.

Another development which motivated some of the settlers to leave Mulembo was that some returned migrants - who had managed to clear land, and to purchase cattle and equipment out of their savings - had become quite successful independent farmers. In 1959, it was stated in a Serenje Tour Report:

"These 'individual farms' certainly seem to have a far brighter future than the Peasant Farming Groups and they certainly give more scope for individual initiative. Although the Mulembo Peasant farms compare favourably with the other Peasant Farming Groups of the District, their performance since their inauguration in 1948 is not really so impressive especially in view of the fact that some of the better farmers in the area are producing results which are just as good without having had the

same facilities.' (Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1959).

The course of events with regard to the scheme was also influenced by the fact that it became possible for those interested in learning new farming techniques to obtain this knowledge outside the framework of the scheme once the number of independent farmers working with oxen started to increase (Long 1968: 44-45).

Around the mid-fifties it became clear that the peasant farming schemes had not lived up to the expectations of the Government. The Mulembo scheme had difficulties in providing a reasonable income to the settlers and, together with the other peasant farming schemes, it failed to alleviate the shortages of 'native foodstuffs' which existed within the urban areas. Mulembo did not seem to have a significant impact upon agricultural practices in the area; neither had the other schemes in Serenje District been able to 'anchor the African to the land', since the majority of the population was still practising *citeme* and therefore they had not initiated an 'agricultural revolution'. In addition, the schemes had not been able to curb migration to the towns of the Copperbelt nor to prevent a process of economic differentiation within the rural areas. One may even conclude that the differentiation which Long already encountered during the 1960's, and which existed and still exists not only in Chibale Chieftdom but also in other parts of Zambia, is to some extent a result of the peasant farming schemes, since they offered the more progressive individuals the opportunity to obtain farming implements, loans, subsidies and knowledge about new farming methods (Chipungu 1988: 5, 95-101). The introduction of the plough in particular has, in the longer run, led to a marked economic differentiation among the population in Nchimishi, since it enabled farmers (often returned migrants) to engage in the large-scale production of food crops and, in later years, tobacco production.

The establishment of the Mulembo scheme did not result in better control over autonomous developments in agriculture either; in Chibale Chieftdom an increasing number of villagers (or 'village producers' as the Agricultural Department called them) and returned migrants preferred to establish their own farms. These so-called 'individual farmers' wanted to decide for themselves what crops they would cultivate and which implements and techniques they would use, instead of following the directions of the Agricultural Department or leaving these decisions to the village headman.

The difficulties the peasant farming schemes in Serenje were facing on the one hand, and the autonomous developments which were taking place outside the scheme on the other hand, led gradually to the conviction at district level that the gap between the peasant farming schemes and 'the outside world', between the package the scheme was promoting and the different existing farming methods, was too wide.

A change in policy: from 'block farmers' to 'village producers' and 'individual farmers'

The years 1956 and 1958 saw radical changes in the activities of the Agricultural



Plate 4.3 "Ploughing with oxen" by Jairinho Tembo (an artist from Nchimishi)

Department in Serenje District. Until then the emphasis had been largely on peasant farming schemes, but in these years the Department turned its attention towards the 'village producer' (in 1956) and the 'individual farmer' (in 1958). This change in policy should be seen as an attempt by the Colonial Authorities to deal with the unforeseen and unintended outcomes of the farming scheme policy and to gain control over autonomous developments which were occurring in Serenje District. Instead of taking the lead and attempting to initiate an 'agricultural revolution', the Agricultural Department now tried, as it were, to catch up with the farming population and with the developments which were taking place.

As mentioned earlier, the *citeme* system in Serenje District was, according to Peters, at the point of breakdown towards the end of the 1940's. This conclusion was one of the reasons why the Agricultural Department decided during the late forties to establish the peasant farming schemes. Contrary to what was assumed by the Colonial Authorities, however, the farming population in Nchimishi had responded in several ways during the 1940's and early 1950's to the gradual decay of the *citeme* system. A few inhabitants had left the area and settled in the less densely populated regions of the Serenje and Mkushi Districts, and there is proof that some ended up in the Belgian Congo. The majority (excluding those who had migrated to the Copperbelt) had not left the area, however, and continued using *citeme* methods. Since it had become virtually impossible to find forests with enough fully regenerated trees in the vicinity of Nchimishi, some villagers had increased the size of their *citeme* in order to obtain the same quantities of ashes and thus of millet (between 1944 and 1958 the mean size of woodland area cut per *citeme* in Serenje District rose from 7 hectares to 10.1 hectares, Long 1968: 14; Peters 1950: 48-9). Others preferred to travel long distances to places where mature trees were still in relative abundance. This option, however, was not very popular since it entailed staying for prolonged periods in isolation from relatives, friends or fellow church members, and secondly, because transporting the harvest back to the village presented a problem. But most villagers, especially in the later stages, responded to the changing circumstances by reducing the size of their *citeme* and by increasing the acreage of their subsidiary gardens such as the *ibala* (where as a main crop sorghum was cultivated), the *citaba* (with cassava) and the *cisebe* (maize and runner beans) (Long 1968: 12-7). This meant that within these households millet was partly replaced as a staple food by crops such as 'Lala maize' and cassava. This also happened within those households where it was decided to stop cutting a *citeme*, and instead to rely on a combination of gardens and millet fields which had been prepared with the hoe. Within some, especially smaller, households it was decided to abandon completely the cultivation of millet.

The 'village producers'

One of the reasons for paying more attention to the 'village producer' - as the villagers who persisted in using traditional methods of cultivation were called - was that it had become clear that in Serenje District this village producer was providing a substantial proportion of food grown for sale. Moreover, with the establishment of the teacher

training college in Serenje township an increase in food production was considered of vital importance, and it was thought that with enough guidance in the short run the bulk of the increase could come from village producers (Serenje Tour Report No. 8, 1956).

In 1956, more attention was given to existing agricultural practices and the developments in agriculture that were already taking place. In other words the Agricultural Department, following directly the recommendations made by Peters, intended to link up more closely with on-going processes of agricultural change, and wished to guide cultivators during their transition to more intensive methods of agriculture (Peters 1950: 78-86).

By suggesting certain modifications and improvements of existing methods, the Agricultural Department tried, albeit in a gradual way, to introduce and promote new crops (such as vegetables, for example) and soil conservation measures (such as the digging of contour ridges and the use of manure and crop rotation schemes). According to the Agricultural Department, this new policy, if it was going to be successful, had to be supported by thorough research, a survey of the different indigenous agricultural practices, and village garden experiments at the Agricultural Station in Serenje (Serenje Tour Report No. 8, 1956). This new approach even resulted in a softer position vis-à-vis the old enemy, the *citeme* system. Following Peters, J.E. Madocks, the District Commissioner of Serenje who played a major role in designing and implementing the new policy, suggested that the attempt to promote more intensive and sustainable methods of agriculture in a more gradual way even allowed for the promotion of a modified version of the *citeme* system. This version was based on the 'large circle' *citmene* system of the Bemba, whereby instead of making a large number of small circles, the branches were stacked in large circles. But, as Madocks feared, this modification, which would have reduced marginal losses, never became very popular among the Lala, since the women objected to having to carry the branches to one large patch only (Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1956).

From the outset, the Agricultural Department realized that it did not have enough manpower to reach all the villagers directly. It was clear that the instructions and assistance given would be far too superficial, even if the Department attempted to operate on a large number of scattered villages and farms. It was therefore decided that in every Chiefdom at least one so-called 'Development Area' had to be established. Each Development Area consisted of only five or six villages situated fairly close together. It was hoped that these improved villages and farms would 'infect' other neighbouring villages and farms. During so-called 'Village Development Tours', the 'Development Team' - which consisted of, among others, the District Officer, the Agricultural Supervisor, two Agricultural Assistants and the Livestock Officer - would visit the Development Area for a week or so (Serenje Tour Report No. 13 1956). Ideally, instead of imposing measures, the team attempted to work together with the villagers and farmers to discuss their problems and to work out solutions. Using this approach, the District Government tried to improve the village not only in terms of agriculture but also in every other sphere of activity, from house building to child care. It was hoped that one of the results of this type of assistance would be the development of more stable, larger and less scattered villages, the development in fact of rural

communities in which it would be possible in the future to provide more social amenities for the inhabitants (Serenje Tour Report No. 13, 1956). In Nchimishi, six villages were selected to form a Development area, and were first visited in May 1956.⁴ Unfortunately, more than two years elapsed before a follow-up visit took place and, consequently, before any attempt was made to judge the results of earlier work (Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1958).

It is difficult to assess the impact of this approach upon developments in Nchimishi. A few older farmers who had been visited by an Agricultural Assistant during the tour of 1956 told me that they received some useful information, especially with regard to the cultivation of vegetables. A lot of older people, however, did not remember anything about the two Village Development Tours and it seems that its long term effects were negligible.

The 'individual farmer'

In 1958, the Agricultural Department turned its attention to the 'individual farmers', that is, to farmers who on their own farm or in their own village had started producing crops for the market and who had adopted 'modern' methods of farming, such as the plough. These farmers could from now on also be registered as 'peasant farmers' (Long 1968: 18). The 'Native Authority Order', which was passed late in 1957 and which regulated the individual settlements, stated that every peasant farmer had to follow a crop rotation scheme as recommended by the Agricultural Department and use manure if cattle were kept. In 1959 the Agricultural Department recommended for Serenje: 'a simple 6 year crop rotation (cereal, legume, cereal, followed by 3 years pigeon peas)' (Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1959).

Despite the fact that the application of soil conservation methods had been strongly emphasized since the late 1940's and in 1958 had become compulsory for individual farmers, rotation schemes were not followed, and the use of manure was rejected by the majority of the farmers as well as the village producers. For its part, the Agricultural Department had neither the means nor the manpower to enforce these measures upon the farmers.

Sometimes farmers or village producers even had small fields, which were, according to the District Commissioner, 'demarcated for the Government' (Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1959). In those fields, farmers and villagers were meticulously following the regulations from the Government and, of course, only these fields were shown to the 'agricultural people' when they came to visit the farm or village. But the bulk of their produce came from fields and gardens which were 'tucked away around the corner' and where farmers followed their own plans. These 'fields for the Government' were not only seen as a way of deceiving the 'agricultural people', but according to farmers were also regarded as a way of comparing their own cultivation methods with the rotational and more intensive methods prescribed by the Department (Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1959). These comparisons often formed the basis for the decision that, since land was still in abundance, it was not worth putting a lot of effort into soil conservation.

The new emphasis on individual farmers also meant that they were given assistance by the agricultural field staff based at the Mulembo farming scheme and could apply for loans for farming equipment and for stumping (Long 1968: 18). This, and the fact that the introduction of Turkish tobacco in 1958 presented the opportunity for some farmers to earn a cash income, resulted in the further spreading of the use of the plough and oxen in Nchimishi. Later, however, we shall see why it took another fifteen years or so before the use of the plough became widespread among the majority of the farming population there.

Kash Chipilingu and the diffusion of the plough

Let us now have a closer look at the process involving the further diffusion of animal traction in Nchimishi, from the early 1950's onwards. I do this by moving away from archival material towards the use of my own field-data. By providing a case study I intend to show how some 'individual farmers' who were not involved in the Mulembo peasant farming scheme played a crucial role in this process, since they were able to bridge a gap which apparently existed between the scheme and a large number of cultivators who were, or later became, interested in this new technology. I have chosen Kash Chipilingu's farm as a case study for two reasons: first, because Kash was an early adopter of the plough and is now considered by other farmers as a pioneer in modern farming and as someone who taught many others how to train oxen and to use the plough; and, second, because the establishment and further development of Kash Chipilingu's farm were described in detail by Norman Long (Long 1968: 61-7, 99-106, Long uses the pseudonym Katwishi). Long's case study not only provides a good insight into the developments which took place during the 1950's and the early 1960's, but also serves as a point of departure for my own analysis. Moreover, using material from *Social Change and the Individual* during my conversations with Kash enabled Kash himself to offer his comments on Long's analysis.

Not only do I indicate the important role Kash Chipilingu played in the further diffusion of animal traction in the area but I also describe why Kash adopted the plough and the problems he faced when he tried to introduce this technology on his own farm. This, I think, is important since it is partly because Kash managed to overcome most of these constraints and finally ended up as a very successful peasant farmer that others became interested in his enterprise and started seeking his advice.

Kash Chipilingu, in his sixties at the time of the restudy, is certainly one of the most colourful characters in Nchimishi and is described by others, and in particular his relatives, as very talkative, boastful and sometimes aggressive, especially at beer parties or political meetings. One farmer asserted that most people in Nchimishi know Kash through the conflicts they have had with him. And indeed his life is characterized by a large number of conflicts with, for example, his matrikin over inheritance matters, with his neighbours over land (see also Chapter 12), and with his fellow party members over the assignment of political or semi-political posts. Some long-standing conflicts

even go back as far as the forties and fifties. But, although Kash is feared by many, is often accused of witchcraft and is at best seen as a somewhat wayward character, he is also often described as someone who is keen on learning and trying out new things. Kash, one farmer told me, 'is always speaking of development and farming.' A poster behind one of the windows of his large house declares: 'Kash Chipilingu, the best farmer', and indeed, with a production of around 350 bags of maize during the 1987/88 season, Kash ranks among the ten most successful farmers in Nchimishi.⁵

According to Kash and his senior wife, a lot has changed at the farm since Norman Long (Ba Normani) left the area in 1964. Kash maintains that at that time, as compared with the present, his fields and those of his wives were very small and that during the fifties and sixties they sold only small quantities of maize which they used to measure in tins instead of bags (6 tins = 1 bag). But despite the fact that the farm has undergone tremendous development since the 1960's, even in those days Kash was among the bigger farmers of the area.

During the late 1940's, Kash (See also Genealogie 12.2) worked in Kitwe at a club which was owned by the mining company. In 1949, however, he gave up his job and returned to Lubeya village because his older brother, Mupishi, had asked him to open a store there. Kash proved to be a good manager, but, after two people in the village died (one of them being Kash's mother), Kash was accused of witchcraft and finally left Lubeya village in 1951. With the financial support of his brother he built a new store along the Chibale road. After a few years, however, disagreements arose between Kash and Mupishi over the profits from the business. Mupishi refused to subsidize their joint venture any longer, and Kash was ordered to leave the store and to return to Lubeya village. It was then that Kash decided to set up his own farm. Kash had no intention of returning to the village, and his relatives were not anxious to see him come back either.

Since the establishment of the so-called Parish System⁶ of local government in 1950, which made provision for the setting up of small settlements without recognized headmen, the fission of villages, a process which had already started before the Colonial office assumed control over the territory in 1924, was occurring at an increased rate (Long 1968: 83-5). So, when he set up his farm, Kash was certainly not the first to have moved out of his village. When I discussed the establishment of the farm, which took place in 1955, Kash agreed with Long that at that time there was a tendency among individuals, either already practising or intending to practise new methods of farming, to detach themselves from the village and to set up on their own. Long writes:

⁵And the same is true of storekeepers in the parish. Thus as Turner comments for the Ndembu, "if a man wishes to accumulate capital to set up as a trader or tailor, or to acquire a higher standard of living for himself or for his elementary family, he must break away from his circle of village kin towards which he has traditional obligations". Hence, "we see the spectacle of corporate groups of kin disintegrating and the emergence of smaller residential units based on the elementary family" (Turner 1957, p.43). The same argument holds for Kapepa (Nchimishi, H.S.). Many commercially oriented farmers, for instance, try to limit the number of kinsmen residing at their farms in an attempt to conserve their slender capital resources' (Long 1968: 97-8).

When I discussed Long's analysis with Kash Chipilingu, his reaction to it was as

follows:

'Yes, I think this is very true, but in some ways life in the village was also good because people used to share. But the world has changed, nowadays people live on farms. On the farm you can be independent. In the village there was one big *nsaka* for all the men so there was only one idea. In the village there was coercion, it was a bad system. The village headman could say tomorrow we are going to the *nkutu* and then we stayed for three months in the bush. There was no development in the villages. Now everyone can decide. In the village there were also evil systems, like in Lubeya there was a lot of witchcraft and people started accusing each other. In the village you always had to share with others, that is another reason why there was no development. Now you see why I did not want to return to Lubeya village. I could not have become a farmer if I had stayed in Lubeya.' (L)

At a very early stage, Kash saw farming as the way of making a new career and obtaining a regular income without having to depend too much on others, and without losing control over his resources. To achieve this goal, Kash intended to grow crops such as Lala maize and beans for sale and to use some of the new farming methods which had been introduced at the Mulembo scheme. Long writes:

'He persuaded Bombwe (Mupishi, H.S.) to send him £5 with which to buy a plough and got permission from Lusefu (Lubeya, the village headman, H.S.) to castrate two bulls so that they might be used for ploughing. At the same time he established close links with several of the farmers at the farming block and visited their farms regularly to talk over farm matters. One of the persons in this network was Godfrey (Jackson Makofi, H.S.), a boyhood friend with whom Katwishi had maintained contact over the years. Godfrey's brother Daiman (Blaison Makofi, H.S.) was married to Katwishi's cross cousin Chisenga one of Lusefu's daughters. Katwishi was able to use both this bond of friendship and his affinal link with Godfrey to get the latter to assist him with training of the oxen' (Long 1968: 62-3).

Kash Chipilingu maintains that he got the idea of using oxen from Pontio Kunda whom he had seen castrating such animals. Kash had met Pontio in the early forties while they were both living in Tom village from where he had moved to Lubeya in 1942 on the death of his sister's husband, Mr. Tom. When he returned to Lubeya from Kitwe in 1949 and saw the farm block at Mulembo, he combined both ideas and started to think of ploughing. In one day, he castrated four oxen with a knife. He continues:

'Yes. And then I started to train them, but I had no plough so I went to the farm block to Bwana Simms (one of the British Agricultural Officers working at the scheme, H.S.), but he told me I was not a member so I could not buy one. But I knew Sakeni Chibuye. He was a member. I gave him money so he could buy a plough for me.' (L)

Kash never joined the peasant farming scheme. After becoming independent from Lubeya village he did not wish to work for others again, not even for the Government. As mentioned earlier, by 1955 the scheme had become quite unpopular among the farming population in Nchimishi, but, that apart, Kash had quite ambitious plans, and he considered the use of oxen as just a transitional phase in the further development of his enterprise, which in the future had to include at least one tractor. The scheme could not, in his view, provide him with enough opportunities and enough land. But despite



Plate 4.4 Kash Chipilingu: "The best farmer"

this and the fact that Kash learned from Pontio Kunda how to castrate and train his animals, Kash maintained that the scheme was very important for the development of his farm. It not only gave him the idea of setting up a farm and trying to obtain an income while remaining on the land, but also provided him with farming knowledge and implements. Kash, as we have seen, maintained good and beneficial relations with some of the settlers and soon even managed to establish good contacts with some of the British supervisors ('Bwana Simms and Bwana Evans') who became interested in his farm and paid him a few visits, especially after the administration started turning its attention towards the individual farmer. It was also at this point that Kash was allowed to obtain farming implements from the scheme on a loan basis. According to Kash, although he received a lot of encouragement from his friends at the scheme and others who had just started or were thinking of starting a farm themselves, he also met with a lot of resistance with regard to his plans from, for example, his relatives in Lubeya village. Therefore, Kash did not agree with Norman Long when he writes:

'Although Katwishi had recently quarrelled with Bombwe and Lusefu (Mupishi and Lubeya, H.S.), and had been openly accused of practising sorcery by several of his matrikin at Lusefu Village, he nevertheless succeeded in getting them to supply him with the basic farming items. The reason for this was not only that they felt some moral obligation to him because he was their close uterine kinsman, albeit a somewhat wayward character, but also because they realized that his venture into farming might in the long run be to their own advantage' (Long 1968: 65).

After this passage had been read to him, Kash made the following comments:

'Ah, people were telling Ba Normani lies. They were cheating him, especially about what happened in the village (Kash being accused of witchcraft, H.S.). But what he wrote about the store is true (other passages read to Kash; Long 1968: 61-7, 99-106, 166-90). Do you think President Kaunda is a witch, Mudala? (Kash addressing himself to Mudala Chisenga the research assistant, H.S.).

- No, I don't think so.

But there are some people who say he is a witch, because of his leadership and because of what he is doing. But he is Doctor Kaunda, isn't he?

- Yes.

The same applies to me. In Lubeya, some people used to call me a witch (*mfwiti*), because of the way I was working; the fact that I was using animals and ploughing my fields. So people called me a witch. This year I ploughed a lot of acres and I produced more than 300 bags (of maize, H.S.), but still some call me *mfwiti* because of the work I do and the amount I produce. Because I am different. From the beginning, when I started my farm they have called me a witch, until now. Just like the time in Lubeya; I was castrating the animals but my relatives thought I was mistreating the animals. They did not assist me, and they did not see any advantage. They said: "You will end up killing that animal because of that castration", but they forgot that they themselves were just keeping cattle for meat, instead of using them. When they killed an animal they were happy, but when I wanted to castrate them and train them, they thought I was just mistreating the animals. They told me I was boasting and was trying to become a white man, and all this because I wanted to start a farm.

In Lubeya they did not see the advantage of using oxen. No, they even feared the government way of farming. In those days people were against farming, they only wanted to use a hoe. They did not know that everyone could use oxen: "You are just mistreating the oxen", can you believe it?

Lubeya, the uncle, was against me, against me using the animals. He said to others: "Maybe this boy is mad, why is he doing this?" One time he went to see his friends in Kapeshe and he said to them: "There is a mad young man in our village, who is mistreating our cattle all the time." But some years

later, when the uncle was away I decided to plough his field. When he came back he was very surprised to see I had done a big portion. Only then did he start to realize, and he said to others: "This boy is good, with a plough you can cultivate a big piece of land. Ah!". One time I grew some *kashawa* (cowpeas) and beans in *mabwela* and a few white men from Serenje and Mkushi came to inspect my fields to see what I had done.

- Why? What was so special about that *mabwela*?

I had used a plough instead of a hoe. It was at that stage that I was allowed to get another plough, a harrow and a scotch cart from the scheme, with a loan.

Later. Yes, they came to realize what one can do with a plough. One time after I had ploughed at Lubeya they even prepared some chickens for me.

Ba Normani is right; they accused me of witchcraft (Long 1968: 100-6). They saw the store was always full because I was even ordering goods from as far away as the Congo. So they thought, they suspected, that through killing my mother even more goods would find their way to the store. That is why I decided to move. Ah, they were always cheating Ba Normani. At the village they were cheating him because at that time I was not on good terms with my relatives. They tried to confuse him. But you see at that time people were ignorant. If someone was working very hard he was a witch. If you were eating properly at your farm, you were a witch. If you were selling a lot of maize or beans they said: "He is a witch". People who were different and doing well were always accused of witchcraft in those days.

- But why?

Like I told you; people were ignorant! They depended on mound gardens. But when you were working hard you became a witch. Before I started working with oxen I was not a witch to them. I only became one after I had started using oxen. They said I was using *ukangula* (the use of magic to transfer crops from someone else's field to your own field, M. Chisenga). But I was just working very hard. If you only depend on mound gardens you cannot get a lot of produce. Now people rush to get oxen, but it all started at my farm. I got the idea from the scheme and from Ba Pontio. He started in 1942 in Kapeshi. But nowadays everyone is working to get oxen. That is the only way to grow more. I was very much respected by the people from the scheme, Bwana Evans and Bwana Simms and Bwana Thomas, because I tried to learn. But I was not respected by most of the people here.' (L)

Kash obtained his oxen from the herd which was partly owned by his brother Mupishi and kept at Lubeya village under the custody of Lubeya, the village headman. But, contrary to Long's information, and according to others who at that time lived in the village (Lubeya himself died in 1966), Lubeya did not feel obliged to help Kash, especially since the latter often claimed that he, and not Lubeya, was in fact the village headman. Nor did Kash's matrikin who were living in Lubeya think that his experiments would be to their own advantage in the near future.

Kash was indeed seen as a strange man and more or less an outsider. Through his venture into farming, Kash had manoeuvred himself into a position whereby he indeed received a lot of encouragement and help from the scheme, but at the same time lost the support and respect of his relatives. The reason why Kash successfully claimed some of the animals from the Lubeya herd was that it had been his brother, Mupishi, who had requested him to give up a well paid job in Kitwe in order to run the store. Kash therefore felt he had the right to use some of the animals, if they could help him to make a good living. Even Mupishi agreed with this: 'It was I who stopped Kash from working in town. That is why I could not refuse when he wanted to use some of my animals'.

During the mid-fifties, the use of animal traction was not yet a common practice outside the boundaries of the peasant farming scheme. Not only Kash Chipilingu, but

also other early adopters of the plough in Nchimishi met with the same kind of resistance from relatives and other villagers. This was one of the reasons why most of them left in the end or, in the case of returning migrants, did not return to their villages.

The Chipilingu case shows that the Mulembo peasant farming scheme played an important role during this process of adoption. Individual farmers other than Kash Chipilingu also obtained implements and especially farming knowledge through Mulembo. Kash, using the contacts he had with the personnel working at the scheme, even managed on some occasions to get labourers from Mulembo to work on his farm. Equally important, Kash and some of his 'colleagues', when faced with mounting resistance to their undertakings, could to a certain extent count on the encouragement of both settlers and the 'agricultural people'. Although Kash had apparently gone 'mad', his contacts with the scheme helped to strengthen his belief that he was going in the right direction, what he called 'the government way of farming'.

After a few seasons, villagers' initial reservations started to give way to feelings of admiration and even jealousy, since both Kash and some of the other individual farmers had proved that plough agriculture could in fact yield a reasonable income. Some villagers became interested, for instance, in the way Kash had managed to set up his enterprise, and they wished to learn how they could take up farming as well.

Kash Chipilingu:

'In this area, Ba Pontio was the first and I was the second to start farming and using the plough. Spider Musonda was the third. Lupalo and George Bulwani (a brother of Zebron Bulwani) were number four. Number five was Wire Chisenga. (It must be noted that other farmers provided lists that contained the names of other farmers, H.S.) After we became peasant farmers a lot of people were amazed when they saw what we had achieved in a short period. Some of them wanted to learn (how to use a plough, H.S.), such as Benson Muluwa and Kofi Kunda, but George Bulwani also learned it from me.' (L)

The role Kash has played in the further diffusion of the plough is stressed not only by Kash himself but also by most other farmers in Nchimishi. Lupalo (the maternal uncle of George and Zebron Bulwani) explained:

'Some came here (Lupalo village, H.S.) to see how George was working with a planter. Some of them, after seeing and learning, went to Mulembo to buy one because George had convinced them. But many others went to Kash's farm to see how he worked, how he was ploughing and a lot of them got the idea to start farming from him, because he was the first.' (L)

Kash was very eager to teach others how to use the plough. In this way, by showing that he was sought after as a teacher of new farming methods and that he and a few others were pioneers, Kash hoped to prove he had been on the right track all along and, thus, regain the respect of, especially, his relatives. Kash taught others not only how to plough but also how to castrate and train their animals and how to stump and prepare *ama acres* (see also Chapter 3). Those individuals who decided to adopt the plough after visiting the scheme or seeing the developments at farms like Kash's in most cases preferred to learn these new techniques from independent farmers. Because of the

unpopularity of the scheme around the mid-fifties, prospective farmers wished to remain independent instead of ending up working for the Government. But what is more, these new individual farmers in most cases did not learn from ex-settlers, who started leaving the scheme around the mid- and late fifties and often established themselves as peasant farmers. At the peasant farming scheme the settlers had been working under constant supervision and had only been using well-trained oxen. Moreover, it was the Department which had undertaken the clearing of the different farming plots. According to Kash and other respondents, settlers were 'always helped by the Government' when they faced problems. Although on certain occasions they had received some kind of assistance from either the scheme or the Agricultural Department, independent farmers like Kash Chipilingu had learned, or had figured out by themselves, how to overcome these problems and, despite all this, had in a few years become more successful than the settlers at Mulembo. It was thought by many others that the strategies and solutions of Kash and the other independent peasant farmers were to a certain degree transferable to their own situation. Kash Chipilingu:

'I taught a lot of others how to plough. In the beginning most of them had no oxen and asked me to plough for them. So I had to teach them how to make *ama acres*. I showed them how you can stump a field and make *myunda* the first year, and plough it the second year. But I also used other methods. - For example?

I did the stumping in October or February and after that, in March I made *myunda*, long ones, *bakulakula*. Around those *bakulakula* I did the winter ploughing (towards the end of March, H.S.). In October I burned those *myunda*, and that is where I sowed millet. In November and December I ploughed again around the *myunda*, that is where I sowed my maize. Then the next year I ploughed the whole field. A lot of people were surprised to see me doing it in this way.' (For a comparison of the 'traditional' *citeme* system and the method Kash developed, see Chapter 3.) (L)

Kash's integration of old and new cultivation techniques also apparently attracted a lot of people to his way of farming, not because Kash used an adapted version of the *citemene* method to clear and (during the first season) to cultivate the land, but because he continued cultivating traditional crops in traditional gardens. In order to increase the production of runner beans (which he and his wives were selling), Kash even extended some of these gardens by using his plough instead of the hoe. In this way he not only used traditional methods to prepare 'modern fields' (*ama acres*), but also applied new techniques in traditional gardens. This combination of old and new methods proved to be attractive to some farmers since 'traditional' gardens and crops were not neglected but integrated into the new farming system. The extension of some of the traditional gardens and the use of the plough in, for instance, the *mabwela* also corresponded well with the general trend to increase the size of the subsidiary gardens at the expense of the size of the *citeme*.

We can conclude that Kash certainly did not adopt the package from the scheme in a passive way. He not only used the knowledge he had received from Pontio Kunda, but also adapted and extended the scheme's package where he considered it to be necessary, in the light of the circumstances prevailing on his own farm. Kash Chipilingu is nowadays regarded, I think rightly, by the other farmers in Nchimishi as having been

an innovator. Even his fiercest critics admit that, when it comes to farming, Kash played an important role in changing the landscape of the area. Instead of cultivating crops just to satisfy the nutritional needs of his family, Kash established a link between the cultivation of crops and a more or less regular cash income through the use of the plough and the selling of crops like maize and beans. Despite accusations, conflicts and criticisms, Kash went ahead with his plans, and at his new farm he partly replaced traditional Lala cultivation methods by the 'methods of the Government'. When Kash and some other individual farmers managed to become successful and others started following their example, working with the axe or hoe gradually became regarded as being the 'traditional' or 'Lala' way. The use of animal power and the plough, on the other hand, symbolized 'modern' agriculture, which was to a large extent geared to the cultivation of crops for sale.

Agriculture, having gradually acquired a market orientation, also started developing into a career opportunity. For some returning migrants, agriculture became an opportunity for investing their savings. Migrants, who had become accustomed to a more or less regular salary, saw that with the help of the plough, farmers such as Kash Chipilingu, George Bulwani, Spider Musonda and some of the settlers who had left the scheme had not only managed to satisfy their nutritional needs but earned a reasonable income as well.

Although Kash certainly did not like the fact that he had lost respect (*umushinshi*) among the people in Lubeya village, he was, on the other hand, proud to be different from the majority in Nchimishi, since only he and a few others were following 'the government way'. On several occasions during the late 1950's, Kash expressed his contempt for the *citeme* system which he labelled as being 'primitive' and 'uncivilized' since the forest was being destroyed and it was necessary to relocate every year. Following the words of Chirupula Stephenson he proclaimed that in the near future everyone would not only accept the new technology but also receive his wealth from the land, and he added that the 'days of *citeme*' would soon be over. And, indeed, a lot of villagers had already responded to the changed circumstances by extending their hoed gardens and some were even willing, during these times of agrarian change, to consider more drastic changes.

The diffusion of the plough since the 1960's

A question which arises at this stage is why, after its introduction during the late 1940's and the establishment of independent peasant farms such as Kash Chipilingu's during the fifties and sixties, it took until the seventies and eighties for animal traction to spread at a high rate.

As mentioned earlier, in 1963, 36.4% of the male population in Nchimishi was engaged in plough cultivation, whereas 63.6% continued to use *citemene* methods (Long 1968: 20). In 1988, however, only 14.3% of all households used *citemene* methods to cultivate finger millet, 81% of households was engaged in plough cultivation and 72.6%

cultivated maize on ploughed fields⁷⁾ (see also Plates 4.1 and 4.2). To establish why this change occurred, I look at some of the factors which, according to farmers, either accelerated or delayed the diffusion of the plough in Nchimishi. In so doing, I first consider some of the important crops which were or still are grown in the area, and see whether their cultivation, and the changing circumstances under which their cultivation eventually took place, resulted in the adoption by farmers of animal traction. Subsequently, I discuss the consequences of the diffusion of animal traction, and of some other developments such as migration, changing settlement patterns, and the introduction and dissemination of the religious ideology of the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Millet and Lala maize

The increasing difficulty during the 1960's and 1970's of cultivating millet using the *citemene* system and the possibility of its cultivation on ploughed fields (demonstrated by the Agricultural Department as far back as the early 1940's) have never proved to be sufficient motive for the majority of the farming population in Nchimishi to adopt the plough. That millet could be cultivated with the help of the plough was certainly an argument in favour of the new technology⁸⁾, but one would not make such a large investment just to cultivate millet, a crop which had always been grown without the use of any financial resources.

In Nchimishi, both millet and Lala maize had long served as staple foods. Since over the years maize had developed into the favoured staple food of the urban population, Lala maize had become a potential cash crop as well. Farmers with whom I discussed this issue in most cases pointed out that during the 1950's and 1960's a considerable number of farmers adopted animal traction because Lala maize had become a commodity and could be cultivated on ploughed fields. But despite these developments this group remained a minority. The Chipilingu case has shown that it took quite a few years before a more commercial type of farming became an accepted phenomenon among the villagers, let alone before villagers started seeing it as an alternative to a regular, paid job in town.

Turkish tobacco

In 1958, the Agricultural Department introduced Turkish tobacco in Chibale Chiefdom as an experimental cash crop. The soils were found to be particularly favourable and, due to the good returns some farmers obtained from this crop, Turkish tobacco developed within a few years into an important cash crop in Nchimishi and some other parts of Serenje District. At independence (October 1964) Serenje District had become the largest Turkish tobacco producing district in Zambia (Case Studies in Development, 1972). Long found that in 1963, the high point for tobacco, about 20% of the male population in Nchimishi was engaged in the cultivation of this crop (Long 1968: 34). It is estimated that about half of them were preparing their tobacco gardens with the help of the plough.

In *Social Change and the Individual*, Long concludes that plough agriculture became

increasingly popular after the introduction of Turkish tobacco (Long 1968: 20). But Long also shows that labour requirements for tobacco are extremely high, especially when compared with maize which demands 212.5 man-days per hectare:

'Its production needs little in the way of capital equipment or land. But, on the other hand, Turkish tobacco does require a great deal of constant attention and manpower to produce a high quality leaf. It has been calculated that about 694 man-days per acre (1,715 man-days per ha., H.S.) of the crop are required to handle all stages of production' (Long 1968: 23).

Some of the operations relating to the cultivation of tobacco also clashed with the labour requirements of several food crops because the seed-bed activities coincided with the ploughing and planting of grains like maize, millet and sorghum and the picking and stringing process cut across the harvesting period for the same crops (Long 1968: 25).

During the research, most farmers in Nchimishi with whom I discussed this topic agreed with Long that the plough became increasingly popular after the introduction of tobacco. But the plough in combination with tobacco was especially adopted by those farmers, often returned migrants, who had enough savings to purchase a plough and oxen and who could meet the labour requirements of the new crop, that is, who had either a large labour force at the farm or enough capital to employ hired labour (Long 1968: 40-61). Although some used only a hoe to prepare their tobacco field, these farmers preferred the plough since it enabled them to cultivate a larger area.

Kash Chipilingu, for instance, began growing Turkish tobacco in 1964, but according to Long, already within the first season:

'....production was seriously hampered by insufficient labour supply. Tobacco cultivation demands a large labour input for approximately eight months of the year with especially heavy requirements during the picking and stringing stages. Since none of Katwishi's (Kash's, H.S.) children were old enough to take any major part in this work, he had to rely on the hard work and co-operation of his two wives' (Long 1968: 66-7).

The departure of Kash's first wife from the farm after a quarrel resulted in a labour crisis at the height of the harvesting season. Kash continued cultivating Turkish tobacco until 1966, when he changed over to Lala maize and beans.

Kash explained why he and most other farmers stopped growing Turkish tobacco during the second part of the 1960's and the early 1970's as follows:

'This type of tobacco could be dried in the sun, but later the Government introduced a new type (Virginia flue-cured tobacco, H.S.), which has to be dried in special barns like the ones at the Mulilima tobacco scheme. Also prices started dropping and then the soil on this farm is not very suitable for tobacco. Finding enough people who wanted to work for you was also a big problem, because there is a lot of work in tobacco as compared with maize.' (L)

Indeed, the combination of high labour demands, the bad season of 1964/65, the seemingly permanent drop in producer prices during the late sixties and the introduction by the Zambian Government of Virginia tobacco, a crop which required even more attention, inputs and specialized knowledge, at the so-called Mulilima one-acre tobacco

scheme (which was located near the Mulembo area) made most farmers decide to abandon tobacco production, especially since maize started giving them better returns (Case Studies in Development 1972). I agree with Long that the introduction of tobacco led to a further diffusion of the plough in Nchimishi (Long 1968: 20), but I also think that, during the early sixties, several factors prevented the adoption by a large proportion of the population of the tobacco/plough combination. Firstly, the cultivation of tobacco was, due to its labour requirements, incompatible with living in small, single or two household settlements which were becoming the trend in Nchimishi during the 1960's. Secondly, especially at farms where labour was a limiting factor, farmers did not want to endanger their food security just because of tobacco.

Hybrid maize

Towards the end of the 1960's, farmers who were interested in a more commercially-oriented form of agriculture started to turn their attention towards maize, and the trend became even more marked during the early 1970's when producer prices rose considerably. After the maize shortage of 1970, the Zambian Government decided to make the country self-sufficient, and during the Second National Development Plan (1972-1976) priority was given to the cultivation of maize. No exact figures are known for the situation in Nchimishi, but in Zambia as a whole production rose from around 1.5 million bags in 1970 to approximately 6 million bags in 1975 (Chipungu 1988: 151).

Apart from a higher and more stable producer price, farmers in Nchimishi stressed that Lala maize, and, more especially, hybrid maize, which was introduced in the second half of the 1960's, had several other advantages over tobacco. I have indicated that labour requirements were less, but maize was also a crop with which farmers already had a lot of experience, since it was also cultivated in traditional gardens, such as *mutipula*, *mikose*, and *katobela* (see also Pottier 1988: 20-1). Hybrid maize differed from the traditional Lala maize in that it required fertilizer and that seed could not be multiplied locally but had to be bought every year anew. But despite the fact that its cultivation required financial resources and made farmers become more dependent upon government agencies, hybrid maize - as a result of the much higher yields per acre as well as the profits which farmers who had started experimenting with the crop obtained - became widely accepted within just a few years among farmers who had previously cultivated tobacco or Lala maize for the market.

Farmers with whom I discussed the rapid diffusion of hybrid maize often mentioned another advantage of maize over tobacco. Maize, especially hybrid maize, could serve as both a cash and food crop. This means that its cultivation on a large scale, that is in combination with the plough, did not endanger the food security of the farmer and his or her family. This point was stressed particularly by women, who had, traditionally, been largely responsible for the cultivation of food crops. On most farms, however, the growing of tobacco had been an activity which was dominated and controlled by its male residents (this despite the fact that a farmer often depended upon the labour of his wife and children during the picking and stringing stages). The introduction of hybrid maize, however, offered women the opportunity to cultivate and sell cash crops without

neglecting their traditional responsibilities towards the household. Maize was not only a traditional food crop, but hybrid maize could also replace millet as a staple food crop.

Another frequently-mentioned advantage of maize is that this crop, contrary to tobacco, assumed an important role within the local economy soon after its introduction. Whereas tobacco used to be sold by farmers at special depots from where it was transported to the Line of Rail, some of the maize remained in Nchimishi and was sold locally during the 'hunger months' (March and April), or was used to brew a new type of beer (*katata*, introduced into the area around 1983) which was sold locally, mainly by women. Although they have to buy seeds and fertilizer in order to be able to cultivate hybrid maize, most former tobacco growers feel that maize has made them more flexible and somewhat less dependent upon 'the Government'.

After the mid 1970's, an increasing number of people in Nchimishi became convinced that hybrid maize had a brighter future than tobacco: firstly, the Zambian Government in most cases succeeded in supplying the local depot with enough seeds of hybrid maize, fertilizer, farming implements and spares; secondly, through the Agricultural Finance Company (AFC) a number of farmers were able to receive credit which helped them to purchase implements, inputs or to hire labour; thirdly, a lot of attention was given by the agricultural extension workers in the area to the correct application of fertilizer; and, fourthly, when the Zambian Government continued paying a satisfactory price for maize, the growth in confidence among the population resulted in the rapid spread of hybrid maize and animal traction throughout the farming population.⁹⁾ (See Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1).

Because of the lesser labour input required for the cultivation of maize, even the smaller residential groupings were now able to adopt the plough and engage in the cultivation of cash crops. As one farmer put it:

'Before independence there was no fertilizer or hybrid maize. But now with fertilizer you can make fields everywhere, and with hybrid maize you can make money. That is why so many people began buying oxen and ploughs. Because with maize everyone can make money, even someone who is living by himself.' (E)

Although a survey which I conducted in 1988 showed that 57% of the adult population and 73.9% of all households cultivated hybrid maize for sale, some subsistence cultivators completely relied upon crops such as millet, cassava and Lala maize. Not all farmers in Nchimishi who produced a surplus of hybrid maize for sale made use of the plough however. Seventeen percent of all adult farmers who cultivated hybrid maize with the help of fertilizers were using a hoe instead. For the majority of the younger farmers, however, the hoe only represents a transitional stage on their way to the plough. They consider the cultivation of hybrid maize with a hoe as a way to acquire capital and, in the long run, to obtain cattle and farming implements, without having to take on a loan, without having to hire the oxen of their relatives, or as one farmer pointed out, without becoming: 'a slave of the bank or the Government' (see also Chapter 6). Other farmers I interviewed did not have any intention of adopting the plough.

Table 4.1: Adoption of hybrid maize by adult farmers in Nchimishi
(Survey sample contains 270 adult farmers)

YEAR OF ADOPTION	NUMBERS OF FARMERS	CUMULATIVE
1968	2	2
69	0	2
70	0	2
71	0	2
72	1	3
73	4	7
74	1	8
75	3	11
76	6	17
77	8	25
78	9	34
79	8	42
80	4	46
81	11	57
82	9	66
83	6	72
84	8	80
85	14	94
86	23	117
87	14	131
88	13	144

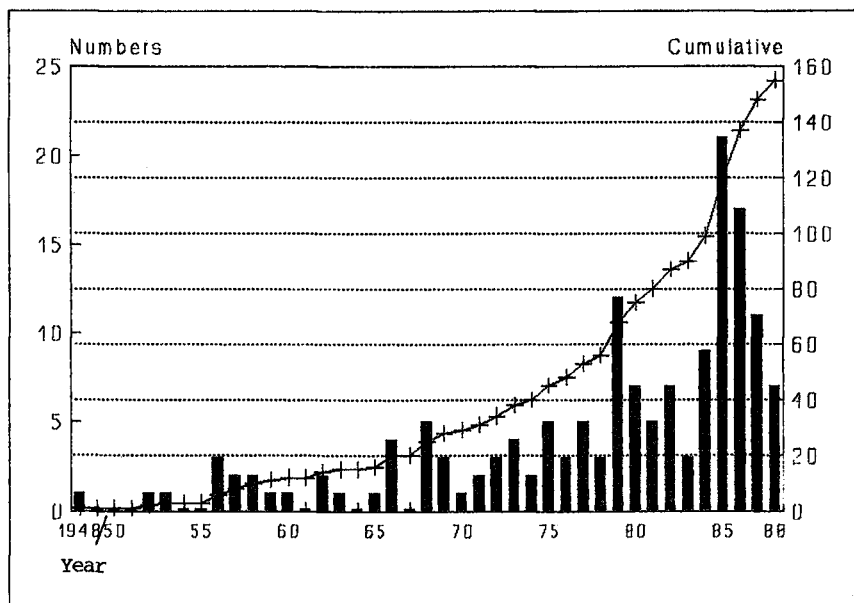


Figure 4.1: Adoption of animal traction by adult farmers in Nchimishi

These were often elderly people, those living alone at their farms, or farmers who did not have enough land or for some reason did not wish to extend their fields. Some of these farmers, lacking a resource such as land, often stated that in their case it would be useless to buy a plough since the use of the hoe resulted in higher yields per acre (see also Chapter 5).

Other factors which have affected the process of agrarian change and the diffusion of the plough

Changing settlement patterns

If we wish to analyze the diffusion of the plough in Nchimishi, we should also consider other developments which have played a role in this process.

In *Social Change and the Individual*, Long gives a detailed description of the changed patterns of settlement in the area during the nineteenth century and, more especially, the twentieth.

When in 1924 the Colonial Office assumed control of the territory, the fission of the large villages which existed in Serenje was already under way (Long 1968: 80-3). This process was accelerated after the introduction of the Parish System. In 1964, therefore, two kinds of residential groupings could be distinguished: the village (*umushi*) and the farm (*ifwamu*).

'A village is conceptualized both in terms of its physical characteristics - a relatively large, discrete cluster of houses, often laid out on a rectangular plan - and in terms of its social characteristics - a group of kinsfolk related in various ways to, and under the authority of, a senior kinsman, the headman (*mwine mushi* or *sulutani*). In contrast, the farm is seen as a small settlement where the stress is on living outside the control and surveillance of a village headman' (Long 1968: 86-7).

Long also discerns different factors which promoted village fragmentation during the fifties and the early sixties:

'Although the change-over to plough cultivation and Turkish tobacco as a cash crop did not in themselves make certain existing forms of social organization redundant - the conjugal or three-generation extended family remained the major unit for production and consumption, and various categories of matrilineal kin might continue to assist the farmer - the tendency has been for individuals practising these new forms of agriculture to detach themselves from the village and set up on their own' (Long 1968: 97).

As Long predicted, this process of village fragmentation has continued: in 1964 he counted 11 villages of which only one continued to exist in 1988.¹⁰

When farmers were asked to look back upon the days they were still living in the villages and to compare this period with life on the farm, their remarks showed a striking resemblance in many cases to what Carlstein writes of the situation in Sweden

during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the period of the land and settlement reforms:

'Although the fission of pre-existing villages had considerable social costs in terms of reduced frequency and duration of interaction among villagers, it also freed cultivators from the coordination and coupling constraints associated with village life. The widespread synchronization of agricultural and other activities tended to impede agricultural innovation, since the majority always had to be convinced of the virtues of new methods before they could be implemented. Technical progress was therefore slow' (Carlstein 1980: 227).

In the village, people had lived under the headman (*sulutani*), whereas at their own farms individuals were freer to make their own decisions, pursue their own goals. Jonas Benson Mwape, a farmer in Nchimishi, expressed this as follows:

'The most important change in this area has been that people moved from villages to farms. Most farmers are independent these days. In the villages there was no development, people had only one idea. In the village there was no competition, so everybody stayed on the same level. Now there is a lot of competition, everybody wants to undertake new things and people are working hard for themselves, and they compare their results with the results of other farmers. Since everyone is living on his own farm today new ideas arise, and because of this you can see that people end up thinking differently about a lot of things.' (E)

The remarks made by Kash Chipilingu who wished to become an independent farmer and who left the village as a result of conflicts also provide an illustration of how farmers tend to evaluate this change.

One may conclude that, apart from the Parish System, the further fragmentation of villages in Nchimishi was certainly promoted by the rise of new economic opportunities, which were partly a result of the introduction of new farming methods (Long 1968: 99-133; Long 1977: 20-1).¹¹ Although Long shows that different factors could lead to the break-up of a village, the tensions and conflicts which preceded the fission often resulted from the attempts of various residents to gain access to, and a degree of control over, certain economic resources. According to Long, the matrilineal descent groups which made up the core of all villages in Nchimishi were incompatible with cash-crop farming and the accumulation of wealth above subsistence needs. The farm or the individual settlement, often based on the conjugal or three-generation extended family, proved to be a better residential unit for those who wanted to be in command of their resources and who wished to pursue new social and economic goals.

During the fifties and sixties an increasing number of people in Nchimishi left their village in order to take up farming and to be able to change over to the plough. Others who had also decided to leave the village did not adopt the plough however.

By the mid-1970's, most villages in Nchimishi had disappeared, and farmers often pointed out to me that the introduction of the plough had certainly influenced the decision by some people to leave their village. On the other hand, it was often stressed that the establishment of smaller residential units, a process which had started long before the introduction of new farming methods, in its turn had to be considered as an important factor in explaining the rapid diffusion of the plough during the seventies and

eighties.

The geographical dispersion of matrilineal kin which resulted from the establishment of these smaller units resulted not only in less interaction with relatives, but also in less control by them. The general opinion in Nchimishi is that during the last decades an effect of this dispersion has been that assets have become more individualized and that the control over property by matrikin has lessened. As one farmer put it: 'When thirty years ago you bought a bicycle, your brothers used to say: "Look, we bought a bicycle". But when you buy a bicycle today your children say: "Look our father has bought himself a bicycle".' (L) Living on their own farms, individuals could exert a greater control over resources; they could make their own rules to a certain extent and were therefore able to respond faster to changing circumstances and to new developments in agriculture.

The Jehovah's Witnesses

In *Social Change and the Individual*, Long indicates that the Jehovah's Witnesses, who at that time made up around 19% of the total adult population in Nchimishi, were among the first to leave the villages. In 1964, 74.7% of all Witnesses lived outside the village in smaller settlements based on a conjugal or small extended family, as against 40.1% of the non-Witnesses (Long 1968: 37). According to Long, individual Witnesses used their religious affiliation as a way of justifying certain actions, such as, for instance, moving out of their village to establish a farming enterprise, or refusing to allow matrikin to live on their farms or to work for them (Long 1968: 37, 126-9).

Jehovah's Witnesses lay great emphasis on the conjugal family, and argue that like Adam and Eve they wish to live with their own children who are more important than any other relatives. Marriage and the union of man and wife was, and still is, seen as the cornerstone of society (*Making Your Family Life Happy* 1976: 36). By moving out of the village, Witnesses were able to restrict relations with their relatives or other clan members. At their own settlements, Jehovah's Witnesses felt freer to practise their religion. Jehovah's Witnesses were also among the first to change over to the plough (George Bulwani, Blackson Mulilima and Chubeck Mabweshi, all names of early adopters mentioned by Kash Chipilingu, were Jehovah's Witnesses at that time). Long writes:

'Proportionately more Witnesses practise some form of plough cultivation and more grow tobacco. 46.8 per cent of Witnesses use plough methods exclusively and 21.3 per cent cultivate by a combination of plough and citeme. In contrast, only 17.8 per cent of non-Witnesses use the plough and 9.7 per cent a combination of plough and citeme. As for tobacco growing, 18 out of 44 growers are Jehovah's Witnesses' (Long 1968: 38).

Jehovah's Witnesses were convinced that hard work, using new methods of agriculture and the selling of crops would enable them to serve Jehovah better:

'As Isaiah taught that the world would be re-built by God's chosen people, so the Witnesses of Kapepa Parish believe that by acquiring such skills as bricklaying, carpentry, tailoring; by using

improved methods of cultivation and by raising their own standards of living, both materially and spiritually, they are preparing themselves for the new life and the tasks ahead' (Long 1968: 210).

When he compares the urban experiences of Witnesses and non-Witnesses Long concludes that:

'Persons who later became Jehovah's Witnesses differ somewhat from others of comparable age and town experience in that there is often a marked discrepancy between their job expectations and the type of employment they eventually find' (Long 1968: 227-8).

According to Long, many Witnesses who had often been trained as carpenters, tailors or bricklayers were motivated to seek work in town. But after their arrival most of them found that fierce competition existed for this kind of skilled work. As a result, many of them had to take up poorly paid and unskilled occupations. Not surprisingly, therefore, many Witnesses returned to Nchimishi after a few years in urban employment. For a lot of Jehovah's Witnesses, the cultivation of cash crops with the help of the plough presented an opportunity to earn a cash income without having to return to the Copperbelt. A cash income was considered necessary to provide for the physical as well as the religious needs of the household. In addition to being among the early adopters of the plough, the Jehovah's Witnesses also played an important role during the seventies and eighties in the further diffusion of plough agriculture since they were also among the first to start experimenting with the cultivation of hybrid maize (see Chapter 13 for a more detailed analysis of the role played by the Witnesses in the process of agricultural change).

The impact of migration

Another development which has certainly influenced the process of agrarian change both in Nchimishi and in other parts of Zambia is the large-scale migration to the towns of the Copperbelt (Watson 1958 and 1959; Pottier 1988). In 1956 it was estimated that around 60% of Chief Chibale's taxable males were working at Broken Hill (now Kabwe), the majority of them as miners. Many others were working for the Roan Antelope Mine in Luanshya. According to a Serenje Tour Report of 1956, most migrants were accompanied by their wife and children (Serenje Tour Report No. 1, 1956).

Having lived and worked in town for so many years, many migrants had developed doubts as to whether they should or should not return to their village. They had become used to town life, a salary, and, consequently, to a certain standard of living. J.E. Madocks, the District Commissioner for Serenje who went on several tours to the Copperbelt in 1956 with the purpose of visiting the migrants from Serenje District, wrote:

'They have become accustomed to the livelier social life of the crowd, the amenities in the shape of beer halls, cinemas, shops, sporting occasions and good food. They are the emergent class; the ones who consider a move back to the village a retrograde step to a lower standard of life hedged about

by irksome restrictions imposed by the Chief and Native Authorities. Certainly the standard of living of these people is high by comparison with the villagers back home.' (Serenje Tour Report No. 10, 1956).

A large number of migrants, especially of the younger generation who had been raised in town and who knew Nchimishi only from occasional visits, had no desire to settle in the rural areas. I think that Madocks rightly concludes, 'The village to them was something remote, a tale from the past, a backwater where there was poverty and witchcraft' (Serenje Tour Report No. 4, 1956).

Many elderly people, nearing retirement, did have plans to return to Chibale, but in this group doubts existed as well. Some feared that by returning to their village, that is to the sphere of influence of the village headman and their matrilineal kin, and by taking up the axe to cut a *citeme*, their life savings would vanish within a matter of months. This explains why, during the Commissioner's tours to the Copperbelt, some Lala wished to know more about the developments in agriculture which were taking place back home and the prospects for opening up stores (Serenje Tour Report No. 10, 1956).

According to Long, by 1963 there appeared to be a distinct drop in the proportion of men absent, and his enquiries indicated that only just over 50% of all adult males and 35% of all adult females had migrated:

'Moreover the age structure for the resident male population showed a rather surprising bulge for the 25-34 year age categories, which suggested that although most young men spent an initial period in urban employment they were less inclined to return to town for additional trips. One reason for this could have been the increased opportunities existing at home for earning cash.' (Long 1968: 31-2).

Partly because of the opportunities which existed on the Copperbelt, farming during the 1950's had not yet developed into a real alternative to migration. By the 1960's, however, a growing number of migrants became interested in farming, sometimes after hearing the success stories of farmers such as Kash Chipilingu. Because of the new opportunities in farming, a growing number of young migrants, often Jehovah's Witnesses, decided to return home after just a few years of urban experience. Returned migrants longed for a more settled way of life and a cash income and were among the few people with enough capital to invest in farming implements, cattle and labour. It was through them, therefore, that the diffusion of the plough mainly took place in the first decades after its introduction through the scheme.

The economic crisis which struck Zambia around 1975 gradually led during the late seventies and early eighties to a decline in job opportunities, higher urban unemployment, and a drop in real urban incomes (Wood 1985: 186-205). In this period also, the flow of migration from Nchimishi to Kabwe, Luanshya and the other towns of the Copperbelt started to slacken and an increasing number of migrants started returning to Nchimishi.¹²⁾ By the mid 1980's, few young men in Nchimishi were considering an urban future.¹³⁾ Not only were there fewer job opportunities, but farming now proved to be a better alternative, especially since migrants who returned from the Copperbelt - as compared with those who had come home during the fifties, sixties and early seventies - had in most cases very few savings. According to Jonas Benson

Mwape, a former migrant:

'Nowadays, nobody thinks of going to town and nobody says negative things about farming. They all want to start a farm, unlike those days when there were a lot of factories and it was easy to find a job. In those days people said: "Let me find a job in town". Now farming is an enterprise. Even those boys there, shelling maize, do not think of going to town. They only think about farming. Those who come back on a pension are very poor nowadays. Life in town is too expensive, you have to pay your bills and you have to buy your food. In those days they came home with a truck full of goods and sometimes even the truck belonged to them. So others were jealous. But now when someone returns, he is happy if he can get a lift, and sometimes he has to walk all the way from Mulilima (see Map 1.2). He often depends on his relatives and has to beg from others before he can start his own farm'.

(L)

Commentary and conclusions

Apart from providing an analysis of the diffusion of animal traction and the plough in the Nchimishi area and a description of factors which either accelerated or slowed down this process, the main purpose of this chapter has been to examine the long term effects of, and differential responses to, government intervention. My intention was to show that there is more to government intervention than merely carrying out preliminary research, designing a policy and, finally, implementing it. As Long and van der Ploeg point out, intervention should be seen as a 'socially constructed and negotiated process, not simply the execution of an already specified plan of action with expected outcomes' (Long and van der Ploeg 1989: 228). The direction of agrarian change, therefore, cannot be seen or explained as simply being the result of outside intervention. Although 'modern farming' was introduced by the Colonial Government, the transition from axe and hoe to plough and hoe, from *citeme* to *ama acre*, from millet to Lala maize, to Turkish tobacco and hybrid maize, cannot be understood without considering the role played by villagers and farmers who always seem to have managed to either reject programmes and packages, or transform them to their own needs.

In the first part of the chapter I explained that, during the 1940's, the Government was faced with several problems in both the rural and urban areas for which it wished to find a solution. First, there were problems in the field of agriculture. Research reports predicted the collapse of the *citmene* system which was practised over large areas of the central and northern plateau. The Colonial Government felt that it had to put a stop to this system but thought it could not do this without offering an alternative. Second, the Government believed that the political and social stability of Northern Rhodesia was at risk. While in the rural areas large numbers of able-bodied men were leaving their villages, the formal sectors in the urban areas could not absorb this influx of new migrants. In order to curb the flow of migration and to prevent social unrest, the Government wished to create a stable rural economy. Third, the authorities were faced with food shortages in the urban areas and wished to increase food production. Finally, the Government wanted to obtain better control over certain autonomous

developments in agriculture and to prevent the occurrence of a process of economic differentiation. The peasant farming schemes and the package which was to be offered and promoted by these schemes were considered to be a part of the solution to these problems. The schemes were seen as a kind of control mechanism by which the Government could steer agricultural development and, by so doing, indirectly control and direct processes of social, economic and political change.

At the base of the scheme policy were several perceptions, beliefs and assumptions with regard to the different populations the Government would work with. As can be concluded from various government writings and reports, some of these views were shared by functionaries from different departments working at either the national, provincial or district level. The Lala, for instance, were often described as practising an extremely primitive form of cultivation, as being passive, unenterprising, as not being innovative and as not having developed 'a real love of the land'. It was assumed that they were not aware of the fact that their *citeme* system was on the point of breakdown and therefore were not responding, or at least not responding fast enough, to ecological change, to the changing conditions under which agriculture had to take place. It was also assumed that only the Government held the key to a solution to the problems which, in its eyes, the Lala were facing. Both the Commissioner for Native Development and the Agricultural Department believed that with enough training and demonstrations, and with the withholding of certain information from the villagers (such as the fact that the scheme had been designed partly to alleviate urban food shortages and the fact that the package introduced by the scheme consisted of several elements which could be adopted quite independently from each other), they would accept both the scheme and the package. This in turn would result in a radical break with the past, with the *citemene* system. Other incorrect perceptions prevalent among government personnel with regard to the Lala led the Agricultural Department to formulate inappropriate policies initially. It was assumed, for instance, that it was the men who took all decisions relating to the cultivation of crops and the location of fields and gardens. In the light of experience, when it appeared that soil conservation techniques were not being adopted, policy had to be modified to include women in agricultural programmes.

Although the Colonial Government often regarded the villagers as being more or less passive recipients, the inhabitants of Nchimishi have always had their own objectives and goals, their own ideas and strategies with regard to agriculture, and also their own perceptions regarding the colonial authorities and the peasant farming scheme. Contrary to what was assumed by the Agricultural Department and the Commissioner for Native Development in the years preceding the establishment of the Mulembo scheme, villagers were responding in different ways to the fact that it was becoming increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to find enough mature trees in certain areas to cut a *citeme*. Although they did not have access to research reports, they had obviously also come to the conclusion that something had to change. Towards the mid-1950's, the Mulembo scheme had become unpopular among the majority of the farming population in Nchimishi. Most individuals who wished to engage in 'modern farming' preferred to remain independent. For these individual farmers, the scheme did not offer enough

room for initiative, and, besides, most of them were only interested in certain elements of the package. I would argue, therefore, that the Colonial Government of the 1940's and 50's underestimated the flexibility of the Nchimishi Lala and their ability to adapt to changing ecological conditions and to change their cultivation system gradually without needing an 'agricultural revolution', without making a sudden radical move away from the axe. But, what is more, the Government also underestimated both the wish of many villagers to remain independent and their ability to dismantle the package, adopting some elements of it and rejecting others. As a result of this lack of understanding of the complexity, diversity and internal dynamics of the local situation, the outcomes of the scheme policy and the implementation process were quite different from what had been expected at the outset. The fact that the Government modified its policy several times after the mid 1950's by placing more emphasis on women as cultivators, by recognizing village producers and individual farmers, and by even promoting a modified version of the *citemene* system, can be seen as an acknowledgement by the colonial authorities that some of its perceptions had proved to be wrong.

With the description of the autonomous developments which took place before 1949 (the training of oxen by Pontio Kunda) and the presentation of the Kash Chipilingu case, I have tried to show that government intervention or, indeed, any kind of intervention in the form of projects or programmes does not necessarily stand at the beginning of agricultural development. I argue, therefore, that agrarian change processes which occur *after* the take-off of a project cannot be assessed without considering autonomous developments which took place *before* the introduction of the project, developments which can be seen as the result of the initiatives of the villagers or farmers themselves. The account of the changes which took place from the late 1950's onwards indicated that a change in policy and the discontinuation of a programme does not mark the end of agricultural development. If, then, agrarian development is not confined to outside intervention, but can also take place before and after, and if recipients are able to dismantle and transform a package, how then should one go about studying the way in which the process of agrarian change has been affected by outside intervention? On the basis of the Nchimishi research it can be concluded that if we wish to analyze and understand the diffusion of innovations, processes of agrarian social change and the impact of outside or government intervention upon these processes, we should not allow our analysis to be restricted by the space-time boundaries of the project or programme, nor by evaluations made by, or at the request of, the intervening party. During the mid- and late 1950's, the Agricultural Department had come to the conclusion that the Mulembo peasant farming scheme like the other schemes in the District had failed to meet its objectives, but, what is more, Mulembo had become unpopular among settlers and non-settlers alike. When we consider the literature dealing with colonial agrarian policy, the peasant farming schemes like other forms of intervention by the Colonial Government are generally described as having been directed against the interests of the peasants (see, for instance, Klepper 1979: 138-9; Muntemba 1982: 41-4; Cliffe 1979: 149-69). When confronting respondents with this literature and some of the reports written by the colonial authorities, however, most of them did not agree with the

conclusions arrived at in these writings and emphasized the fact that in the long run Mulembo had indeed played a decisive role in the agricultural development of Chibale. In an attempt to highlight the importance of the scheme they often made comparisons between Nchimishi and other areas, both within and outside Chibale Chiefdom, located at a greater distance from the Mulembo area and where the plough is not yet a common phenomenon.

'Modern farming' as introduced by the colonial authorities only started spreading from farmer to farmer after the package had been adapted by farmers to the circumstances present on their farms. The remainder of the original package only became a real success when, many years later, cash crops like Turkish tobacco and hybrid maize made it attractive, after the farm had become the common residential unit, and after job opportunities in the Copperbelt had started to decline.

Agrarian change thus cannot simply be explained by the intervention of outsiders or public authorities. In the Nchimishi case, diffusion of animal traction and cash-crop farming cannot be understood by considering only the Mulembo peasant farming scheme, or the role played by the North Rhodesian and Zambian Government in solving certain infrastructural and logistical problems by building buying depots and fertilizer sheds, by improving feeder roads and by establishing organizational structures capable of handling farmers' maize sales and responsible for the sale of farming implements and the timely delivery of seeds, chemical fertilizers and empty grain bags. As can be concluded from this chapter, processes of agrarian change and the diffusion of innovations can be induced and affected by a number of other factors and processes, which are not directly related to, or a result of, intervention. An analysis of agrarian change processes should therefore allow for the assessment of these factors, factors such as the agricultural-technical constraints individual farmers face when adopting animal traction, the availability of cattle in the area, autonomous developments in agriculture and the characteristics of newly introduced crops. For example, significant factors which help to explain processes of diffusion and agrarian change include: the financial, labour and land requirements of crops; the potential of crops to serve as food as well as cash crops; the role, or the potential role, of such crops in the local and national economy. The newly introduced technologies and crops also have to be seen in relation to the existing farming practices and cropping pattern. This chapter also shows that factors which seem to be unrelated to agriculture, factors such as demographic and ecological changes, changing patterns of settlement, religious ideologies as well as migration and urban employment, can play an important role in bringing about, or giving direction to, a process of agrarian change. Since most young men felt more attracted to urban life and employment and farming was considered to be a low status activity, one may conclude on the one hand that migration and urban employment have delayed the diffusion of the plough. On the other hand, returning migrants were among the first commercially-oriented farmers in the area. Having spend a long time in the urban areas away from their village, they were often less conservative and more willing to experiment and take risks. Moreover, these migrants had become used to a regular cash income and had the financial resources at their disposal to invest in 'modern' farming techniques. In the Nchimishi case, macro-economic changes can also be said

to have played an important role in the process of agrarian change. The sudden fall in the price of copper, the gradual rise in the price of hybrid maize and urban demand for foodstuffs resulted in the long run in the drying up of the flow of migration from Nchimishi to the towns of the Copperbelt and contributed to farming becoming the most important, and in the eyes of many youngsters the only, feasible career opportunity. The diffusion of the plough and the expansion of maize farming in Nchimishi can be explained to a considerable extent by the rise of a small group of innovative farmers, farmers who not only adopted new technologies and cultivation methods at an early stage, but played a major role in adapting these to their own needs and promoting them.

The above-mentioned factors and processes were to a large extent identified, elicited, by using an actor-oriented perspective. In other words, the analysis of Long's case-material, the writings and correspondence of various government officials, the excursions I made into the past with a number of older farmers, and the comments, analysis and theories formulated during these discussions, enabled me to identify these factors and processes. The conversations, however, also revealed the complexity of the situation in Nchimishi and the interrelatedness of these different factors and processes. These factors, including outside intervention, should therefore not be seen in isolation but in conjunction with each other. Their role in the process of agrarian change can only be evaluated by assessing their role in the decision of farmers to adopt or not adopt a technology like the ox-drawn plough (Funtowicz and Ravetz 1990: 20-2). This first of all means considering how these external factors enter the personal lifeworlds of individuals and the shared lifeworlds of groups or categories within a certain population, in other words, how different individuals, groups or categories perceive, identify and attribute meaning to certain factors and processes; why some factors are seen as constraining and others as enabling; how, for instance, changing local ecological conditions are interpreted and described by local actors in terms of certain shared or individual concepts and ideas. The actions of nature, however, not only unfold themselves in terms of existing names, concepts and theories (see also Sahlin 1976: 208-9) but may enable or even force actors to come to new evaluations, new ideas and concepts. The decline and gradual disappearance of the *citime* system of cultivation was explained by the inhabitants of Nchimishi as being the result of the shortage of sufficiently well-generated trees, a shortage which in turn was attributed to the growth of the population. Not only did these changes force villagers to respond and change their agricultural practices but the development of successful alternatives also enabled farmers such as Kash Chipilingu to classify the *citime* system as being something 'destructive' and 'primitive' from the past and thus to encapsulate it as being part of a 'Lala tradition' (see also Chapter 5: Commentary and Analysis).

Analyzing how external factors are internalized, incorporated into shared and personal lifeworlds, implies looking at certain facets of these lifeworlds; at, for instance, particular shared or individual bodies of knowledge, at certain norms, values, concepts, theories and objectives, because it is only against the background of personal and shared lifeworlds that external factors are internalized and come to form part of the resources and constraints of the social strategies developed by individuals and groups (Long 1989: 221-43). Therefore, only an examination of certain facets of lifeworlds can

help to reveal why certain (external) factors may come to mean quite different things to different groups and individuals, to Jehovah's Witnesses and non-Witnesses, for instance. Such an examination may also disclose why different individuals or groups respond in different ways to a complex combination of factors; why some farmers or groups respond more positively than others to the introduction of a new agricultural technology and new cultivation methods. To sum up: only when we study farmers' decisions; when we look at how decisions are made against the background of certain practical and theoretical knowledge; how decisions are informed by the problems, constraints, pressures and changes which these farmers perceive; how decisions are informed by farmers's uncertainties, doubts and convictions, their values norms and objectives are we able to identify which factors, or which combination of factors, can be said to play a role in the process of agrarian change and the diffusion of innovations.

The Kash Chipilingu case shows that not only may the response of individuals, groups and categories create room for manoeuvre for themselves and achieve or fail to achieve certain personal objectives, but their actions, when perceived, necessarily affect the lifeworlds of others and may also have an effect upon action. In this way a few individuals may (intentionally or unintentionally) give shape and direction to the process of agrarian social change. The process of agricultural change and the diffusion of agricultural innovations are thus the result of communication processes, the communication between government or project personnel and farmers, for instance. If we are to understand the adoption by farmers of an innovation and the rate of adoption, we should not only consider the characteristics of the new technology or crop itself, but also the way in which the innovation is presented and promoted. The intervention process can be regarded as the encounter between different shared and personal lifeworlds and, according to Long, as an exchange of images (Long 1989: 231-42). It is, therefore, important to discover, to analyze the images farmers and the personnel employed by the intervening party have of each other, of each others' lifeworlds and actions, and how in the course of time as a result of actions and interactions these images become reconfirmed or altered. We thus have to consider the various images that those employed by the intervening party have with regard to the population they work with, the groups to which they address themselves. This chapter shows that these images may have a serious impact upon policy design and action by government agencies and officials. On the other hand it is necessary, if we wish to explain farmers' responses, to depict the images these farmers have regarding the Government, the project, the ideas and actions of its personnel, and the innovations which are promoted. As we have seen, the response of farmers may, in the eyes of the designers and implementors, be an unintended and unexpected outcome of government policy and intervention. Farmers responses may affect the image that policy designers and implementors have regarding 'their target population', and these responses therefore can cause a change of policy and new forms of action.

Diffusion of innovations, however, is also the result of interaction between farmers. Through the scheme, but in particular through the actions of farmers like Kash Chipilingu, animal traction and the plough became part of the personal lifeworlds of many farmers. Kash, by becoming an independent farmer and by adopting the plough,

did not reproduce the existing agricultural practice which only involved the use of hoe and axe.

I think one may well describe an innovator such as Kash Chipilingu and the other early adopters of the plough as having been entrepreneurs in the Barthian sense of the word (Barth 1966: 17-21). According to Barth, new opportunities which arise within a community or society as a result of, for instance, technological or ecological change allow for new forms of behaviour, new types of transactions. It is the entrepreneur who creates these new forms of behaviour or who engages in these new transactions, and it is the entrepreneur, therefore, who makes a bridge between what before was separated, thereby creating value dilemmas. Kash Chipilingu, by pursuing a career in agriculture, by forging a link between the cultivation of crops and a cash income, introduced into Lubeya an element of choice in the sense that he forced others to evaluate and reconsider the role the cultivation of crops played in their lives. In an attempt to defend their ideas and actions against those who opposed them, Kash and a number of other early adopters of the plough also played a role in creating a value dilemma by adopting and introducing into local discourse more or less the same image that apparently existed among the British scheme personnel and that was used by them to promote the package, an image that, with the widespread dissemination latterly of the use of the plough, has been adopted by most inhabitants of the Nchimishi area and which is made up of the antithesis: 'modern' versus 'traditional'.

At first, most villagers approached Kash's ideas and actions with a sceptical and cautious air. Many found it difficult to accept the idea that cattle could be trained and used for ploughing and transport purposes, that the cultivation of crops could require financial inputs and become an income-generating activity. Many inhabitants were clearly less venturesome and were not convinced that adopting plough agriculture was worth the investments, the trouble and the risks. Having witnessed the successes Kash and most other early adopters achieved, however, many others gradually became convinced of the advantages of the new technology. To some, plough agriculture became a way of investing town savings, to others, a way of preparing oneself for life in Paradise on Earth. Kash and other early adopters helped many of these farmers to introduce the plough on their own farm by passing on the necessary knowledge and skills. It was especially through these farmer-to-farmer contacts, through what we might call this form of informal extension and promotion, that plough agriculture became part over the years of the lifeworld shared by inhabitants of Nchimishi and that it became an integrated part of farming practices at many farms. Zebron Bulwani expressed this as follows:

'For us (the older generation, H.S.) the plough was a new thing, but now it has become part of our tradition. For our children and grand-children, *citmene* is something from the past. They do not understand that people kept cattle just for meat and that a family worked together just to get enough millet to feed themselves.' (L)

Stating that diffusion of innovations spread as a result of communication implies that there is a temporal as well as spatial dimension to such a process, since it takes time

for knowledge to travel through space. The majority of the early adopters of the plough lived in the vicinity of the Mulembo peasant farming scheme. It took time before farmers living in the more isolated parts of Chibale Chiefdom came to hear about the scheme and the plough, let alone before they became convinced of the advantages of the technology. As I show in the following chapters, even at present it may often take young farmers years before they are able to introduce plough agriculture on their own farms, years before they acquire resources such as land, labour and sufficient capital.

Notes:

1. The two areas, Serenje and Fort Jameson were carefully chosen. In Fort Jameson practically every circumstance was conducive to success, whereas Serenje, in the eyes of the Government, possessed practically every disadvantage. The Commissioner for Native Development compared the two areas as follows:

Fort Jameson

Africans with high reputation for industry
 Fertile soils
 Large local market for produce
 Long contact with European farmers
 Traditional system of hoe cultivation
 Lifelong experience in cattle management
 Practical experience in handling farm implements

Serenje

Africans with reputation for the lack of it
 Poor quality plateau soils
 No local market
 No knowledge of farming
 Traditional system of tree cutting
 No experience with cattle
 No experience of this kind

(The Commissioner for Native Development, 1951)

2. Yet another explanation which existed in government circles for the low response of the Lala was phrased as follows in one of the Serenje Tour Reports of 1948: 'The peasant farming scheme was explained to all villages and received a ready hearing. However, few prospective farmers materialized. The answer that came from all villagers was almost without exception as follows, "It's a very good idea but we are too old and it needs young men. When they return from the mines, we shall tell them and you will then find all the farmers you require." When others were told that even the middle-aged could be farmers, their reply was that there was hardly enough of them at the moment to look after their villages properly. Which of course is true' (Serenje Tour Report No. 4, 1948).
3. Even in the agreement farmers had to sign before they could settle at the scheme, it was stated that the farmer had to cultivate his lands as directed by the Department of Agriculture including construction of soil conservation works, irrigation and drainage works, composting, crop rotation and fallows.
4. These six villages were Nchimishi village, Lupalo village, Changwe Ndesaulda, Office Kabamba, Kalembeleka, Mutalila.
5. Maize production at Chipilingu's farm has fluctuated a lot in recent years: during the 1985/86 season 225 bags of 90kg were produced, but during the 1986/87 season production dropped to approximately 60 bags, as Kash had not been able to secure another loan for fertilizer. When 21 different farmers were asked to provide the names of the five most successful farmers the name of Kash Chipilingu was mentioned by all of them.
6. The establishment of an individual settlement was facilitated by the implementation of the so-called Parish System in 1950, when the parishes in Serenje District were demarcated. Under this system individuals were registered as belonging to an area and not a village. This resulted in a freer movement of individuals within the area of the parish (Long 1968: 83-6).

In an official memorandum to all Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners, the acting Secretary for Native Affairs explained the aims of the Parish System as follows: 'It must be stressed that the "Parish System" is primarily an administrative system. By this system villages are grouped in "Parishes" and parish registration takes the place of village registration. Because the system is designed eventually to encourage social and economic development villages must be grouped into parishes, and parish boundaries must be drawn, with due regard to kinship ties or natural features and not in a haphazard unco-ordinated fashion. Once the parish boundaries are laid down a man may move within his parish from village to village at will and, if he fulfils the minimum building requirements laid down by Native Authority Orders he may live within the parish boundary on his own. For all such movement within the parish all the old formalities as regards registration are done away with' (District Circular No. 10, 1947).

7. In 1988, 34.2% of all households (45.3% of all farms) owned at least one plough, 27.9% of all households (37.5% of all farms) owned at least one pair of trained oxen and 46% of all households (59.4% of all farms) owned cattle.
8. The 1988 survey shows that 79.2% of all households use the plough to prepare their millet fields.
9. Through the so-called 'Lima programme', which was introduced in 1979, the Zambian Government tried, for instance, to teach farmers how to apply the correct amount of fertilizer per Lima. At the time of the research, I found that a large number of farmers were still following the 'Lima programme' recommendations.
10. In 1964, 53.6% of the population was still residing in villages (Long 1968: 245).
11. Long also mentions storekeeping as one of these new economic opportunities.
12. As a result of the developments in agriculture which were taking place in parts of Chibale Chiefdom, during the 1970's and the 1980's a considerable number of Lala migrants who had lived and worked in the Copperbelt or Lusaka decided against returning to their own Chiefdoms but instead settled and established farms in areas such as Nchimishi (see also Chapter 7).
13. When respondents taking part in the 1988 survey were asked to compare life in town with life in Nchimishi, 87.8% of all adult men and 88.9% of all adult women stated that they considered life in Nchimishi to be better than life in the urban areas. When the same respondents were asked to compare Nchimishi with the urban areas as far as the opportunities to earn cash are concerned, 96% of all adult men and 97% of all adult women stated that establishing a farm in the Nchimishi area was a better strategy for earning cash as compared to migrating in an attempt to find a job in town.

Chapter 5

The introduction, adoption and transformation of agricultural innovations in Nchimishi

Part II: Peasants, population growth and the plough

Introduction

In *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth* and other writings, Ester Boserup discusses the relationship between population growth, technical change and land and labour use intensification (Boserup 1965 and 1981). Contrary to Malthus (who considered population growth to be a dependent variable which can be affected by factors such as productivity increases and agro-technological innovations and improvements), Boserup treats population growth as an independent variable. According to her, there is a positive correlation between population growth and agricultural intensification because population growth tends to generate more food by making more labour available and by using land more intensively without necessarily doing damage to its fertility (Boserup 1965: 19-22; Carlstein 1982: 10-1, 293-4). It should be noted that Boserup was unhappy with the way in which classical economists had defined intensification as being the greater application of capital and labour to each unit of crop land. In contrast, she defines intensification as the more frequent cropping of the total area of land available to a group, a village or tribe (Boserup 1965: 43; Grigg 1979: 67; Carlstein 1982: 191).

In situations where population density is very low, slash and burn agriculture and similar techniques are, Boserup argues, able to secure high yields and have a much higher labour productivity as compared with more intensive cultivation techniques which involve the use of the plough. These high yields only last one or two years, however, whereafter the plot must lie fallow for a considerable number of years. As indicated in Chapter 3, under the *citeme* system finger millet was cultivated for only one year in the *myunda* after which, as Peters estimated, it took 35 years for trees which had been cut at breast height to regenerate completely (Peters 1950).

An increase in population density, according to Boserup, results in the shortening of the fallow period, which in turn leads to a decline in labour productivity. Since the natural vegetation before clearing is thinner and grassier, land has to be prepared with a hoe before seeds can be planted or roots placed. The hoe therefore:

'....is not introduced just as a technical perfection of the digging stick. It is introduced, typically,

when an additional operation becomes necessary, i.e. when forest fallow is replaced by bush fallow.' (Boserup 1965: 24).

Boserup continues by stating that

'The need for a further change of tool arises when the fallow, owing to too frequent cultivation, devastating fires or other reasons, gets still more grassy with less trees and bushes. The best method for the clearing of land under long fallow - the burning of the natural vegetation - is inefficient when the natural vegetation is grass. This is so, because the roots are left intact, and with many types of grasses these roots are exceedingly difficult to remove by means of hoeing. Thus, the use of a plough becomes indispensable at the same time as the gradual disappearance of roots of trees and bushes in the fallow facilitates the use of a plough. Moreover, with the spread of grassy land in replacement of forests natural fodder for plough animals becomes available.' (Boserup 1965: 24-5).

According to Boserup, the hoe starts giving way to the plough in a given area when (and provided that enough suitable draught animals and implements, as well as sufficient natural grazing are available), as a result of a further shortening of the fallow period, the output per man-hour has declined to a point that a higher output per man-hour can be obtained with the use of animal-drawn ploughs. The introduction of the plough, therefore, has to be regarded as a means of preventing a further fall in the output per man-hour (which is at its highest under systems featuring long [forest] fallow), rather than as a means of raising it (Boserup 1965: 28-34). Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger, who argue along similar lines, state that the plough becomes the dominant and most common technology by the annual cultivation stage, because the costs of hand cultivation exceed the costs of transition to animal power (Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger 1987: 25-36; see also Starkey 1990: 97-98). They also point out, however, that the decision of farmers to adopt the plough can be influenced by the type of soil or terrain or the value attributed to animal products. Under systems of permanent cultivation, therefore, the hoe may persist in, for instance, mountainous areas with soils susceptible to erosion.

Over 57% of the adult farming population and 73.9% of all households in Nchimishi produced a surplus of hybrid maize for sale. And although the majority used the plough to prepare their fields, 17% of the farmers cultivating a surplus of hybrid maize for sale used only the hoe (see also Table 5.1).

Furthermore, farmers who did not (or had ceased to) produce hybrid maize but either sold runner beans or produced crops solely for home consumption used only the hoe in almost all cases. A few farmers still cut *citeme*, but at these farms a variety of hoed gardens was always found. In two cases, farmers combined hoe agriculture and *citeme* methods with plough agriculture. One farmer in the area owned a tractor which he used to plough his fields, and a small number of other commercially-oriented farmers occasionally hired tractors from commercial farmers in the district.

Table 5.1: Cultivation method used by adult farmers in the survey who sold hybrid maize in 1988 (percentages in brackets)

BAGS OF HYBRID MAIZE MARKETING	HAND CULTIVATION	OX CULTIVATION	TOTAL
1-10	6 (27.3) (25)	16 (72.7) (14.2)	22 (100)
11-30	10 (20.8) (41.7)	38 (79.2) (33.6)	48 (100)
31-60	7 (21.9) (29.2)	25 (78.1) (22.1)	32 (100)
61-150	1 (3.3) (4.2)	29 (96.7) (25.7)	30 (100)
150+	0	5 (100) (4.4)	5 (100)
TOTAL	24 (100)	113 (100)	137 (100)

In what follows I argue that, at the time of the research, the situation in Nchimishi, characterized as it was by the coexistence of different agricultural technologies, cannot simply be explained by the intensification model. I show that, on the one hand, the decline in land available to the population resulted in the adoption of more intensive cultivation methods whereby the axe was replaced to a large extent by the hoe, but that, on the other hand, the further increase in population density did not at any point force farmers in Nchimishi to change over from hoe to plough agriculture. Secondly, I try to explain why the hoe in Nchimishi, especially under conditions of short or grass fallow or annual cultivation, remained an important, often the most important, farming implement. I show that the persistence of the hoe in Nchimishi cannot, as Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger argue, be explained only by reference to ecological or physical conditions as the decision to retain a certain technology or opt for a new one is also based upon motives other than purely agricultural or economic ones. If farmers were not forced to adopt the plough, why then did so many farmers in Nchimishi do so? The answer to this question has been partly given in Chapter 4, but, nevertheless, I intend to make some additional remarks here regarding this issue.

In the last part of this chapter I show that migration into sparsely populated areas, contrary to what Boserup suggests, does not necessarily result in technical regression and the re-adoption of less intensive methods.

The road to Chibale

Within Nchimishi, the population is not evenly dispersed. Whereas many farms are located along, or in the vicinity of, the main road leading to Chibale (see also Plates 4.1 and 4.2), some parts of Nchimishi which are located some distance from this road are very sparsely populated, and farms are often located more than two kilometres apart. By the 1960's, most villages and farms were found at a relatively short distance from the road which was constructed in the 1920's. But when we compare the 1960's with the 1970's and the 1980's, we must conclude that during the years Long conducted his research settlements were more dispersed as compared with later years. This change can be attributed to a large extent to the village regrouping policy which was carried out by the Zambian Government in the late 1960's and the 1970's (Kay 1967; Bwalya 1979; Bratton 1981: 125-188). This policy involved the resettlement and concentration of the rural population along major roads. In Serenje District, the authorities aimed to resettle the population of some chiefdoms or localities in large villages, but in other areas, such as Nchimishi, sites were demarcated where people could construct their own farms. By concentrating the rural population, the Zambian Government planned to create viable economic and social units which would be more integrated into the rest of the district and country. Furthermore it was believed that clinics, roads, water and electricity could be provided more economically, and that farming machinery could be utilized more effectively, if the population was more concentrated. The regrouping policy was also designed to enable the Government to administer districts more directly (Bwalya 1979: 92-3).

In Nchimishi also, farmers and villagers who were living some distance from the main road were asked (some farmers stressed that they were forced) to abandon their villages or farms and to settle at special sites which were located along the Chibale motor track. As was the case in the other parts of Serenje District, most people were reluctant and many even refused to leave their original settlements. Nevertheless a substantial number of people - who either feared sanctions or had hopes that the Government would keep the promises it had made - indeed settled at the sites which had been demarcated.

Best Kabamba is one of the farmers who responded to the call of the Government and, towards the mid-1970's, settled along the road near the Nchimishi primary school:

'Before I came here this land belonged to Kash Chipilingu and his relatives, it belonged to the people of Lubeya village. But then the Government started saying that it was better to live near the road. So Kash started measuring the land here, and giving it to people.

- Why did he do that?

Because that's what the Government wanted, and because Kash was a chairman in those days. He was an active member of UNIP. No, he was happy to cooperate.

- Why did you settle here?

Because the Government wanted us to move from where we were staying. I was living in Chenda, I had very good houses there and many fruit trees, but we were forced to leave. The youth (members of the UNIP youth league, H.S.) were going round telling the people they had to leave their farms.

This regroupment had also taken place in other areas. In Luapula, people were also living along the road. So the Government said it was better to do the same thing here in Serenje. The Government promised a lot to those who were prepared to relocate, like fertilizer, galvanized iron sheets, water wells, a clinic and transport. But they completely failed to bring us these things, nothing was done. That is why people started going back.

- Where to?

To where they had come from. And if those places were already occupied they left for other places deep in the bush, where there is enough land and water.

- When was this?

It started around 1983, and even today people are leaving this place, Nchimishi centre. But I am now helping myself and I sank my own well, that's why I cannot move.' (L)

Indeed, the fact that the Zambian Government had proved unable to fulfil its promises to the population regarding the provision of an adequate social and economic infrastructure was one of the reasons that farmers left their farms. Not only these disappointed people, however, but also an increasing number of other farmers (who in some cases had been living for a long time in the vicinity of the road) started looking for new farm sites in the hinterland of Nchimishi in the 1970's and even more so in the 1980's.

Some of those who left for the sparsely populated areas of Nchimishi were farmers who intended to cultivate millet using *citeme* methods. One of these farmers explained to me that the transition to the plough, and the fact that most people were not 'interested in trees' any more, had made it possible for him and others to continue using this traditional method.

A second category consisted of farmers who had decided to leave 'Nchimishi centre' because they owned herds of cattle and found it increasingly difficult to find sufficient grazing areas for their animals. Some of these farmers had decided to leave their farms and to resettle having run into conflict with neighbouring farmers - conflicts or frictions which had arisen, for instance, after young herdsboys (who were often under ten years of age) had once more been unable to prevent the animals from grazing in the fields or *dambo* gardens of these neighbours. These cattle owners sometimes settled at places located near *citeme* gardens which had been cut by others one or two seasons before. Since the trees at the cutting areas had not yet regenerated, the *citeme* provided a good grazing area. Furthermore, farmers asserted that transforming an old *citeme* into an acre was less difficult than having to clear part of the bush. Another category consisted of migrants who, on their return from the Copperbelt, had not been able to find enough land near the main road. Yet another category was made up of farmers who had decided to relocate since the amount of land they controlled near the road was insufficient to develop their farming enterprises further. Some farmers, having attempted to extend their fields, decided to resettle after boundary or land disputes had arisen with their neighbours (see also Chapter 12). In some cases, farmers explained their decision to resettle by pointing out that, in order to provide for a secure future for their children or matrikin who were still living in the urban areas, they had to secure large enough tracts of land. As one farmer put it: 'When I die my children who are staying on the Copperbelt should have a large enough place to farm.' (L) Finally, at the time of the research considerable numbers of young farmers who had not succeeded in finding land,

or who had temporarily occupied some old fields of other farmers, had also taken the decision to establish farms in the hinterland. Since these farmers in many cases did not possess cattle or farming implements such as ploughs or ox carts, they preferred to settle within a reasonable distance of farmers who were engaged in plough agriculture and who owned ox carts, not only because these farmers had, in most cases, made paths which linked up with the existing path network leading to the main road, but also because most of them could be hired to plough fields and to transport produce to the depot.

The case studies

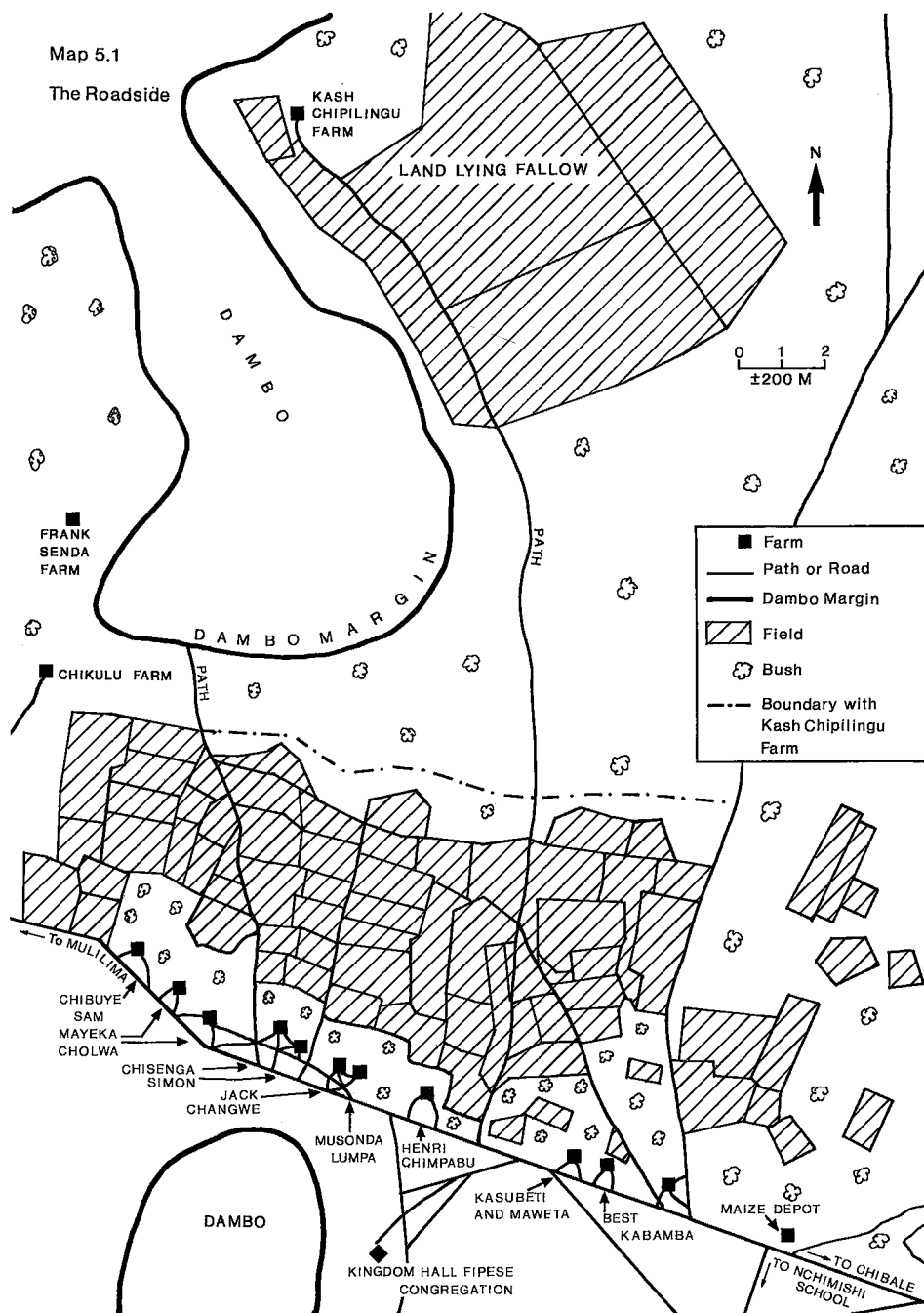
I intend to elucidate my criticism of the Boserup thesis and other writings mentioned at the start of this chapter by way of a number of short case studies. The first set of farming enterprises I describe belong to a group of eight adjoining farms which are all located directly along Chibale road near the Nchimishi primary school (see Map 5.1 and Plate 4.2, A). Most of them were established in the late 1960's and early 1970's as a direct result of the village regrouping policy, albeit that in some cases, due to the departure of its original inhabitants, its present residents had only moved there in the late 1970's or early 1980's. With the exception of one farm (which is not included in the four case studies), all these farms are fairly small both in terms of agricultural output and land when compared with many other farming enterprises in the area. Some of the farmers produced a surplus of maize, but others sold only runner beans and relatively small amounts of other crops. Most of these farms were, as one farmer put it, 'land-locked'. This was because fields and gardens were surrounded by fields or bush land claimed and controlled by other farmers. Some farmers had Kash Chipilingu as their neighbour. Kash controlled large tracts of uncultivated land but did not allow others to move in and clear the bush, or even to cut firewood. Nor did he allow others to use his 'old fields' which were lying fallow.¹⁾ This means that these roadside farmers had little or no opportunity to extend their fields further (see also Note 5 in Chapter 12). Two farms out of this group of eight, however, were different in the sense that their inhabitants controlled much larger tracts of land.

The other two case studies concern the farms of Paul Lushwili and Kaulenti Chisenga. These two farms differ from the above-mentioned farms in that they are not located along the main road. Paul Lushwili's farm is located 1 kilometre from the road, whereas Kaulenti Chisenga established his farm in 1988 in what we might call a frontier area (about 10 kilometres from the main road) which was practically uninhabited until 1987.

I restrict myself to providing information regarding the composition of the farms, the age of residents, their choice of technology, the implements which were used to cultivate the land, and the different types of fields and gardens which were found on the farm. Furthermore, I devote some space to the ideas these different farmers had regarding, for instance, the fertility of the soil and the measures needed to maintain it.

Map 5.1

The Roadside



Moreover, attention will be given to the future plans these different farmers had, as well as to the perceived advantages and disadvantages of remaining near the main road as compared with living and farming in the more isolated and sparsely populated areas of Nchimishi.

The roadside:

1. The farm of Chisenga Simon

The farm of Chisenga Simon (57 years of age in 1988) consisted of three different households and kitchens. One household was composed of Chisenga Simon and her grandson, Cason Changwe (18), whose parents were living on the Copperbelt (Cason Changwe's mother was a daughter of Chisenga Simon). The second household was composed of Chisenga Simon's daughter, Loveness Musonda (25), her husband, Eliphas Zulu, and their three children, Aslate (3), Monida (6) and Musonda (4). Lestinah Musonda (27), another daughter of Chisenga Simon, had her own household and kitchen. The farm was established in 1973. Chisenga Simon:

'Before we came here I was living near Kofi Kunda. I lived far away from the road, and I decided to come here when the Government started regrouping people. The Government had promised to bring wells and even electricity to those who were living near the road. I followed my brother-in-law who left Chola section. Kash Chipilingu had shown him this place and he (the brother-in-law, H.S.) asked me to come and live next to him. He said to me: "I can keep you, there is enough land for farming". What could I do, I was alone with the small children at that time. Later my children went to town (Lestinah in 1979 and Loveness in 1975, H.S.). In 1975, my brother-in-law left this place again and he went to live near that farm of Collins Mwape. He had oxen and he saw that there was not enough land for grazing, but I did not want to move from here.' (L)

After her divorce in 1984, Lestinah returned to Nchimishi. Almost a year later, Loveness and her husband, who had lost his job as a driver, also came back from the Copperbelt and, like Lestinah, settled at Chisenga Simon's farm.

Several separate farming enterprises could be distinguished within Chisenga Simon's farm. Chisenga Simon cultivated her own sweet potatoes, millet, cassava, pumpkins, Irish potatoes, Livingstone potatoes, groundbeans, Lala maize and groundnuts. These food crops were cultivated in fields behind the farm: an *inkule* with millet and other hoed gardens with sweet potatoes, groundnuts, groundbeans, cassava and pumpkins; and near the *dambo* across the road, a *katobela* with maize and beans, a *mutipula* with maize, beans and pumpkins, *fibunde* beds with Livingstone potatoes and a small garden with Irish potatoes. Chisenga Simon and Cason each sold a surplus of beans from their respective *katobelas* every season (in 1988, Chisenga sold two tins and Cason, three tins). Chisenga owned two cows but, like the other inhabitants of the farm, did not own a plough or any oxen, nor did she cultivate fields with hybrid maize. Although she was often assisted by her grandson and although she hired other women to help her with hoeing and weeding when she had enough money, Chisenga Simon emphasized that she did most of the work herself and that she had never been forced to go out and beg for

food from other farmers.

Loveness Musonda and her husband cultivated the same crops as Chisenga Simon, albeit that the couple also grew rape and cabbages in a small vegetable garden. These vegetables were grown for home consumption but were also sold to neighbouring farmers. Furthermore, each year from 1985, Loveness and Eliphas had sold a relatively small quantity of hybrid maize (five bags in 1985, four in 1986 and five in 1987). Each year they had hired other farmers to plough their maize and millet fields. And every year they had also hired three to four persons to help them with weeding. Loveness and Eliphas each had their own *katobela* with Lala maize and beans. In 1987, Eliphas sold three tins of runner beans while Loveness managed to sell two.

Beside cultivating the same 'traditional' crops (finger millet, Lala maize, Livingstone potatoes, beans etc.) as the other adult inhabitants of the farm, Lestinah Musonda also grew Irish potatoes, but unlike her sister and brother-in-law she did not cultivate such vegetables as rape and cabbage. On the other hand, she sold more hybrid maize than her sister (eight bags in 1986, the first year she cultivated hybrid maize, twelve bags in 1987 and fifteen bags in 1988). Lestinah also produced more beans than the other members of the farm. In 1988, she sold one bag of runner beans to traders from the Copperbelt. In the 1986/87 season, she had cultivated her hybrid maize on ridges which she had prepared with a hoe. In the 1987/88 season, however, she had saved enough money to hire other farmers to plough the same field. Lestinah at times also hired piece-workers to help her with the weeding of her maize field.

Whereas Chisenga Simon did not have plans to expand her farming enterprise further, the others had already started saving since they all planned to purchase oxen and a plough in the future and increase their production of both hybrid maize and beans. Cason and Lestinah did not have any plans to leave the farm. They both stated that even after switching over to the plough there would still be enough land, especially since Loveness and Eliphas intended to leave and establish their own farm. According to Loveness, she and her husband had two reasons for leaving the farm. First of all, having lived at his in-laws' farm for a number of years, custom allowed every man to take his wife to his relatives' farm, albeit that the couple could also decide to set up their own farm. Furthermore, she argued that her mother's farm would be too small if they all adopted the plough and started cultivating hybrid maize on a larger scale, especially as they were expecting the return of their brother who was still living on the Copperbelt. It was very likely that their brother had plans to set up his own farm as well, but after his return he would probably stay with his mother for an unknown period of time before being able to find his own place.

While acknowledging that living near the road had its advantages ('Here you always know what is happening and it is easy to get your maize transported to the depot'), Loveness was convinced that they would only be able to develop a large farming enterprise if they were willing to move to 'a distant place'.

2. The farm of Jack Changwe

Jack Changwe (40 years of age in 1988) and his wife, Minus Kabamba (31), are both

Jehovah's Witnesses (although not yet baptized) who live with their three young children and Felix Kabamba (11), the brother of Minus.

In 1970, Jack Changwe returned from Kasama where he had been living with his parents. The same year he married Minus Kabamba and settled at the farm of his mother-in-law, Chisenga Simon. In subsequent years Jack and Minus frequently, and for different reasons, ran into conflict with Chisenga Simon. When Minus' sister and her husband decided to leave in 1981, also as a result of conflicts with Chisenga Simon, and establish a farm elsewhere, Jack and Minus took the opportunity and settled at the farm which had now become vacant. Jack and Minus figured that although they remained neighbours of Chisenga Simon, they would nevertheless become more independent. And besides, Jack and Minus saw no other alternative. Jack Changwe:

'We had no other choice. In that year (1981, H.S.) I did not have a farm licence from the Chief so I could not leave this place and start a new farm (see Chapter 12 for more details on farm licences and the rights to establish new farms, H.S.). It was only in 1987, when the chief was travelling around this area, that I was given the papers. So in 1981 when Mr. Chikatula (married to the sister of Minus, H.S.) left, we were lucky that he showed us this old farm, especially since I did not want to return to Kofi Kunda to my father's home, to the farm of my brothers.

- Why not?

Because I wanted to become independent. When you are living as a group, you end up having problems all the time. At this farm in Kofi Kunda my brothers' wives often argue with each other, and my brothers also often have conflicts. They fight over land and over the use of oxen. They all want to use the oxen at the same time. When you are on your own farm these problems do not occur, you know your boundaries, but when you share a farm with your brothers it is difficult to draw boundaries.'(L)

The year they settled at their farm, Jack and Minus used their savings to buy several bags of fertilizer and, in 1982, sold 24 bags of hybrid maize to the Nchimishi buying depot. In subsequent years, they produced no hybrid maize, since Jack and Minus had not been able to save enough money to purchase fertilizer. In 1985, however, Jack successfully applied for an agricultural loan from the AFC (Agricultural Finance Company) with which to buy fertilizer. In 1986, the family sold 14 bags of hybrid maize. That year Jack and Minus decided not to apply for another loan since it had turned out to be difficult to repay the first one. Instead of cultivating hybrid maize they decided to grow sunflower, a crop which does not require fertilizer. In 1987, they sold five bags of sunflower. During all the years on their own farm, the couple also sold beans to traders from the Copperbelt. Between 1981 and 1987, their marketable surplus ranged between three and six tins. Jack also cultivated Irish potatoes which he also sold (three tins in 1988) to urban-based traders.

Jack and Minus did not possess any oxen or plough, and the hybrid maize and sunflower they sold to the depot over the years had been grown on fields which they had prepared by hoe. Although Jack Changwe had cleared some additional land, the fields he and his wife cultivated were basically the same fields which had been stumped during the mid-1970's and used continuously by the previous inhabitants of the farm. According to Jack Changwe, it had not been at all difficult to clear the grasses and prepare his fields by means of hoeing after they had lain fallow during the 1982/83, the

1983/84 and the 1984/85 season.

Across the road near a stream, the couple cultivated beans and Lala maize in *katobela*. Furthermore, they cultivated crops such as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, groundbeans and millet in small hoed fields near the farm. Hybrid maize had been their most important food crop the years they had cultivated it for sale, whereas, other years, they had cultivated millet on a part of the old maize fields and had extended their *katobela*. During these years, therefore, millet, Lala maize and to a lesser extent sweet potatoes had served as their staple food crops.

Jack and Minus did not have any plans to leave the roadside and establish their own farm in the near future, or to adopt the plough: 'This place is big enough for us, because we are working only with the hoe. This year I have again applied for a loan and we can work two to three acres. And in the future we can even extend our fields.' (L)

Furthermore, according to Minus and Jack, living near the roadside had several clear advantages. Jack:

'We do not want to leave because this place is good. The school is near and the children do not have to walk long distances. It's also easy to get transport, for example, to the hospital. It is also easy to sell your beans and Irish potatoes, because here the traders can reach your farm.' (L)

One of the disadvantages of living near the road according to Jack and Minus was that theft (mainly of chickens and clothes) occurred more frequently than in more isolated places.

3. The farm of Mayeka Cholwa

Mayeka Cholwa's farm, established in 1973, consisted of two different households and kitchens. One household was made up of Mayeka (about 49 years of age), her daughter Lucky Chibuye (20), and her son Musonda Handwatch (17). The other household was made up of Mayeka's daughter, Agnes Chibuye (32), Agnes' husband, Aaron Shanfya (41), and their small children. Before 1973, Mayeka had lived in Mkushi District but after the death of her husband, who had worked as a bricklayer in Kabwe, she had decided to return with her children to Nchimishi, where her mother and her brother, Etson Cholwa, were living. After their return, Mayeka and her children settled at Etson's farm. Shortly after, however, Etson advised his sister to set up her own farm at the other side of the road. According to Agnes Chibuye:

'In those days the Government was telling the people to live near the road. They made a lot of promises and that is why Etson showed us this place and told us to establish our own farm. He said: "It is better if we live next to each other. And, if you start a farm here, you will be helped by the Government."' (L)

In the early 1980's, Agnes had left for the Copperbelt where she met her husband who was working for the same company as her classificatory brother. The couple returned to Nchimishi and settled at Mayeka's farm in 1985.

At the time of the research, nobody at Mayeka Cholwa's farm owned draught animals or any farming implements such as a plough. In the 1987/1988 season, all fields had been prepared with the hoe. Some weeks before I visited the farm (in August 1988), Aaron and Lucky had each sold five bags of hybrid maize to the Nchimishi depot. The other inhabitants of the farm had not cultivated any hybrid maize that season. Mayeka had sold hybrid maize in previous years (for instance, ten bags in 1986), but due to a period of sickness she had been unable to plant any maize in 1987. Mayeka also had a small field where she cultivated millet. In previous years, she had sometimes hired other farmers to plough both her millet and maize field, but due to the high prices charged by these farmers she had been forced to prepare her fields with the hoe during the last three seasons. This change, in combination with her bad health had affected the production of millet in particular, and in 1987 and 1988 she had assisted Agnes Changwe, a distant matrilineal relative, with the harvesting of her millet. Since Mayeka, unlike some other piece-workers, had been paid in kind, she had been able to replenish her own stock of millet.

Besides cultivating millet and hybrid maize, Mayeka and her daughter cultivated a variety of other crops such as sweet potatoes, groundbeans and groundnuts. These were grown in small fields behind the farm. She also cultivated beans and Lala maize in a *katobela* near a stream across the road. Lucky had her own *katobela*, and mother and daughter each obtained a small personal income from the sale of beans. Agnes and Aaron each had their respective *katobelas* also. In 1988, Agnes sold four and a half tins whereas Aaron managed to sell two tins. Like Mayeka and Lucky, they both worked in the fields where food crops such as millet were grown.

Although Aaron and Agnes had considered the possibility of investing in cattle in the future, none of the residents of Mayeka Cholwa's farm was considering the purchase of oxen and plough. According to Mayeka and Agnes, they controlled very little land and there was not much possibility extending the fields further. They therefore did not consider the adoption of the plough worthwhile. Agnes stressed that they had managed to survive very well without the plough and that almost every season they had even been able to sell a surplus of beans and hybrid maize. When Agnes and Mayeka were asked whether they were considering the establishment of a new and larger farm which in their eyes would justify the purchase of oxen and the plough, Agnes indicated that, although she and her husband were thinking of leaving Mayeka's farm in the not-too-distant future, they would first try to find a farm near the roadside. Agnes emphasized that she and her husband would prefer to live on a small farm near the road than on a large farm in one of the more isolated parts of Nchimishi. Agnes:

'My husband and I would like to have our own farm in the future. But the problem is that it is difficult to find land near the road. But when you live very far from the road transport is a problem. Here it is easy for the children to go to school and also the hammer mill is very near. I would prefer to live near the road but if we cannot find a place, I am willing to go somewhere where there is still enough land. But in our case it is the husband who does not want to move to the bush. He comes from a different area, from Luapula, and he says that it will be difficult for him to visit his relatives if he is living far from the road.' (L)

Mayeka Cholwa also cited the same advantages of living near the road. She did not have any plans to move elsewhere, especially since that would mean leaving behind a large avocado tree: 'I cannot leave this tree. I bought it from the yard of a white man a long time ago. We sell the fruit from this tree. The teachers from the school, in particular, come here to buy. They put it on their bread.' (L)

4. The farm of Henry Chimpabu

Having been asked about the history of his farm and the family's future plans, Henry Chimpabu (37), who with his two wives and children occupies a small farm along Chibale road, provided the following account:

'I was living in town when these farms were established. But I was told later that the Government had ordered people to come together so that they could be given things like galvanized iron sheets, water pumps and whatever other things were needed where development is concerned. This is why all these people, my neighbours, were brought together, so they could be helped by the Government.

- And when did you come to this farm?

I came to this farm in 1985. Before that, I was working in Kabwe for the RDC, the Rural Development Corporation. The company was running at a loss so we were fired, but we were given some sort of benefits. But anyway, after that I was just a job seeker in town and after some time I thought: "No, I am just wasting my time. Let's go back to my home". I came here in 1980 and I got married here at home. But that wife passed away. In 1982 I got married again, to the grand-daughter of Mister Kash Chipilingu, our Branch Chairman (see also Chapter 4, H.S.). As you know, traditionally a man here has to leave his parents and reside with the clan into which he has married. So I left my parents and came to the Chipilingu's. I went to live with Kash's sister. You see, I was already married in town but my first wife, the mother of my first child Caro, refused to follow me to my home, because she insisted that I follow her to Mpika where her clan is. She is not Lala. So I thought: "Let her go. I can pick a woman where I come from".

- And how did you come to live here?

Customarily, when somebody gets married here he has to be kept by the in-laws for at least three years. In this period, they assess the ability of the husband to feed his wife properly, etc. Well I qualified, and my in-laws said to me: "Okay, you can take your wife now and go to establish your own farm". This is how I came here.

- And why did you end up living here and not somewhere else?

Ah, I see. I picked this site since it is near the road, where it would be easy for me to transport my produce to the depot. There was a farm here already, but the person who was staying here left so I had to ask him if I could take over the farm. Since these bananas were planted by him I had to give him money for the work he had done. He asked me to pay him 40 Kwacha. From that moment this farm here, this land, became mine.

- And why did your predecessor leave this farm?

This man left because he felt he had been cheated by the Government, so he returned to his place of origin, like many others. They went back to places where they can keep cattle safely without having to quarrel with their neighbours.

- Could you tell me what the advantages are of living near the main road?

The main advantage is that here we are always with the people, we are always near people. If I or my wives have a problem we can always go to our neighbours and ask for help. But the disadvantage is that you cannot keep cattle here. That is a major disappointment. Here the animals, when they break out of the kraal, can destroy your neighbours' fields during the night. Another disadvantage is that we have no room to extend our fields, because here, I am surrounded by my neighbours' fields. It is not good for me to stay here because we are completely landlocked. I wish to establish my own

farm in the future. So if I stay here I will have no land to expand my activities. I have children. Where am I going to locate my children in the future? That's why I am planning for my future and the future of my wives and children. That's why I am thinking of moving. Yes, that's what I have in mind. There is not enough land here for me and my children. I want to have animals, now where do I put them? At present I do not sell maize to the depot, but within a few years I want to start. Now if I stay here where am I going to cultivate maize?

- Where will you go?

I have not yet found a suitable place. I am looking for a place where there is a good river, and where I can make a fishpond and a furrow for a garden.

- Is it difficult to find a place like that?

No, it is not difficult, but it can mean having to move to a place very far from here, where maybe there is no God.

- But you are our community health worker and the UNIP youth league chairman. What about attending UNIP meetings? And then I know you like being with friends and going to beer parties, are you not going to miss that kind of life?

It is good working for UNIP and being with friends, but one has to look to the future. If I am suffering I cannot enjoy life. So it is better for me to establish a life with a promising future for me, my wives and our children. But at the moment, yes, I am enjoying life here, meeting friends, going for beers. Here you get the same feeling as in town. Those who live far from here are isolated, they have probably not even heard about you. But we who live here in Nchimishi centre know about your work. But you see I could die tomorrow, and I have to make sure to provide for my wives and children.' (E)

The hinterland:

The farm of Paul Lushwili

At the time of the research, Paul Lushwili (63 years of age in 1988) and his two wives, Muzewa (+-58) and Musonda (+-60), occupied a farm located about a kilometre from the main road (see also Plate 4.2, B). (Muzewa and Musonda are pseudonyms.) The farm was established around 1968 by Paul's maternal uncle, Pendje, who had left the Mulembo area after cattle of some of the settlers living at the Mulembo peasant farming scheme had on several occasions grazed in his fields.

At the time of its establishment, the farm was composed of Pendje, his two daughters, his two sons-in-law, several of his grand children and Paul, Muzewa and their children. Later, in 1971, Paul married his second wife, Musonda, a widow who also came to live at the farm. In the 1970's, Pendje's two daughters and his sons-in-law left the farm in order to establish their own farms. In the early 1980's, one of Paul's sons and his wife established their farm right next to Paul's farm. After the death of Pendje in 1984, Paul Lushwili and his two wives remained as the only inhabitants of the farm.

Paul, Muzewa and Musonda were often described by neighbouring farmers as extremely poor. Paul once explained that, unlike most other farmers, he and his wives usually did not have any money. This prevented them from doing things which had become common practice on other farms, like taking maize to the grinding mill, or going to beer parties in order to meet friends and relatives. In his own estimation, Paul has always remained a poor farmer because he and his wives have never been able to

produce 'enough' beans and purchase 'enough' fertilizer despite the fact that they controlled a considerable tract of land.

In 1986, following the advice of his friend and neighbour, Smart Kunda, Paul and Musonda had, for the first time, bought a bag of fertilizer after selling a few tins of beans. Unfortunately, the harvest was poor and as the maize was used for home consumption, they could not purchase another bag of fertilizer the next season. Paul and his wives, like many other farmers, had never applied for an agricultural loan. This, as Paul explained, was because he feared that in the event of a disappointing harvest they would not be able to repay their debts.

Until 1985, Paul had cut a *citeme* whenever he had been able to find a suitable piece of forest. Cutting areas had often been located in the vicinity of the Mulembo stream. From the mid-1970's, however, the *myunda* no longer provided the family with the bulk of their staple food. From the early 1980's, millet produced under *citeme* methods represented only a supplementary amount as, by then, the bulk of their food supplies (including millet) came from hoed fields located around the farm. In 1985, the family decided to stop cutting *citeme* entirely, since they concluded that it had become impossible to find suitable woodland at a reasonable distance from the farm. Furthermore, during the last seasons he had cut *citeme*, Paul had found that farmers living near the area in which he had cut, or intended to cut, his *citeme* were opposed to his plans. According to Paul these farmers had not only claimed the forest, but had also threatened on several occasions to burn down his millet or to allow their cattle to graze in the *myunda*.

After 1985, therefore, Paul, Muzewa and Musonda came to depend even more than in previous years upon hoed fields and gardens for the provision of food. According to Paul, the decision to switch from *citemene* to hoe agriculture had not been a voluntary one:

'We would have preferred to continue cutting *fiteme*, because you can get a very good yield in the *myunda*. But we were forced to stop. It became just too difficult to find a good forest. The trees were not large enough, that's why the yields went down. So we had to extend our fields here. But *citemene*: nowadays there are not enough trees and too many people' (L)

At the time of the research, Paul, Muzewa and Musonda cultivated finger millet, Lala maize, runner beans, and also such crops as sweet potatoes, cassava, groundbeans, groundnuts, Livingstone potatoes and pumpkins. In the 1986/1987 season, all finger millet was cultivated in a hoed *inkule* which was located behind the farm. The land had been cleared by Paul in 1984. In December 1984 and January 1985, the family had sown millet, but only in the *myunda* which had been made by the women. Muzewa and Musonda had each made their own *myunda*. They each had their own kitchen, they explained, and therefore it was only logical that they should each have their own millet barn, their own crop.

That season, part of the intervening ground had been planted with beans, but the second season, after Paul had divided the land between them, the women had sown millet on the rest of the acre, while groundbeans had been sown in the old *myunda*.

According to Musonda, cultivating millet without ashes had its disadvantages, since a considerable amount of time had to be spent on weeding. Moreover, yields were considerably less than those obtained when *citeme* methods were used. The main advantage was that the same field, depending upon the fertility of the soil, could be used for at least three years, and, in some cases, up to something like six years.

If the millet yield dropped considerably during the 1987/1988 season, the family intended either to extend their field a little or to sow their millet in a field which had been used for the cultivation of finger millet from 1979 to 1984. Since that time, part of this field had for two seasons been used for the cultivation of Lala maize, pumpkins, groundbeans and groundnuts while the rest of the field had lain fallow. According to Paul and Musonda, the fertility of this old field would be completely restored by the 1988/1989 season. The only thing which needed to be done was to extend it in order to be able to produce as much millet as before 1985 when some of the millet harvest was still obtained from *myunda*. Part of the land which had been cleared in 1984 would then, in its turn, be used for the cultivation of such crops as Lala maize, pumpkins or sweet potatoes. Paul and Musonda further argued that, in general, if fields had been planted with millet for a certain number of seasons, they needed either to be planted with other crops or to lie fallow for roughly the same period of time. They also stated, however, that in their case they preferred to plant millet for only three or four consecutive seasons, since they had noticed that after the fourth season the yield tended to drop considerably.

Whereas millet, groundnuts and groundbeans were cultivated in upland areas, a large part of the harvest of sweet potatoes and runner beans, but equally of Lala maize and cassava (besides finger millet the two other staple food crops) came from hoed fields located on the slopes of a *dambo* situated opposite the farmyard. Like most other farmers, Paul and his wives cultivated beans and Lala maize on mounds in *katobela* fields. According to Musonda, after two or three seasons' consecutive use, their fields were normally left fallow for three seasons or so, or partly planted with cassava or sweet potatoes.

Musonda and Muzewa each had their own separate *katobela*. Paul did not, but he assisted both his wives, especially when the new mounds had to be prepared. If after a good harvest the women were able to sell part of the harvest, Paul normally received a share of Muzewa's income. Paul and Musonda often made joint decisions on how to spend the cash derived from the sale of Musonda's beans.

Beans were sometimes sown as a first crop in fields which had lain fallow for several years. This, as Paul explained, was in order to add some extra fertility to the soil. The mounds were normally prepared during the second half of the rainy season, often at the beginning of March. Later in the year, in December, these mounds would be turned into new mounds or ridges on which Lala maize was planted. Other fields, especially those found on the drier upper parts of the *dambo*, were exclusively used for the cultivation of cassava and sweet potatoes. These fields would also be left fallow for at least two or three seasons, after having been used for three or four consecutive seasons.

No *imitipula* were made at the farm since the family had no access to suitable seepage sites in the dambo: 'The dambo near this farm is too dry in August, so people

who live along this path do not make *mutipula*.'(L)

In the event of a good harvest, small quantities of cassava and beans (in most cases less than half a tin) were sold, usually to neighbouring farmers. More often, these surpluses were exchanged for salt and cooking oil and occasionally for either maize or millet, especially during the 'hunger months' (March and April). After harvesting their own millet crop in May and June, Musonda and Muzewa at times assisted other farmers with the harvesting of their millet, a service for which they were mostly paid in kind. The older women for whom they tended to work were often farmers who, like the Lushwili family, were not engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize for sale and who lacked the labour force to harvest their crop. The reason Musonda and Muzewa occasionally worked for other farmers was that they were at times either faced with food shortages, or feared they might run out of millet, maize and cassava. And although Paul, Muzewa and Musonda were able to feed themselves most of the time out of their own harvest, during the three years I regularly visited the family they suffered on several occasions from either a shortage of maize or millet, or had difficulty finding relish (beans, cassava leaves, pumpkin leaves, chicken, mushrooms, etc). On one occasion, Paul made the following remark about these food shortages:

'If one of my wives is sick or has no food left, we share, and one will cook for us all. And if we have no porridge at all, we eat sweet potatoes. If we have no sweet potatoes we go out and ask others (mainly his son and some of the neighbours, H.S.) for food. If others cannot give us anything we do not eat. Then there is *nsala* (hunger).'

 (L)

Paul attributed these recurring food shortages to the fact that after the decision had been taken to cease cutting *citeme* gardens their farm had entered a period of transition. Paul also pointed out that they were still in the process of extending both their millet *inkule* and their *katobela*. This transition, according to all three members of the family, had not gone smoothly since all three were in bad health and had often been struck by sickness - a fact which they attributed, in my view rightly, to the lack of food and the lack of variety in their diet. But, as Paul explained to me in August 1987, they would break out of this vicious circle once they had completed the extension of their fields before the start of the rainy season.

Commentary and analysis

I agree with Grigg when he concludes that Boserup sees intensification as the only response of agriculturalists to population pressure (Grigg 1979: 69, 73). In the first part of this chapter, however, I have already indicated that in the past decades the adoption of more intensive methods of agriculture has not been the only response of the inhabitants of Nchimishi to population growth, since some villagers migrated to sparsely inhabited areas in Mkushi and Zaire. Nevertheless, as Peters and Long show, the carrying capacity of land is not constant, and in Serenje District many indeed responded

to increasing population pressure by cutting larger woodland areas than before, in order to obtain the same amount of vegetative material to burn (Peters 1950; Long 1968: 14-5). This strategy clearly accelerated the overall shortening of fallow periods (Carlstein 1980: 193). In Nchimishi in the 1950's and the 1960's however, many farmers responded by partly or completely switching to hoe agriculture and increasing the size of their *dambo* and upland gardens. The latter strategy equally resulted in a more intensive use of the land, especially in the *dambo* areas.

I think Boserup's work is extremely important since it shows that population growth and changes in population density, whether the result of natural growth or migration, can be a main cause of agrarian change and agricultural intensification. In my view, however, if we wish to explain agrarian change and agricultural patterns, rather than treating population growth as an independent variable and population density as the sole factor determining land use and agricultural technology, we must also take into account other relevant factors. By returning to the case studies I wish to examine which factors influenced the choice of technology of these and other farmers in Nchimishi. First of all, I address the question of whether farmers were forced, or felt they were forced, to introduce animal traction on their farms. This question relates to the more general question which follows from Boserup's work: whether under conditions of grass or short fallow the plough becomes indispensable and has to replace the hoe; or whether, if unable to use the plough, farmers necessarily avoid the stage of short fallow and resort to what Boserup calls 'intensive bush fallow', which means that long cultivation periods of up to seven or eight years alternate with fallow periods of a similar length. Then I explain the reasons for asserting that these farmers were not compelled to adopt the plough. Finally, I show the various reasons why these farmers, unlike many of their colleagues, decided against switching over to mechanized farming.

All the farms I described were partly surrounded by farms where fields (*ama acres*) were mainly prepared with the plough. Nevertheless, none of the farmers who appear in the case studies felt in any way compelled to adopt ox/plough technology. Despite the fact that some had at times hired other farmers to plough for them, the hoe remained the most important farming implement at all these farming enterprises.

The hoe was seen by Lestinah Musonda, and many other young farmers in Nchimishi who intended to adopt the plough, as merely representing a kind of transitional stage, prior to the adoption of the plough: as an implement, to be relegated to a minor position in the enterprise at a later stage, enabling them to obtain an income from agriculture, and to build up sufficient capital to invest in cattle and 'modern' farming implements. There was unanimous agreement, however, on the advantages of the hoe as compared with the plough both among farmers intending to adopt the plough and among those who had no such intention. First of all it was argued that, irrespective of whether or not s/he owned a plough, a farmer had more flexibility with a hoe since it enabled her or him to till the soil and plant hybrid or Lala maize in *katobela*, *mikose* ridges or *inkule*, independent of the rainy season. In contrast to this, a plough could only be used after the first rains had softened the soil. Jack Changwe explained this as follows:

'Hybrid maize grows well in *katobela*. And you can prepare *katobela* before you start working in *ama acre*. There are a lot of small farmers like me, we have no oxen and that is why we prepare our fields at this time (August 1988, H.S.). So if we have enough power we can finish two or three acres of *katobela* before the rains start. We also use the hoe to plant maize in *mikose* or *inkule*. If you have to hire oxen you are always last on the list, because these farmers first want to finish their own fields. That's why we small farmers should sow the maize early in November in *inkule* so that it will grow big. Oxen cannot work at this time but the hoe can.' (L)

This statement, which echoed the responses of several other farmers regarding the use of the dry season for land preparation activities, appears, however, to conflict with the situation on a number of other farms in Nchimishi. On the latter, farmers tended to wait until October before starting to prepare their fields. Other research concentrating upon the area around Chibale (IRDP 1984: 45, 47, 72) and Mpika District in northern Zambia (Francis 1988) also shows that although farmers working with a hoe tend to start preparing their fields and gardens earlier, ox farmers are often earlier in planting their crops. According to Francis, timeliness of land preparation and planting in Mpika has improved as a result of oxenization. Jack Changwe's account shows, however, that this does not necessarily have to be the case. Most farmers who waited until the onset of the rainy season to prepare their fields explained that, at the height of the beer-brewing season (July until the end of October) when they had just cashed their maize cheques, they preferred to attend beer parties frequently.

The second advantage, pointed out by all farmers except Paul Lushwili and his wives, of the hoe over the plough is that although the use of the plough enables farmers to cultivate larger areas and reduce labour requirements during the planting season (102 hours per hectare if land is cultivated by hand as against 28 hours if the plough is used; IRDP 1984: 18), in general higher yields per acre can be obtained if hybrid maize is cultivated by hoe. Farmers provided several explanations for this. It was argued by some that the custom of planting behind the plough often results in the seed being sown at unequal depths and being covered with heavy lumps of soil. Others stated that farmers who plough, due to the larger areas they have to manage, frequently have lower levels of fertilizer use and are often unable to find time to do their weeding as attentively as those not working with oxen.² The latter two explanations are also offered by Francis for the fact that in Mpika District ox farmers obtained lower yields per hectare (Francis 1988: 44-9). As Jack Changwe pointed out, farmers who wish to hire other farmers to do their ploughing risk having their fields prepared a few weeks later in the season, since farmers owning oxen often want to complete their own work first. According to farmers with whom this issue was discussed, this reduced timeliness tends to result in much lower yields per acre and is, therefore, one of the reasons why farmers continue to use the hoe.³ Although Jack Changwe's view was shared by many other farmers, the 1988 survey shows that there was no significant difference in the timeliness of preparation of fields as between ox/plough hirers and ox owners.

Boserup views the introduction of the plough as the means by which a population attempts to prevent a fall in the output per man-hour (Boserup 1965: 32-4). In my opinion, however, although they were well aware of the fact that the output per man-hour was considerably higher under plough agriculture, the farmers in the case studies

were more concerned with the total output of their farm, and they frequently pointed out that they were well able to survive without the plough. With the exception of older farmers like Paul Lushwili and his wives, and Mayeka Cholwa who had occasionally been forced to work for others, working with the hoe enabled these farmers and their households to be self-sufficient in food. What is more, most of these farmers were able to produce a surplus of runner beans for sale, and many of them had even managed to cultivate and sell hybrid maize in previous years. Although some had hired neighbouring farmers to plough their fields, others like Lestinah Musonda, Jack Changwe, his wife Minus, and Agnes Chibuye and her husband, had prepared their fields using only the hoe. At a number of other farms in Nchimishi where the hoe was used to prepare fields up to approximately 2 hectares of hybrid maize were cultivated. Some of these farms at times produced up to sixty-five bags of 90 Kg each.

From what has been said so far and on the basis of survey results which show that 19% of the households in Nchimishi (whether cultivating hybrid maize or not) did not make use of the plough, we may conclude that in Nchimishi the plough has never been forced upon farmers. This brings us to the second part of our question: do farmers resort to a form of intensive bush cultivation if, for some reason, they do not, or cannot, adopt the plough? Although I discovered that several non-ox farmers indeed practised a kind of intensive bush fallow, there was no indication that these farmers felt compelled to do so. Moreover, at many other non-ox farms this type of cultivation was not practised. At the farms I described earlier (see, for instance, the remarks made concerning the farms of Jack Changwe and Paul Lushwili) but equally at a large number of other farms I visited, a kind of short fallow or grass fallow, similar to that practised by many ox-farmers, was used. This kind of short fallow cultivation was practised by non-ox farmers like Jack Changwe who produced hybrid maize for the market and therefore used fertilizer, but also by farmers like Paul Lushwili who did not use any chemical fertilizer. Like Paul Lushwili, other farmers also explained that they did not practise intensive bush fallow since they had found that, depending on the fertility of the particular plot, yields tended to drop considerably after the third or fourth season.

As indicated earlier, Boserup states that the difficulty of removing grass roots with a hoe makes the plough indispensable under short fallow. The many farmers in Nchimishi with whom I discussed this issue, however, did not agree with Boserup. Their point of view is illustrated by the following remark made by one of these farmers, named Mumba Cotton:

'No, grasses are not a problem. In the *dambo* yes, there hoeing is very difficult in *ichipia*. But you can also make *katobela* on the flat land (upland, H.S.) in places where there is *ichipia*. Or you can make *katobela* or *mikose* on land after it has lain fallow for three or four years. The grasses will make the soil so fertile. You can make *katobela* and *mikose* in old fields and new land, but especially in old fields where the soil is still soft. Beans cannot grow very well in new land. *Katobela* means working in the dry soil, and it is easier to work in old fields that have rested for only a few years. If you leave it for a long time bushes come up again and clearing becomes more difficult. So one year a person can make *katobela*, and again the following year. Then the next season he can crush the heaps and make an acre. After that he can leave it for three years before he starts using it again.' (E)

Whether hybrid maize or Lala maize was grown in *inkule* or *katobela*, or whether millet was cultivated in hoed fields, both cultivation and fallow periods were kept rather short, often ranging from two up to four years, at all the farms discussed in the preceding pages.⁴ We may therefore conclude that Boserup's prediction that the plough will always be found in peasant and tribal societies if fallow periods are short does not receive empirical validation. The question remains, however, as to whether farmers depending on hoe agriculture without chemical fertilizers were able to restore the fertility of their soils under grass fallow cultivation as well as they could under intensive bush fallow cultivation. In other words, we should ask ourselves whether we are dealing here with a sustainable form of agriculture. As an anthropologist I find this a difficult question to answer, and all I can say is that farmers had very definite ideas about soil fertility and the ways open to them to restore it. Mounding, which as we have seen was already practised in 'the days of *citeme*', was seen by most farmers as helping to maintain yields and an alternative to mulching, not only because wild grasses are covered and therefore compete less with cultigens, but also, as farmers assured me, because rotten grass adds fertility to the soil. Furthermore, farmers explained that they had heard and had found themselves that cultivating runner beans was instrumental in restoring soil fertility, and it was frequently pointed out to me that bean plants are able to fix nitrogen.

When asked whether gradual changes had occurred in the fertility of the land they had cultivated over the years, none of the farmers who appeared in the case studies was able to confirm this. Some other farmers, however, Kash Chipilingu for instance, stated that over the past decades there had definitely been a decline in the fertility of some of the fields. In all cases, the farmers concerned were living along, or in the vicinity of, the main road and had been using fertilizer for a long time. According to some of them, fertilizer had salinated their fields and had, therefore, as one of them expressed it, 'spoiled the soil.' A few farmers stated, however, that they had planted millet in these fields since this crop was able, as one farmer told me, to 'eat away the remaining fertilizer.'

None of the farmers in the case studies used cattle manure to restore soil fertility. This should not come as a surprise since very few of them owned cattle. A large majority of the farmers who did own cattle⁵, however, did not make use of manure either, maintaining that it contained a lot of weed seeds. Kash Chipilingu was one of the few farmers who did apply manure to his fields, after having composted it with soil and leaves, a method he had learned at the Mulembo peasant farming scheme.

Any attempt to explain the present agricultural pattern in Nchimishi and the fact that many but not all farmers adopted the plough must, in my view, highlight the particular characteristics of the major staple food crops which are cultivated by the farmers in the area. According to Pryor:

'The planting of maize requires merely a small hole into which several seeds are dropped; these holes can be made by a digging stick. Although this may be an arduous job, maize is a land-intensive plant. That is, the requisite number of calories to maintain human existence can be obtained in a relatively small area of land, in contrast to wheat, which requires more land to produce the same amount of calories.' (Pryor 1985: 731-4).

On the basis of these considerations Pryor argues that a distinction has to be made between 'plough positive' and 'plough negative' crops (Pryor 1985: 731-4). The list of plough negative crops according to Pryor includes crops like maize, and various root crops, since they all require relatively little land to produce a sufficient number of food calories to support a family. But the list also contains crops like millet and sorghum since they 'require no extensive preparation of the land because their seeds will sprout and take root without being buried in furrows or deep holes.' (Pryor 1985: 732; see also Note 2).

That farmers in our illustrative cases did not feel compelled to switch from hoe to plough may thus be explained to a large extent by the particular characteristics of the crops they cultivated - characteristics which may account both for the fact that farmers in Nchimishi who depend upon hoe agriculture are able to obtain enough food for themselves and their families, and for the fact that the preparation of the land and the removal of grasses by means of hoeing did not represent a major problem to them.

Other factors influencing the choice of agricultural technology

So far, we have seen that farmers in Nchimishi, despite the fact that many practise a form of short fallow cultivation, are not forced to switch over from hoe to plough. At this point I wish to discuss some of the other factors which influenced these farmers' choice of technology and to examine the reasons farmers had for not adopting the plough.

In *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, Boserup criticizes Leibenstein for assuming that, in a backward economy, population growth will have only a very limited effect as an inducement to greater investment:

'He does not believe that additional investment would be undertaken in a backward economy just because the number of mouths to feed is increasing. In his opinion, investments will come about only when more purchasing power is anticipated, which in turn implies higher income.' (Boserup 1965: 105).

The farmers in Nchimishi with whom I discussed parts of her work tended to agree with Leibenstein on this matter. One farmer, George Kapi, made the following remark:

'In this Chieftdom most farmers are progressive, but in Serenje Chieftdom you will find only a few who work with oxen. There most people still use *citmene*. Here we learned good farming methods from each other. Its just like a competition; when you do not take part in it you feel left behind. Everybody wants to be the best.

- But didn't people start ploughing because the supply of trees was exhausted?

No, it is not because of a lack of trees. Even if there were enough trees today, we would not return to the *citmene* system. Because *citmene* means relocating all the time. The only reason people started using the plough was that they could make money from agriculture. Before we had oxen we used the hoe. We made gardens along the stream and around anthills and we had enough food.' (L)

Another farmer, Blaison Makofi, expressed the general opinion which existed among farmers that food security has never proved to be sufficient grounds for farmers in Nchimishi to adopt the plough:

'As the population increased it became difficult to find enough large trees to cut a *citeme*, that's why people stopped. At that time, the agricultural people taught us new methods of agriculture. And agriculture has brought a lot of development here. But in other places here in Serenje, where the population was also growing, they switched over to other types of agriculture. There they started making large *inkule*. Here most of us depend on oxen, but some are like the people in Shaiwila Chiefdom. There they switched over to *inkule* when the population started growing, when it became too difficult to cut a *citeme*.

- But why did people here switch over to the plough and not to the hoe?

Because they wanted to make a profit from farming. That's why here the plough replaced the axe and the hoe.⁶ Maize was grown on mounds, but you can also grow maize with a plough. Millet was grown in *citeme*, but those who had ploughs started using them to grow millet as well. Without the peasant scheme we would have switched to the hoe.' (L)

It was often explained to me that since survival was possible without the plough and since the switch to animal traction involved a large investment, the only reason farmers in Nchimishi had for adopting the plough was that this technique offered them the possibility of cultivating larger areas with hybrid maize or other cash crops and thus increasing their cash incomes and standard of living. The adoption of the plough in Nchimishi should not, therefore, be regarded as being the response of the rural population to population growth in the area or in the District, but as their response to urban demand, to producer prices of tobacco and later to the prices which could be fetched for a 'plough negative' crop such as hybrid maize. Some farmers argued that the diffusion of commercially-oriented agriculture and the plough also gave rise to a local process of commoditization which in turn had made others decide to become 'modern' farmers as well, especially when job opportunities in the urban areas started declining. According to Mr. Yumba, one of the oldest men in Nchimishi:

'The plough has changed a lot here in Chibale. Ploughing brought trade to this area. Now you have to buy everything; people do nothing free of charge any more. In the past beer was given free of charge, but now it is money all the time. In the past people just kept chickens, but now even chickens and bananas are sold. That's why people want their own fields, that's why they want to plough because they want cash. Even at the farm things have changed. You see this old *nsaka*? In the past your relatives would help you make a new one, but nowadays your sons can charge you for doing such work saying, "Time is money, while we made this *nsaka* we could have done piece work." You see the attitude of people has changed because their thinking has changed. People think of money, that is why there is no understanding within the house.' (L)

During the 1987/88 season, 19% of all households did not prepare fields with the plough. Although some farmers such as Loveness Musonda and Lucky Chibuye at times hired other farmers to plough for them, all the households in the case studies belonged to the 14.4% of all households in Nchimishi whose residents did not own any trained oxen and plough⁷. Paul Lushwili, Muzewa and Musonda had no plans to purchase their own oxen and plough. Paul was right when he pointed out that in principle a farm

consisting of three adult persons had a large enough labour force to save sufficient money to hire others to plough for them initially, and then at a later stage to purchase oxen and plough. He added, however, that their case was different in the sense that he and his wives were too old and suffered from ill health. As a result, according to Paul, they lacked the energy to produce a sufficient surplus of beans to enable them to buy the necessary inputs needed to engage in the production of hybrid maize - an activity which had allowed many other farmers to save enough money to purchase cattle and 'modern' farming implements.

All the other farms discussed are located in one of the most densely populated parts of Nchimishi and differed from Paul Lushwili's farm in that, due to a shortage of land, the introduction of the plough on these farms would probably not result in the production of larger surpluses for sale. Besides stressing that the plough would not be remunerative on their present farms, the residents of Mayeka Cholwa's farm, for instance, as well as Henry Chimpabu, Jack Changwe and his wife Minus argued that they did not control enough land to keep their own cattle. Some farmers, such as Lestinah and Loveness Musonda and Henry Chimpabu, did have clear ideas and plans regarding mechanized farming, and Lestinah and Loveness had already managed to set aside some capital. Henry Chimpabu, Loveness Musonda and her husband were convinced that the further extension of their farming enterprise and the change to plough agriculture would necessarily involve a move to some of the less densely populated parts of Nchimishi. Only Lestinah Musonda believed that the departure of her sister and brother-in-law would bring her control over a large enough area to make investment in cattle and implements profitable.

Before visiting the farms along the main road, I had become convinced that most farmers in Nchimishi, especially those of the younger generation, had definite plans to develop and extend their farm further. Many even expressed their fears that if they did not work hard enough, if they did not take part in the maize competition, or what was often called 'the bags race' (see also Chapters 7 and 13), they would, as George Kapi pointed out earlier, remain behind, be surpassed by their age mates, friends or relatives. I found, for instance, that 59.2% of all women and men under 35 years of age who did not own cattle and/or a plough indicated that they intended to purchase cattle, a plough or both in the not too distant future⁶. However, many farmers who lived along the main road and who controlled only relatively small tracts of land did not seem to fit the general picture. Why did these farmers often not have any plans to adopt the plough? All farmers in the cases studies stated that if they had had enough land they would certainly have extended their fields years ago and would by now own their own oxen and farming implements. Furthermore, even farmers with no intention of abandoning their present farm pointed out that any plan to establish a more commercially-oriented farming enterprise based on plough agriculture would necessarily involve a move to more remote and less densely populated parts of Nchimishi. As was often explained to me by these and other farmers, twenty or thirty years ago it was still possible to find enough unoccupied land in the proximity of the main road, while the money needed to invest in farming equipment and cattle was mainly earned in the towns of the Copperbelt. But nowadays both land and capital were only, as one young farmer put it,

'found in the bush'. Leaving roadside farms, however, and moving to the bush, to places located two or three hours' walking distance from the road, means giving up the advantages of living along the road, the advantages of living in the proximity of neighbours, friends and relatives, of the school, the maize depot, the church or Kingdom Hall. Especially for older women such as Chisenga Simon and Mayeka Cholwa, living along the road gives a feeling of security, knowing that in the event of sickness it is relatively easy to arrange transport to the hospital in Serenje or to the mission hospital in Chitambo. Others stated that they had decided against moving to the hinterland of Nchimishi because they would miss the animated townlike atmosphere, social events such as beer parties and funerals, the company of others, and the opportunity to meet strangers as well as friends or relatives. Furthermore, it was often argued that living in the bush would make it more difficult to keep abreast of the latest gossip and news. Although contact with friends and relatives and participation in beer parties and funerals would not become impossible after moving to a new farm site, it was argued that having to walk long distances would certainly reduce the frequency of such contact.

We may conclude from this that decisions concerning farm location were not based upon agricultural and economic considerations only, but were arrived at by measuring goals and objectives regarding agricultural production, income and the access to productive resources such as land, capital and labour, against objectives which related to consumption and to activities which are not necessarily mediated by means of money. As Henry Chimpabu and others explained, remaining near the main road set limits to both agricultural production and the choice of agricultural technology, whereas, on the other hand, the decision to move to the bush was bound to restrict the ability to take part in certain social activities. Contrary to many economists, therefore, farmers did not conceive of limited resources, such as human time and energy, in terms of agricultural labour only, but also in terms of other activities (see also Carlstein 1980: 28, 39 and Chapters 7 and 13). Indeed, we may argue that the choice of technology, the decision of some farmers living along Chibale road not to purchase oxen and a plough, was, to a large extent, influenced by non-economic factors. I think, therefore, that it would be a mistake to reduce either the pattern of agriculture and/or the (spatial) pattern of economic differentiation which exists in Nchimishi through agricultural technology to a function of adaptation to the environment, to population density. This is because population density, and the differences in population density within the area, can be seen not only as the outcome of population growth but also, as I showed earlier, as the result of historical and political factors (the farm regrouping policy of the Zambian Government) as well as of certain, what we might call, social factors which apparently had a strong impact upon decisions regarding what Carlstein calls space-time budgets (Carlstein 1982: 158), decisions of individual farmers or families to remain living near the main road and consequently to continue with hoe agriculture.

There are even strong indications that in the case of Nchimishi population growth, contrary to the argument of Boserup (Grigg 1979: 67), cannot be treated as an independent variable which determines the frequency of cropping and therefore also the agricultural technology used. In Nchimishi the reverse seems to be the case, since

population growth is to some extent affected by the agricultural developments which have taken place in the area in the last decades. The fact that, contrary to the other Chiefdoms in Serenje District, the plough has spread to large sections of the farming population has attracted a number of farmers from within and from outside Serenje District, Lala as well as non-Lala. According to Blaison Makofi:

'Where people are working with a plough or especially with a hoe, more people can live together. That's why this place looks like a town. That's also why some people from Mukopa (see Map 1.2, H.S.) move to this area, to start a farm.

- Why do they come here?

It is very easy here to hire oxen and, because many people have scotch carts and there are many roads, it is easy to transport your maize to the depot. You see, this place is a little bit developed so those who are living in town and who are planning to return to their relatives may think: "It is better for me to go to Masaninga." (See Map 1.2, H.S.) Because if someone goes, let's say, to Mukopa or Serenje Chiefdom, there are no roads there and nobody can give him advice since they do not know anything about agriculture.

- So you think this area attracts people from other regions?

Yes, they come to this place. For example, the teachers who came from other Provinces and were stationed here. They started farms here and did not go back. For example that teacher from Chibale, Mr. Mpiakula, he is Tonga but he has his farm near Chibale. And our neighbours are Mambwe. But there are also some Lala from Serenje Chiefdom or Muchinka Chiefdom who came here to start farming on their retirement.' (L)

This development is also illustrated by the history of Matthew Chibuye, who was born in Kitwe in 1938, and whose parents originally came from Muchinda Chiefdom. After his retirement in 1986, he decided against returning to the area of his maternal clan and settled in Nchimishi, the area where his wife was born. According to Matthew Chibuye, who before his retirement had worked as an accountant for the Ministry of Agriculture, Nchimishi had several clear advantages when compared with Muchinda:

'I have lived all my life in towns and I have no experience of rural life. But now I joined rural life because in the end everybody has to rely on farming. For someone who is retired there are no other sources of income. I did not like living in town and decided to leave that kind of life. I did not want to pay rent and electricity bills any more. I wanted to become completely independent.

- Why did you decide to come to this area?

The first reason is that my wife comes from this chiefdom. And then, this area is developed, so it is easy for me and my family to be adopted by the people here. Life here is similar to the life in town. Here people are traditionally educated. When you meet people such as Mr. Lupalo, it is easy to become a member of the community.

- Why did you not return to Muchinda Chiefdom?

In Muchinda, people have no experience of farming, no one can teach you anything. In Muchinda, people live in remote places near Zaire and a lot of them practise *citemene*. Such areas are bad for us people from town who want to become commercial farmers, but who at the same time lack knowledge and who need the assistance from the local people. But Nchimishi is economically advanced.' (E)

A final conclusion I wish to draw on the basis of the cases presented is that in Nchimishi, even under conditions of short fallow, hoe agriculture - irrespective of whether farmers use fertilizer and high yielding crop varieties or whether they depend

upon the cultivation of 'traditional' crops - when compared with plough agriculture apparently supports a higher population density, not only because higher yields per acre are obtained with the hoe but also because cattle need sufficient grazing areas. We could argue, therefore, that in the case of Nchimishi the hoe not only precedes the plough but re-emerges as the most important tool on farms that are located in the most densely populated parts of the area. At these farms the hoe does not persist, as Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger argue, because the type of soil or terrain prevents farmers from adopting the plough but because these farmers either are not interested in plough agriculture, or have no possibility of extending their fields and therefore do not consider it worthwhile to invest in the plough, even if its use would lead to a higher output per man-hour (Boserup 1965: 32-4; Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger 1987: 25-36).

Reduced population pressure and agricultural (de)intensification

According to Grigg, one implicit assumption that underlies Ester Boserup's theory is that farmers in pre-industrial societies are interested first in obtaining an adequate output per head and second in maximizing their leisure (Grigg 1979, 69 and 76). Having a high preference for leisure, farmers are reluctant to forgo this unless population growth forces them to adopt more intensive methods of agriculture.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Boserup argues that a population decrease (e.g. through out-migration or epidemics or wars) or, alternatively, the availability of new land, is likely to lead to de-intensification and technical regression (Boserup 1965: 62-3, 66-7; Carlstein 1980: 196). She refers, for instance, to examples from Tanzania, Sri-Lanka, Vietnam and India which show that populations gave up intensive methods after being resettled in less densely populated districts even if resettlement took place at the initiative of the Government and was aimed at promoting the spread of intensive methods to the areas of migration (Boserup 1965: 63).

An interesting example of the relationship between reduced population pressure and de-intensification is provided by Allan when he discusses land usage in Mkushi District (which is located south-west of Serenje District) (Allan 1949: 47-70). According to Allan, Lala (originating from the eastern part of Mkushi District, Serenje District and the Congo) on migrating into Swaka areas during the first half of this century brought with them their extensive finger-millet *citemene* system. Soon, however, as a result of the relative land shortage which followed from the creation of reserves (land which the Colonial Government held in reserve for future use) in 1928-29, this Lala minority was forced to adopt the more intensive semi-*citemene* system of the Swaka. This system had a higher carrying capacity (ten to eleven persons per square mile as compared with six to seven for the Lala 'small circle' *citemene* system). The Swaka family gardens differed from the Lala 'small circle' *citemene* system not only in that the land between the branch sites (the *ifyonde*) was hoed and planted with the staple crop sorghum, but also in that the garden was used for several consecutive seasons. The *ifyonde* (singular: *ichonde*) were only planted with finger millet for a year or two before being abandoned,

but the sorghum gardens lasted for up to six years. In general, fresh *ifyonde* were not cut until a new sorghum *inkule* was required (Allan 1949: 63). Allan found, however, that in some parts of Mkushi in the early 1940's a change had occurred in the direction of greater finger millet production among Lala as well as Swaka. According to Allan, one of the factors responsible for this change was the granting of additional land to the farming population by the Colonial Government:

'The new (and to them unlimited) woodland has encouraged the Lala to revert to their former practice and the comparative kaffir corn (sorghum, H.S.) failure of 1940-41 probably induced some of the Swaka to follow their example. It is also said that Lala chitemene practice is proving attractive to the Swaka on account of its less continuous labour requirement.'
(Allan 1949: 61).

In what follows I argue that, despite the fact that even in recent years some farmers have moved to the less populous parts of Nchimishi in order to cut *citeme* gardens, migration to practically uninhabited areas does not necessarily mean reversion to less intensive methods of agriculture. On the basis of a case study, I aim to show that farmers do not necessarily attempt to maximize leisure, but may have different, economic as well as non-economic, reasons for continuing to practise intensive forms of agriculture - even in situations where land is in abundance and does not prevent farmers from (re-)adopting long fallow cultivation methods.

The farm of Kaulenti Chisenga

Early in 1985, Kaulenti Chisenga (27 years of age in 1985) his wife Ireen (22) and their children Charity (7), Toynbee (5), and Aram (2), having lived at the farm of Ireen's maternal uncle, Matika, for several years, decided to join Kaulenti's mother Kasubika Mandabe, who had settled at Lupalo village towards the end of 1984 (for a more detailed life history and a description and analysis of Kaulenti Chisenga's farm, see Chapter 13). Before they settled in the area, the village headman, Lupalo, had shown the prospective new inhabitants some 'old fields' which they would be allowed to cultivate. These fields, which covered a total area of approximately 2 hectares, had been lying fallow for three years. The same year, having obtained the permission of Lupalo and his wife Kalale, Kaulenti was able to extend the fields somewhat by clearing approximately 0.25 hectares of secondary woodland. In August 1985, the family was also allotted part of the *dambo* behind the village where Kaulenti was allowed by his neighbour George Bulwani to cultivate a vegetable garden where he and his wife and mother could cultivate beans and Lala maize in *mutipula*.

During the rainy season (November 1985), the newly cleared land (*inkule*) was used for the cultivation of millet which was sown in the *myunda* as well as in the remaining part which had been prepared with the hoe. The old fields, also prepared with the hoe, were also partly used for the cultivation of millet. In the months preceding the rainy season, the family had prepared two *katobela* in which beans and Lala maize were planted. Other mounds had been prepared for the cultivation of sweet potatoes and

cassava. The remainder of the land had been reserved for the cultivation of sunflower. Since they did not have the financial resources to purchase fertilizer, the family did not plant any hybrid maize.

In 1987, during one of the many conversations I had with him, Kaulenti explained that the move from Matika's farm - which was located in the hinterland of Nchimishi - to Lupalo village located 100 metres from the main road to Chibale (see Map 1.2) had been to the advantage of the whole family:

'When you live deep in the bush, far from the road, far from people, you face a lot of small problems, which together make a big problem. Since I am one of Jehovah's Witnesses and an elder of the Fipese congregation, I have to be at the Kingdom Hall very often. I am also the secretary of the congregation and many people want to see me and they do not like it when they have to walk long distances to get forms. I am still a small farmer and I still need to make a strong foundation for my farm, for our future, so it is good to live near the road. Because for a poor farmer like me it is also difficult to get the maize to the market (the Nchimishi buying depot, H.S.). You have to find someone with a scotch cart, and he will charge you. I am also a carpenter and a bricklayer and sometimes people ask me if I can make them a new house. Now if you live very far away from people it is very difficult to get business. Also my wife when she wants to sell *munkoyo* (a kind of soft drink made out of maize and certain roots, H.S.) here she can go to the school or the milling machine to sell. Here selling is easy and the milling machine is nearby. Also my children have their friends here and when my wife goes to work in the fields or visit someone she can leave Aram with Laka (one of the neighbours and also a mother of a young child, H.S.). But in the bush you can't do that. There your neighbours live very far away. And the children also have to go to school but if you live very far away they have to walk for many hours every day.' (E)

Kaulenti further pointed out that their move to Lupalo village - which is located in a much more densely populated area than Matika's farm - had also enabled him to start up several income-generating activities: activities such as baking and selling bread; the preparation and sale of a soft-drink made from passion fruit; and trade in beans bought locally and later sold at the markets on the Copperbelt. In Kaulenti's opinion, living along Chibale road made it much easier to get beans transported to the Great North Road and thus to the urban areas. Kaulenti hoped that these activities, together with the sale of their own harvest of beans, sunflower and vegetables, would allow the family to become engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize in the coming years. Then, if things turned out well, they would be in a position to purchase cattle and a plough in the not-too-distant future.

As was the case in the 1985/1986 season, the family did not cultivate and sell any hybrid maize during the 1986/1987 season. In 1987 Kaulenti and Ireen, with the consent of Kasubika Mandabe, decided to become more independent. Kaulenti and Ireen wished to maintain their own fields and to have control over their own income. The same year, Kaulenti and Ireen had enough capital to purchase hybrid maize seed and fifteen bags of fertilizer. In December, Kaulenti asked their neighbour, Mumba Cotton, to plough approximately 2 hectares, for which they had to pay him K140. In 1988, the couple sold fifty-eight bags of hybrid maize to the Nchimishi depot, while retaining eight bags for home consumption.⁹⁾

According to Kaulenti, the good yield they obtained that season directly resulted in

the departure of Kaulenti and his family from Lupalo village. During a conversation which took place early in April 1988, Kaulenti gave the following explanation for his decision to start looking for his own farm:

'Yes, it's true, we will leave this place. Because as you know this land is not mine, it is Mr. Lupalo's. I am using some of his old fields. Last week Mrs. Lupalo came to me when I was working in the field, and she told me that this was the last season I could use their fields. She saw that I had made large acres and that I was even making some small fields on the land of other farmers. Mrs. Lupalo told me that she does not want me to use those fields any more, because she wants the trees to cover that land, so that it becomes very fertile before her children come back from town. Like Harriet Lupalo (the daughter of Lupalo, H.S.) for example, she has returned from Ndola and she is now using some of Mr. Lupalo's old acres (see Chapter 9, H.S.). That is the problem people like me have: we do not have our own land, so we can be driven from this area by the owners (see Chapter 12, H. S.). These people do not like others, who are not their relatives, to become big farmers on their land. And when you are stumping the land you are just preparing acres for others. Getting land is a problem these days, especially here near the road. And another reason for leaving this place is that I had nowhere to extend my fields. In the future I want to prepare more than ten acres, make a big *katobela*, and fields with millet and other crops like sweet potatoes. But here my fields are surrounded by those of other people from Lupalo village, like Zion, Mumba Cotton and Harriet Lupalo. And people were using them every year. Only leaving them (fallow, H.S.) for three years or so, before using them again.' (E)

Another reason Kaulenti gave for leaving Lupalo village was that his vegetable garden in the *dambo* had been destroyed several times by his neighbours' cattle:

'Once, the herdsboys destroyed the fence I made and the animals walked over my tomato plants. Another time they started a fire in the garden. This is their way of showing this land does not belong to me. And there is nothing I can do. I can't punish the herdsboys and I can't complain. I went to George Bulwani (Lupalo's sister's son, H.S.) to complain once, but he told me that the *dambo* was for cattle and the land was not mine.' (E)

In October 1988, Kaulenti and his family established their own farm on a large tract of unoccupied land located several kilometres beyond Matika's farm, their original starting point.

At the new farm, Kaulenti dug an irrigation canal, approximately 500 metres long, from the Fipese stream to a large vegetable garden. In this garden in 1989, he started cultivating a variety of vegetables such as tomatoes, onions, cabbage, rape, Irish potatoes, and strawberries. During the 1988/1989 season, Kaulenti and Ireen did not cultivate any hybrid maize, since during the months preceding the rains Kaulenti had only been able to stump a relatively small tract of land. The trees cut had been stacked by Ireen and Kasubika Mandabe and, after burning, millet had been sown in the *bakulakula*. Towards the end of the rainy season (March 1989), the remaining part of the land was prepared with the hoe and turned into *mikose*. During the dry season, Kaulenti further extended their fields by stumping and hoeing additional land (*inkule*), because he and his wife intended to cultivate hybrid maize during the 1989/1990 season.

In September and October 1988, Kaulenti, Ireen and Kasubika Mandabe prepared *katobela* in which they cultivated runner beans and Lala maize. These fields were

located on the land of their neighbour, Matika, because not enough land had yet been stumped at their farm. In August 1988, Ireen and Kasubika Mandabe each made their own *cisebe cha nfula* on the slopes of a *dambo* located near the farm. Kaulenti intended to cultivate his new fields continuously for at least four to five years (depending on the fertility of the soil) before leaving them fallow. He planned to hire the oxen and ploughs of neighbouring farmers to prepare his fields, but if that proved to be too difficult or expensive he would, as in the past, rely upon 'his own power'. Although he now lived in one of the more remote and sparsely populated areas of Nchimishi, Kaulenti, unlike some of the neighbouring farmers, did not intend to start cutting *citemene* gardens, despite the fact that he estimated that there was enough woodland in the environs of the farm to do so. Instead, like most other farmers, he intended to cultivate millet on hoed or ploughed fields and to integrate the crop into his crop rotation scheme: a rotation scheme which paralleled the one practised by many other farmers in Nchimishi:

'No, we will only make *bakulakula* after stumping when we are extending our fields. In the past, people believed that it is impossible to grow millet in fields. But then the British showed how we can cultivate it without ashes, on the land. So when there are no trees left here, those who are still cutting *citemene* will get their millet from the land, on acres. People are changing, they plant maize in their field for two years and after that they plant millet, because millet likes the fertility that is left in the soil. The next year they plant maize because maize likes the grasses of millet. That's what many people do and that's what we will do here.' (E)

When asked whether he and his wife planned to include fallow periods in their cropping system, Kaulenti explained that farmers, whether they use the plough or the hoe, may use a field for ten years before leaving it fallow for eight. Other farmers follow a shorter cycle of four to five years of cultivation followed by a fallow period of two to three years. Sometimes, perennating sorghum is sown in fields that are lying fallow. According to Kaulenti, clearing the land with a hoe after a three-year fallow period does not present a major problem.

Kaulenti and Ireen intended to develop a farming enterprise geared mainly to the cultivation of cash crops such as beans, hybrid maize and especially vegetables such as cabbage and Irish potatoes (these vegetables are less perishable than tomatoes and rape). According to Kaulenti, horticulture had an advantage over the cultivation of hybrid maize since a garden could provide a farmer with a cash income for most of the year:

'With a garden you can make money most of the time. But with maize you only get money once a year. Today is 22 December (1989, H.S.) and we only received our cheque last week. But I delivered that maize back in September. And already people are working for next year's maize. That's why some say that this maize business cannot help us to develop quickly. And then prices of fertilizer are going up all the time and the Government is often late in bringing seed and fertilizer. But when you grow vegetables and beans you do not depend upon the cooperative. You can buy your own seed in town and sell to traders. And vegetables do not require fertilizer, you only need chicken manure.' (E)

Despite the disadvantages, Kaulenti and Ireen had plans to engage in the cultivation of hybrid maize. This was partly because the sale of maize had yielded them a good profit in 1989. Kaulenti feared, however, that his responsibilities to the Fipese congregation

of Jehovah's Witnesses might again prevent him from following up his plans to lay what he called 'a strong foundation' for the future of his farming enterprise (see Chapter 13). Kaulenti and Ireen also expressed their wish to purchase cattle, a plough and if possible an ox cart in the future. For the time being, however, they would, as in the past, have to rely upon the hoe or upon the services of neighbouring farmers. In 1989, in order to reduce his transport problem, Kaulenti made his farm accessible for ox carts by constructing a number of paths, linking up with the existing network of paths leading to the neighbouring farms and the main road. With George Bulwani, who had established a farm (see Chapter 12) approximately four kilometres from his farm, Kaulenti had made plans to construct a bridge across the Fipese stream.

Commentary and analysis

Like most others farmers in the case studies, Kaulenti Chisenga highlighted some economic as well as social advantages of living near the main road. His points were frequently echoed by many other farmers in Nchimishi. In particular, farmers who did not possess their own oxen and cart (often farmers of the younger generation) tended to emphasize the difficulty of transporting their produce to the main road. On the other hand, like Kaulenti, farmers also emphasized the advantages of establishing a farm 'in the bush'. Access to land and the ability to select the best soils for particular crops and fields were mentioned by most of these settlers. A few farmers pointed out that the move to the bush had opened up the opportunity to construct large fish ponds and to engage in the cultivation of vegetables by means of irrigation.

All farmers in the area in which Kaulenti had settled (Kalemba section, which consisted of 27 farms) cultivated finger millet. Many different reasons were provided for their decision to cultivate the crop: not only had millet long served as a major staple, but many farmers preferred the taste of millet porridge (*ubwali*) to that of maize *ubwali*; the cultivation of finger millet fitted well into their crop rotation scheme; unlike hybrid maize, it was easy to store millet since it was not vulnerable to attack by weevils (see also IRDP 1984: 63). Although they realized that by using *citeme* methods a considerably higher output per man-hour could be obtained and that they lived in an area which contained large tracts of unoccupied woodland suitable for the cutting of *citeme*, only one out of the seven Kalemba-section farmers included in the survey was using *citeme* methods.

According to Kaulenti, different types of farmers tended to move to the 'bush':

'Those who want to cut *ifyonde* are the first to go to the bush. They are followed by those who have a lot of cattle, a plough and a scotch cart, like George Bulwani. Their animals can graze in the old *citeme* they find up there. The last group are those who want to become good farmers, but who cannot find enough land near the road, who are living on the land of others, or who are driven away as we were. They are the last, because they still have to make a foundation for their farm. They depend upon farmers who have oxen and scotch carts.' (E)

The last two categories consisted of farmers who had no intention of returning to a farming system based upon the *citeme* system. They were mainly interested in a more commercially-oriented type of farming, and their decision to relocate had been mainly based on economic motives. The resource they had lacked when living along Chibale road was land. In farming, Kaulenti argued, only two resources are of real importance. First of all what counts is the 'power' (i.e. physical strength, skills and perseverance; see also Chapter 13) of a person and of the other members of the farm: the 'power' to work and to learn new methods of agriculture, for instance. The second important resource according to Kaulenti is land, land in which a persons 'power' can be invested. He further explained that once these two conditions were met, the farm could generate revenue since a number of cash crops could be cultivated without the use of any financial inputs. Kaulenti further stated that he had been prevented in the past from taking decisions, from making a 'strong foundation' for a future farming enterprise, by not having control over land. Even as a youth, when he lived 'under the control' of his parents in the Mukopa area, the yearly periods the family spent in *nkutu* near the *citeme* gardens had obstructed his plans to earn cash through the cultivation of vegetables (see also Chapter 13). In their case, therefore, it was not their quest for trees, but their quest for land and their wish to engage in the cultivation of cash crops which had driven them to the bush. Kaulenti Chisenga and many other farmers who settled in the sparsely populated parts of Nchimishi had therefore not reverted to more extensive cultivation methods and did not have any plans to do so. However, like Long in the early 1960's, I also came across some farmers who actually combined the cultivation of cash crops and finger millet on ploughed fields (*ama acres*) with *citeme* methods (Long 1968: 38). A recent report shows that farmers combined both methods in the area near Chibale village also (IRD 1984). When confronted with this information, Kaulenti replied that there were several reasons why his family and many of his colleagues had not re-adopted the *citeme* system. He further added:

'When I was living in Mukopa with my parents we wasted a lot of time cutting *citemene*. I have visited many different farms in this area and I found that people have different ideas when it comes to farming. Beyond Lupenga lives a farmer who worked in Luanshya as a miner. He prepared a big field with maize and he likes his children to have their own fields and gardens too. But others are living on nice land; plenty of water, fertile soil, but they are not using that land. They just beg for relish. But they have enough land to make their own gardens. But they do not know how to do it, and they don't want to learn from others how to do it. Because they are different. Their brains? Ah, some people do not want to learn new things. All they know is cutting *citemene*, or growing hybrid maize. They will do that every year. But others, like Kashulwe, Musonda Chunga and Sigauge, they go to other places to learn new things. Good farming is doing new things all the time, not remaining in a rut. Being a good farmer does not mean going back to the past; cutting *citemene*. It means trying out new things, making gardens, planting fruits and keeping domestic animals. Those who are making *citemene* are not preparing for their future and the future of their family. They just work for tomorrow or the next week, not for the coming years.' (E)

Some farmers in Nchimishi expressed even greater disapproval when asked their opinion on the *citeme* system. Frank Mumbulu, a young farmer, argued:

'*Citeme*? Ah, we condemn shifting cultivation in our development revolution! Shifting cultivation is to be condemned. Time wasted on it is too much, one cannot even develop. You find that people in an area where shifting cultivation is in abundance are underdeveloped. Someone with a developed mind, even if he marries into such a place, cannot stay. Today most people here consider development, and not these destructive old Lala methods, our heritage.' (E)

Another characterization of the *citeme* system and those who practise it, is provided by another young farmer, Robbie Kunda:

'People who make *citemene* think differently; they think about *ifyonde*. They like living in the bush and being in *nkutu*. They are more restless and less settled than we are. When you sit with them in the *nsaka*, one of them can say suddenly: "Let me go now." And when you tell him that it's already night he answers: "No, let me just check my traps." They like being alone, they think differently. They live with the idea of hunger, *nsala*. *Citemene* people are narrow-minded. One time I made *ifyonde* in *nkutu*, but it is terrible. You are just on your own and you do not get any ideas. Some now see that with *ifyonde* you do not get anywhere, it leads to nothing. They see us living at our farms when they go to Mulilima. They do not want to work with a bent back (this refers to hoeing, H.S).' (E)

The 'small circle' *citemene* system is indeed regarded by the inhabitants of Nchimishi as being a part of Lala heritage, of Lala tradition, as something which had separated them from the Swaka, the Bemba and other neighbouring ethnic groups. The changed attitude towards the *citeme* system which has apparently occurred over the years was often explained by informants in more or less the same terms as those in which other agricultural, social and economic changes were interpreted and described. The replacement of Lala traditions, customs and rules (*amafunde*) by new ones was often explained as being a consequence of the large-scale migration to the Copperbelt, Zimbabwe and South Africa which had resulted in contacts with Europeans, Asians and members of other ethnic groups. Town life and contract labour, according to many respondents, had to be held responsible for what we might describe as processes of individualization and commoditization which had made farmers decide to switch over to the cultivation of cash crops. Others tended to interpret processes of agricultural, social and economic change as being influenced and given direction by the propagation of the Bible and the diffusion, both on the Copperbelt and in Nchimishi itself, of different religious denominations. Still others were more inclined to stress the impact of British rule and the role the Zambian Government had played in bringing about or steering these change processes. It was often argued, for instance, that the Zambian Government had not only officially banned the *citemene* system having identified it as destructive and a main cause of deforestation (GRZ 1977: 28; see also Pottier 1988: 164), but also introduced and promoted modern methods and provided agricultural inputs and loans. Kaulenti Chisenga gave the following analysis of the processes of change in relation to the changed attitude towards the *citeme* system:

'The British told us how we can be rich in the future. They brought the schools, the Bible and the banks. Now we know that if you save and put money in the bank, you can be like people in rich countries; good living, good houses, clean water and good food. We learned those things from other nations and we want to be like these people. That's why things are changing. The British showed us

that *citemene* destroys the forest and is useless because it cannot bring you a good future, no capital. They showed us how to make money using oxen and how to grow millet on the land. Nowadays farmers have a lot of crops because of money and we eat more maize because it also brings us money. But some traditional crops have completely disappeared like *iftu*, *fiogoli* and *imyungu*. Also gardening came from the British. The names of vegetables are not Lala names: Chinese (Chinese cabbage, H.S.), tomato, rape, even garden is an English word. We copied many things from them. Like toilets. We thought: "Ah, he is living comfortably, is he not? Let us do the same". And houses, in the past we made everything round: round *ifyonde*, round houses, round *nsaka*, but we learned from the British to make things square, square fields and square houses. We also started to make houses with bricks because people nowadays want to remain in the same place for many years. And a brick house cannot be attacked by ants. Now we make houses with sitting rooms, but in our tradition the *nsaka* was our sitting room. Here in Nchimishi people have spent time in different areas, some in South Africa and some in Tanzania. Even in our country, Zambia, there are different tribes: Lozi, Tonga, Swaka, Kaonde and other tribes. So our Lala system,¹⁰ some of it still exists, but other things have changed. People who return from town bring with them systems from town, from other tribes. For example, these days some people here, like myself, have started to plant fruit trees. They have copied that system from the British and the Lamba. The Lamba like to plant mango and other fruit trees and sell the fruit on the market. People copy systems, so these days we have started planting fruits here. But long years ago we Lala did not plant any fruit trees around the villages. Because of this *citemene* system people were moving all the time looking for trees. So they thought: "Why plant a mango tree if we are going to leave this village in a few years?" That's the reason things are changing: we learn from people living in other countries, through television and by talking to people. That's why people do many different things these days. So you see that's why people have stopped making *citemene*. First, you cannot build a future when you cut *citemene*. Second, it destroys the forest. Third, we have lived among others and learned new modern types of agriculture from them and we know *citemene* is a primitive system. Fourth, people have stopped cutting *citemene* because they do not want to be on the move all the time; staying in *nkuu* and making new villages. Especially those who have stayed in town, they want a good living in a nice house with nice gardens.' (E)

I found that in expressing their criticisms of the *citeme* system (and this can also be concluded by comparing the remarks made by Kaulenti Chisenga and Frank Mumbulu with some passages in Chapter 4), farmers tended to employ more or less the same phraseology used by researchers and the colonial administrators to characterize the system. In general, farmers also described the *citeme* system as being primitive, destructive from an ecological point of view, and unable to provide a secure and prosperous future for those who practised it. The remarks made by Kaulenti Chisenga, as well as those made by Kash Chipilingu in Chapter 4, indicate that the colonial administration apparently succeeded in conveying what seemed to have been the common opinion within the administration regarding the *citeme* system. Some farmers went even further, however, and not only labelled the *citeme* system as a relic from the past, a symbol of Lala tradition, but included in their rejection other aspects which they somehow considered to be linked to the system. Countless times I was told by recently returned migrants that, having lived in town for many years, they had become accustomed to urban dishes and maize *nshima* (porridge) and found it impossible to digest the traditional millet *ubwali* (for a similar account, see Long 1968: 168). Some also regarded the traditional *chipumu* beer as a drink for the old, not suited to those who had become used to a fast-paced life and the amenities of the urban areas.

Farmers practising *citeme* were often described by others as individuals living in the

past and lacking any well-worked out ideas regarding their future and the future of their children. In contrast, the cultivation of hybrid maize and other cash crops was often associated with achievement, success and with being dynamic and innovative. Farmers cultivating cash crops, unlike those practising *citeme*, could not, as was often pointed out, live from season to season. They could not, as we might say, work with a kind of cyclical idea of time since, in their attempt to expand their enterprise, they sometimes had to plan well ahead (for instance, crop rotation schemes) and devise strategies (to secure capital, land and labour, etc.) which stretched over several seasons. Commercially-oriented farming was also seen as the way of expressing one's independence from others (mainly from relatives and other clan members) and one's individuality; as the way to attain socio-economic status within the community. In Nchimishi, farmers were often ranked according to the technology they used on their farms, as well as the number of 90 Kg bags of maize they had produced previous years, albeit that small farmers who had proved to be innovative, who had experimented with new crops and cultivation or processing methods, also tended to be held in high esteem (see also Chapters 6 and 7). If, however, besides preparing his fields with hoe or plough and producing crops for the market, a farmer continued using *citeme* methods without any intention of preparing new fields, that farmer was met by criticism, disapproval and even mockery. A frequently-heard comment was that these farmers had apparently not yet made up their mind as to whether they intended to continue using inferior methods or fully embrace modern agriculture. Many respondents also associated the cultivation of cash crops with town life, with being a townsman, not only because the first commercially-oriented farmers had in most cases been returned migrants, but also because the cultivation of cash crops gave access to a cash income, enabling a person to continue, as it were, the kind of life many migrants had experienced in the urban areas in the 1960's and the 1970's. In the farmers' view, the fact that life in Nchimishi in many respects resembled life in the urban areas was, therefore, generally attributed to the diffusion of the plough and cash-crop farming.

Some farmers, such as Kash Chipilingu for example, evaluated the contrast between the *citeme* system and hoe or plough agriculture, between subsistence- and commercially-oriented agriculture, in terms of the opposition which was said to exist between certain Lala traditions and the policy of the Government - a policy which aimed at encouraging farmers to produce more food in order to make the country self-sufficient. People cutting *citeme* were merely 'peasants', taking care only of themselves and destroying natural resources, whereas 'peasant farmers' had obviously responded to the call of the Party and its Government and were 'feeding the nation'.

Besides sharing the objections that other farmers had with regard to the *citeme* system, many Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi also tended to repudiate the system on religious grounds. As pointed out earlier, many Witnesses were convinced that engaging in cash-crop farming enabled them to serve Jehovah better. According to Kaulenti Chisenga, however, practising *citeme*, even in combination with cash-crop farming, had even more disadvantages. Reading the Bible and publications of the Watchtower Society, as well as living in urban areas, had made him and other Witnesses aware of the fact that living on a varied diet was more healthy and prevented disease. According

to Kaulenti, research had shown over and over again that a balanced diet consisted of foodstuffs like *ubwali*, beans and meat, but equally of vegetables and fruits. This was one of the reasons why a number of Witnesses cultivated a vegetable garden and why he had planted banana, papaya, guava and mango trees, as well as one peach tree. Kaulenti maintained that while it was difficult to combine the cultivation of fruit (with the possible exception of bananas and papayas) with the *citeme* system, it was impossible to combine the cultivation of vegetables with this type of agriculture, because maintaining a vegetable garden demanded a completely different attitude towards farming, towards crops:

'Keeping a garden is different from what we have been doing in agriculture so far. It is different from *citeme* and even different from growing maize. You need to check on a garden every day. If you do not water your plants, your nursery, everything will die in just a few days. Until the advent of the garden, agriculture meant a lot of resting and waiting. Waiting until the millet, the maize or the groundnuts were ready for harvesting. But a garden, you have to be near it all the time. That's why we can't go into the bush in *nkutu* to make *ifyonde*.' (E)

Kaulenti and some other Witnesses, in explaining their rejection of *citemene*, also brought in the ecology argument by pointing out that the *citeme* system was a hazard to the environment, to God's creation. A few of them illustrated their point by referring to an article in one of the issues of their monthly magazine, *Awake!*, which discusses the balance of nature, the importance and functions of forests and the relationship between acid rain and *Waldsterben* (*Awake!* June 22, 1987: 2-10).

Kaulenti's remarks also indicate that during their stay in the urban areas many migrants from Nchimishi had become accustomed to living in more permanent houses. Ireen and Kasubika Mandabe, in particular, stressed that one of the main disadvantages of re-adopting the *citeme* system would be having to live in *nkutu* for several months each year, especially as the cutting areas would, certainly after a few seasons, be at a significant distance from the farm. The establishment of a new farm in a completely different location would probably also be required after a number of years in order to be within a convenient distance of cutting areas. Kasubika Mandabe explained that she, like most other women, was not prepared to return to such an unsettled way of life, nor was she prepared to move further away from the main road, since that would make it even more difficult to keep up-to-date and maintain contacts with friends and relatives. Most other women questioned on this subject expressed similar views, and some added that they preferred to live in permanent houses, with galvanized iron roofing and polished floors made of cement.

Most farmers who settled in the sparsely populated areas of Nchimishi did not re-adopt *citeme* methods. Although well aware that a higher output per man-hour could be obtained with these methods, they offered different justifications for not maximizing leisure, and for their decision to continue using more intensive methods of agriculture, even though these required the use of more 'power'. A move to the bush was not necessarily considered to be a step away from civilization. Adopting the *citeme* system, however, was seen by many as a retrogressive step. When I confronted Kaulenti Chisenga with Boserup's remarks on de-intensification (Boserup 1965: 62-3), he

expressed his criticism as follows:

'Why do we have toilets?

- Toilets?

Yes. Making toilets, you can see it as something which has come from town, something we learned from the British. More than 30 years ago, many people here had no toilets, no bathrooms, no nice houses made of bricks and no fruit trees. But through living in town and through the Bible we have learnt: "Do not always do the same things as our ancient parents. If you want to keep safe from disease, keep all rubbish away from the houses." That's why people started making toilets and *dambos* (pits, H.S.) where they could leave all leaves and rubbish. We have learned to stay clean. So now our lives are different from the time of our parents. But there is a second reason why people started making toilets here. You see, in the past, people here did not chop the trees around their houses, around the village. But these days people live very close to each other and they are forced to follow town living. In town, gardens were near the house behind a fence, and even the people in the compounds made small fields near the house. That's why I can say making fields near the house is town living. It goes against the old rules. But people here were also forced to do so. Now in the past, it was easy to go outside during the night or in the early morning to urinate, because there were enough trees and grasses around the farm to hide. But now there are farms, fields and roads everywhere and it is difficult to find a quiet place. So we can say town life but also the disappearance of trees made the toilets come to this place.

Now, at this farm, there are still plenty of trees and bushes and in this area there are almost no other people. We could easily do without a toilet. But as you have seen I am making one right there, because having enough trees does not mean we want to live again as our ancient parents doing without a toilet or cutting *ctemene*." (E)

Notes:

1. What is more, Kash felt that, since he had been partly responsible for the allotment of the different plots as Best Kabamba explained, in the event of conflict he had the right to claim the land which after all belonged to the Lubeya people, the Lungu clan.
2. Not all farmers who used the hoe to prepare their fields obtained higher yields per hectare than ox-farmers. I found that farmers who, for instance, applied very low levels of fertilizer had lower yields. A few non-ox farmers produced less than 12 bags per hectare. According to an IRDP report the mean yield per hectare in the Chibale area was 31.5 bags of 90 Kg. per hectare (IRDP 1984: 23).
3. Hybrid maize cultivation in Chibale: yield by planting date

Date of planting (half-month)	Mean yield (Kg/ha)
November 1	3722
November 2	3283
December 1	2569
December 2	2717
January 1	1819

Finger millet: yield by planting date

Date of planting (half-month)	Mean yield (Kg/ha)
December 1	525
December 2	429
January 1	258
January 2	233
February 1	302
February 2	0

(Source: IRDP 1984: 20, 26)

4. Some farmers in Nchimishi after a number of short fallow periods (often three to four years) tended to leave their fields fallow for a somewhat longer period, up to five or six years. The IRDP report on the Chibale area shows that farmers in that area used somewhat similar fallow schemes (IRDP 1984: 13).
5. The survey also shows that in 1988, 46% of all households (59.4% of all farms) owned cattle.
6. I tend to disagree with Blaison Makofi on this issue. Although it is true that at a majority of farms where the plough is used the bulk of the maize is cultivated in ploughed fields, in 1988, 99% of all households in Nchimishi (including that of Blaison Makofi) continued cultivating Lala maize (in *mutipula* and/or *katobela*), hybrid maize (in *katobela* and/or *inkule*) or both in hoed fields. At these farms the hoe therefore remains an important farming implement. Also for the 14.3% of all households who, at the time of the survey, were still cutting *cteme* gardens, the axe continued to be an indispensable implement.
7. 34.2% of all households (45.3% of all farms) owned at least one plough and 27.9% of all households (37.5% of all farms) owned at least one pair of trained oxen.
8. 18.4% of all men and women under 35 years of age stated that they had other investment plans, 14.4% had the intention to cultivate (more) hybrid maize in the future and 8% stated that they had no investment plans.
9. Kaulenti purchased eight bags (50 Kg each) of basal dressing and seven bags (50 Kg each) of top dressing. This means that the amount he used approached the 'Lima' recommendations (200 Kg per hectare of D or X compound as basal dressing and 200 Kg per hectare of ammonium nitrate or urea as top dressing) (IRDP 1984: 17).
10. The concept of 'system' (see Chapter 13 for a more detailed discussion) was later defined by Kaulenti as:
'....traditions and things people do everyday. Some people go to drink everyday, but others follow a different system. They work very hard, or they like playing games like football.' (E)

Chapter 6

The dynamics of farm management

Introduction

In much of the literature discussing the potential role of the animal-drawn plough in the process of agricultural development in Africa, the advantages of the technology from an economic view point are mostly explained in terms of the benefits the technology has in store for its users once they have adopted it (Munzinger 1982; Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger 1987; Starkey and Faye 1990). It is argued that one of the main advantages of ox cultivation over hoe cultivation is that more ground can be prepared in a given amount of time, thus enabling farmers to obtain a higher income. According to Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger there is a distinct point in the evolution of agricultural systems at which the use of the plough becomes economic. At this 'switch point', they argue, the animal-drawn plough becomes the dominant technology because the labour costs per unit of output under hand cultivation now exceed the labour costs per unit of output under animal power (Pingali, Bigot and Binswanger 1987: 33-6). In numerous studies, the profitability of ox cultivation, as compared with hand cultivation (or tractor cultivation), is assessed in terms of running costs. Much less attention has been given to the substantial cost of initially adopting animal traction, the investments farmers have to make before they are able to purchase oxen, ploughs and ox carts (Baker and White 1983; Muller 1986; 130). Though lack of capital and the high market costs of animals and implements are considered to be critical constraints to agricultural development and the adoption by farmers of animal traction, it is generally assumed that - provided farmers have accepted the new technology - the provision of credit will lead to rapid adoption and diffusion. The emphasis these writings place on credit provision, and thus on outside intervention, as being the only solution to the problems farmers face when they want to adopt the plough has, I think, impeded a detailed appraisal and analysis of more autonomous developments related to the diffusion of animal traction and the plough. Furthermore, studies dealing with animal power and agricultural development often tend to ignore the fact that farmers who may have accepted the technology and who even aspire to animal traction may have strong reservations when it comes to availing themselves of credit, reservations which may spring from their wish to remain as independent of the state as possible.

In this chapter, I show that a lack of sufficient credit facilities does not necessarily have to be an impregnable barrier preventing farmers from adopting ox cultivation and from moving gradually to a more cash-crop oriented type of agriculture. I show that in

Nchimishi the present pattern of agriculture and the dissemination of ox cultivation to large sections of the farming population cannot be attributed to the large-scale provision of credit by parastatals, government agencies, or commercial banks. In Nchimishi, where around the time of the research there was a high demand for animal traction especially among the young generation of agriculturalists, farmers have developed their own strategies for cash accumulation and for acquiring other resources needed to switch over from the hoe to the plough and to purchase their own oxen and 'modern' farming implements.

The development of different income-generating strategies cannot, however, be explained as being merely the response of farmers to the difficulties they face when attempting to gain access to loans for the purchase of oxen and implements. Even when credit facilities were improved in the 1980's, most farmers in Nchimishi refrained from applying for loans¹⁾ and preferred, as one farmer put it, not to become 'a slave' but to build their farming enterprises 'from scratch', if possible using nothing but their own 'power'.

Once they have purchased their own oxen and plough, farmers who are engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize do not usually have to depend much on outside assistance when it comes to farming knowledge, labour and capital needed to purchase inputs. I show that once ox farmers decide to diversify their enterprise, however, or to continue expanding their maize operations, they are likely to reach a stage where they gradually become more dependent not only upon outside labour and external capital, but also upon outside assistance in relation to information and new farming knowledge.

A large part of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the strategies devised and used by farmers, both men and women, to acquire basic resources needed for the development of the farming enterprise. By examining, on the basis of Long's findings, the situation as it existed in the 1950's and the 1960's, and by presenting a detailed case study, I show that, as a result of macro-economic changes which occurred in the 1970's and the 1980's, farmers have been forced to adapt their existing strategies and to develop new ones.

Besides comparing the 1960's with the 1980's, the second aim of this chapter is to show the strategies developed by farmers in Nchimishi to gain access to productive resources needed for the establishment and further development of their cash-crop enterprises, and how these strategies have been given shape, not only by economic and institutional factors and developments but also by social factors, by certain shared values, goals, concepts and classifications.

In this chapter I do not provide an inventory of the various strategies and management styles which have been developed and are used by different categories and groups within the population of Nchimishi. Some goals and strategies described in this chapter were shared and used by large sections of the farming population at the time of the restudy. In Chapters 8-11 and Chapter 13, however, I show that the objectives, income-generating strategies and management styles of many female farmers and (male and female) Jehovah's Witnesses differed markedly in some respects from those of large numbers of male non-Witnesses.

Urban employment and the establishment of farming enterprises: from the 1950's to the 1980's

Nchimishi: the 1950's and the 1960's

When discussing the dynamics of farm management and the ways in which farmers in Nchimishi gained access to different productive resources, Long shows that migration to the urban areas served as a catalyst of economic development in Nchimishi, because commercially-oriented farming in the area was financed to a large extent with capital accumulated in the towns of the Copperbelt (Long 1968: 39-79). In the 1950's and the early 1960's, it was, typically, only returned migrants (among them many pensioners who were in their fifties or sixties) who had enough capital to hire labour for stumping fields and to invest in cattle and farming equipment. Since they had often returned home with considerable savings which they invested in cattle and consumer durables, they were considered creditworthy by the Agricultural Department. As a result it was again mostly returned migrants who succeeded in obtaining agricultural loans.

A number of farmers in Nchimishi benefitted in a more indirect way from migration and urban employment. Some, such as Kash Chipilingu (see also Chapter 4), were able to establish their enterprises with remittances from relatives working in the urban areas (Long 1968: 61-7). Others acquired cattle and farming implements through inheritance, mainly from matrilineal kinsmen and parents who had lived and worked in town. Still others benefitted from wealth which had been accumulated in the urban areas in that they settled at the farms of matrilineal kinsmen who had returned from the Copperbelt and who allowed them to use their oxen, ox carts, ploughs and the other equipment they had purchased.

Long also shows, however, that a number of farmers in Nchimishi lacked starting capital simply because they had never migrated, had spent only a relatively short period in urban employment, or had not the opportunity to gain access to urban capital in any other way. These farmers (usually in their twenties, thirties and forties and thus mostly younger than migrants who had spent longer periods in urban employment) were therefore forced to develop their farms, to acquire cattle and farming equipment, in a more gradual way. Lacking financial resources and cattle, they were less successful in obtaining loans and had to generate and accumulate capital with the cultivation of cash crops. On the other hand some of them, mostly Jehovah's Witnesses, possessed some non-farming skill from which they derived an income. These latter, in contrast to many returned migrants, also had the advantage that they had acquired farming experience and expertise.

The different case studies presented by Long show not only how particular farmers gained access to resources, but also that the pattern of farm organization in the early 1960's was closely related to differences in the availability of resources and in farming objectives. Although in almost all cases they managed to gain access to enough land and their savings allowed them to adopt plough agriculture soon after their return to

Nchimishi, migrants who had spent long years in urban employment and who had plans to set themselves up as peasant farmers frequently lacked such resources as farming expertise and a skilled and permanent labour force. Long shows that, besides operating a system of hired labour, farmers were forced to recruit more permanent workers to overcome these constraints during the establishment phase of their farming enterprise. In most cases, returned migrants ended up making arrangements with matrilineal kin already skilled in ploughing methods. According to Long, returned migrants preferred to recruit matrilineal kin since this was the most effective sector of their social network. In later stages of the development of the farm, however, when the maximum of land had been opened up for cultivation and when the farmer and his wife had become more skilled and his children older and better able to take part in farm work, a large group of resident kinsmen often became a drain on the resources of the farm, and affected the efficiency and output of the enterprise. At this stage, farmers frequently attempted to get rid of some of their kinsmen and to organize their labour in a different way. In many cases, this meant that farmers came to rely to a larger extent upon the labour contributions of the other members of the conjugal family. Long shows that some farmers, having dispensed with some of the labour from kinsmen, married a second wife to bring her into the ploughing team which normally consisted of three persons.

Migration and rural development: Zambia in the 1970's

In his study on the impact of migration on economic and social development in rural Zambia, Chilivumbo shows that some of the conclusions arrived at by Long can be said to apply to other parts of Zambia as well (Chilivumbo 1985). Chilivumbo, who bases his findings on research he carried out in 1979 and 1980, also concludes that, contrary to what is often assumed, migration is not necessarily incompatible with rural development, since in Zambia the migration process has contributed significantly towards the transformation and improvement of the living conditions of the rural population (Chilivumbo 1985: 94-6). He also points to the marked differences which existed between migrants and non-migrants towards the late 1970's. He shows that returned migrants are more entrepreneurial and innovative than those who have not migrated. Chilivumbo further argues:

'The data of this study repeatedly demonstrate the positive effects of migration. Returned migrants use more efficient production techniques, generally possess larger farms, use more sophisticated farm tools, ploughs and tractors, and more frequently apply fertilizer. It is evident that capital from migration has enabled many peasants to improve their farming and to afford farm tools and agricultural inputs.' (Chilivumbo 1985: 80).

Chilivumbo further shows that more migrants' households than non-migrants' employ outside labour, that a higher proportion of returned migrants use ox-drawn ploughs and make use of loans. Returned migrants also have a higher average income than non-migrants, mainly because they tend to produce more maize. As compared with 22.8% of all non-migrants in his sample, 33.4% of all migrant households produce 30 bags (90kg) of maize or more (Chilivumbo 1985: 55). Chilivumbo also concludes that:

'The agricultural performance of the returned migrants appears to increase and improve the longer the individual's migration and the greater the income earned in the place of destination.' (Chilivumbo 1985: 59).

Nchimishi in the 1980's: return migration and local career opportunities

Returning now to the situation in Nchimishi at the time of the restudy, we may conclude not only that ox cultivation had become an accepted phenomenon, but that oxen and ploughs were in high demand among farmers who did not own them. When asked about their future plans, 59.2% of the men and women under 35 years of age in the survey sample who did not own draught animals and/or ploughs stated that they intended to invest in either oxen, ox-drawn equipment or in both. The desire to acquire a pair of trained oxen, cows, bulls, a plough or an ox cart was usually justified by pointing out that such a package enabled a farmer to cultivate a much larger area and thus to obtain a higher income, which would help to secure a better future. Many farmers stressed the fact that, even if a person cultivated a relatively small tract of land and even if s/he hired labour for carrying out such tasks as weeding and harvesting, a farmer could make a profit and remain in the hybrid maize business, despite the high rate of inflation and the fact that prices of fertilizer and seed rose considerably every season.² Mumba Cotton, for example, cultivated approximately one hectare of hybrid maize each season and almost always employed outside labour. When I asked him whether he was able to save enough out of his maize income (see also Table 6.1) to cover all replacement costs, Mumba explained that replacement costs did not present a major problem once a farmer had been able to purchase cattle and a plough. The same answer was given by most other farmers with whom this issue was discussed. Mumba had bought his plough in 1985, but George Bulwani, his neighbour, had bought his plough in 1957 and in both cases only the plough-shares had to be replaced every two or three seasons. Cattle, according to Mumba, not only replaced themselves, but oxen could be sold for meat at between approximately 75% and 110% of their replacement cost after their five to seven-year working life.

Modern farming equipment and cattle were also clearly considered to be status objects, reflecting one's success and independence. Derrick Chisenga, for example, (40 years of age in 1988) was a farmer who had sold more than 120 bags of hybrid maize in five consecutive seasons (see Table 6.2). He rationalized his plans to purchase his own oxen, plough and ox cart as follows:

'In Europe, people buy a Mercedes-Benz when they want to show they are doing well. Here we buy cattle or a scotch cart to show we are not failures in life. If you always have to hire (oxen and farming equipment, H.S.) you depend on others and that gives you a bad feeling, as if you were not a real farmer. That's why I want to buy my own oxen.' (L)

Another explanation suggested by many farmers for the high demand for ox cultivation was that farming had remained the only feasible career opportunity after the closure of

the urban job market (see also Pottier 1988: 11-2). When respondents in our survey sample were asked whether a person wishing to earn an adequate income should (A) try to find a job in town or (B) stay in Nchimishi and start a farm, 97.1% chose B. Furthermore, 88.5% of those interviewed stated that life in Nchimishi was better than life in the urban areas.³⁾ At the time of the restudy, few inhabitants of Nchimishi were considering a future in the urban areas, partly because an increasing number of migrants had been 'pushed' out of town and had returned to Nchimishi due to unemployment and the high and increasing costs of living.⁴⁾ The following remarks of Derrick Chisenga who returned from a long stay in Kabwe in 1981 illustrate how many returned migrants perceived and had experienced these push and pull factors:

'It was nice living in Kabwe. You could go to football matches, to boxing matches or to the cinema. Here you only find beer parties. But it has become difficult to stay in town especially for those who have lost their jobs. Here you can grow your own food and there are not many ways to spend your money. That's why life is better here, we grow our own food and we can sell a surplus. And if you work harder you get more money, but in town I had a fixed salary. That's why I came back and that's why many others are coming back now.' (L)

While working in Kabwe in the 1970's, Derrick Chisenga had invested his town savings in cattle which were kept by his relatives in Nchimishi, but a large majority of the migrants who returned home in the 1980's found themselves in a different position. The changed economic and social position of returning migrants is best explained by looking again at one of Long's case studies.

The return of Abel, the townsman

In his chapter on the dynamics of power and prestige, Long gives a detailed account of the visit to Nchimishi of Abel (Long uses the pseudonym, Pati) and Helena (Eliza), a wealthy and educated couple, both living in Kitwe. During this visit, Abel and Helena were accompanied by both their mothers and Abel's younger teenage brother. Like Abel and Helena these persons also lived in the urban area (Long 1968: 163-99).

In 1960 Abel, a Kaonde by tribe and a hospital clerk, had married Helena, a nurse at the same hospital and the eldest daughter of Mupishi Kunda, the brother of Kash Chipilingu (see also Chapter 4). Long describes how their visit triggered off a number of discussions centring on the issue of the difference between town life and life in the villages, and the status differences which were said to exist between townsmen (*mwina tauni*) and villagers (*nchimishi*). Long found that differences in wealth, education and life style were often expressed in terms of the town/village dichotomy. *Mwina tauni* were migrants or returned migrants who had become peasant farmers or shopkeepers and who were often much wealthier than villagers who had never migrated to town, and they often regarded themselves as having superior social status. On many occasions during their visit, Abel, Helena and Helena's mother, Na Mupishi (Na Bombwe), displayed their town background, their high standard of living and social status. Abel and Helena did this, for instance, by driving around in their shiny saloon-car. Helena and Na Mupishi often said, in front of Mupishi's matrikin who lived in Nchimishi, that

villagers were backward, poorly dressed, and unhygienic where cooking is concerned. Villagers, therefore, possessed none of the refinements of the sophisticated and 'civilized' townsman. Long also shows that villagers in general had little respect for the wealth, life style and educational achievements of these *bena towni*, who during beer parties often refused to mix with ordinary people who were less wealthy and less educated. During one of the beer parties which took place during the nine-day visit of Abel and Helena, many villagers found occasion to discuss and evaluate the townsman, using Abel as their point of reference. Long recorded one man arguing,

'....that the townsman often appears a somewhat brash and boastful individual who refuses to sit on the ground at beer drinks for fear of dirtying his clothes and who disrespectfully claims a chair when chairs are normally reserved for elders. Another made the point that when a townsman arrives at a beer drink he does not wish to drink with men "who have patches on their trousers", even though he himself may only have one good pair of trousers to his name. "He refuses to mix with *cicommoni* (commoners)." Frequent reference was made to the fact that one could easily distinguish the townsman from the villager by the latter's concern for customary modes of behaviour (*umulanda wa mafunde*). The worst kind of townsman in their view was the *lichona*, "the lost one" who lives for many years in town and neglects his kinsmen at home. He becomes so thoroughly absorbed in town life that when he returns he even rejects his mother because he finds she sleeps on a reed mat (*mpasa*) on the floor.' (Long 1968: 195-6).

The changed economic and social status of townsmen, of migrants and returned migrants, as well as the link which exists between economic and social status, is illustrated by the continuation of Abel and Helena's story. In August 1988 Langson Mupishi, Helena's brother, came to inform me that Abel and Helena had serious plans to settle permanently in Nchimishi at Helena's father's farm where Langson and his younger brother Geoff also resided:

'No, Abel is completely broke now. That's why he is coming here. He is Kaonde, but he has never cared much about his relatives. He has always kept all his property for himself. He is more concerned with us Lala. And my father, Mr. Mupishi, has helped him a lot, lending him money and so on.

- Why?

That's the way we Mupishi's are, spiritually. That's the way we were born. That's why everyone takes advantage of us. He is also a Jehovah's Witness, an elder, a brother to us. We can't turn him down. And he is also married to our sister.

- But why is he broke? He used to be rich, he has a pension, and he has got a wife who is working. Yes, he has a pension. He worked for Zambia Railways. But all the same he is poor, he lost all his wealth. Life in town is too expensive these days. Even my sister Helena was fed up having to take care of him. That's why now he has to start farming, to make a living. And he has to start with nothing, like all of us. But it will be difficult for him. This man is a gentleman. He has always been used to driving cars. But times have changed. His cars have broken down and he could not replace them. Now he is poor and he has to walk like all of us. But I fear his coming to our farm. He is not used to farm work, he is used to lunches and drinking tea in the afternoon. We cannot provide that. Those were things people did in the past when they were living a good life in town, but things have changed. Those who came back from town ten or twenty-five years ago had a lot of money and property. That's how they started farming. Or they sent money or trousers to their relatives here, as my father did. That's how this area became developed, that's why those living in town were respected. But today those who return are poor, very poor.

- Why?

Many of them return because they have lost their jobs or because they cannot afford to live there any more. What Ba Normani wrote is true (on several occasions I had discussed Long's case-study material with Langson, H.S.), when he was here those townies used to laugh at those who had remained here, because they were poor. But today no one laughs at a farmer any more, because now farming is the only way to make money, to take care of your children.' (E)

These remarks made by Langson Mupishi reflect clearly the general opinion among the inhabitants of Nchimishi regarding migration. It shows that as a result of macro-economic changes the 'townsman' over the years has lost both his economic and his social status. The account also points to the fact that, at the time of the restudy, capital needed to engage in a more commercially-oriented type of agriculture was no longer generated in the urban areas, partly because a majority of the population did not feel like leaving Nchimishi for an insecure future in town, but partly also because many returning migrants had lost large parts of their savings and former wealth due to the high cost of living. Migrants of the younger generation, who either had been bred and born in town or had ventured to the urban areas in the hope of finding a job, often had very few savings on their return to Nchimishi, mainly because, as one of them explained, they had 'wasted time and money' being a 'job-seeker'. The consequence of the decreased investment capability of returned migrants, the gradual drying up of the flow of urban capital, has been that both returned migrants and farmers who never migrated to the Copperbelt have been forced to adjust to the new circumstances and develop new strategies in order to accumulate the capital needed to purchase oxen and farming equipment.

Entry costs of ox cultivation

In *Social Change and the Individual* Long shows that, in the 1960's also, some farmers lacked the capital to invest in animal traction (Long 1968: 74-9). Farmers who had spent little time in urban employment and who had worked at the farm of close matrilineal kinsmen often had considerable farming experience as compared with most retired miners, but little in the way of savings. None of these farmers had more than £50 available to them when starting their farms, and the majority, much less. The establishment of their farms, therefore, tended to be a more gradual process since they had to acquire their oxen and farming equipment step by step. These farmers, who in most cases were Jehovah's Witnesses (see also Chapter 4) and somewhat younger than those who had spent longer periods in urban employment, had to generate capital from farming and by utilizing the non-farming skills they possessed. Several of these farmers used links with more established Jehovah's-Witness farmers who helped them during the initial stages of establishing the farm by lending farming implements and by assisting with ploughing. Those who had no access to a plough were forced to hire one or cultivate their fields with the hoe.

Although Lala maize was cultivated and sold by most farmers who owned oxen and ploughs, this crop was certainly not attractive to farmers who had to rely upon hoe agriculture or who hired the oxen and equipment of other farmers, mainly because sales per acre did not usually exceed £3 which was roughly the figure charged for ploughing.

The cultivation of beans and Turkish tobacco was more attractive to farmers who wished to accumulate capital from farming, especially since the cultivation of these crops demanded little in the way of capital, equipment or land. On the basis of Long's material it can be concluded that in 1963 and 1964 a farm composed of man and wife could, without too much difficulty and without having to rely upon outside labour, cultivate 1/4 hectare of both crops using only a hoe. Under normal conditions, this couple could earn between £28 and £33 per annum: £6 to £8 coming from the sale of beans, and £22 to £25 coming from the sale of Turkish tobacco. With this sum, assuming the absence of any other expenditure, a farmer could, in principle, purchase one plough (costing £6 in 1963) and one ox (costing approximately £18) (Long 1968: 20-5, 39-79).

On comparing the early 1960's with the mid-1980's, however, we must conclude that at the time of the original study conditions were more favourable for farmers who lacked capital. As explained in Chapter 4, most farmers ceased cultivating Turkish tobacco in the early 1970's, and in subsequent years hybrid maize developed into the major cash crop. The new crop, however, differs from Turkish tobacco in that its cultivation requires the use of substantial amounts of fertilizer (approximately three to four times as much fertilizer per unit of land as compared with Turkish tobacco (IRDP 1984: 25; Purseglove 1968: 548).

When we consider, for instance, the farming enterprises of Mumba Cotton (Table 6.1) and Derrick Chisenga (Table 6.2), we can conclude that both farmers used a substantial portion of their income from the 1986 hybrid-maize harvest to finance the next season's crop. In the 1986-1987 season, Mumba used 66.8% of his maize income to cultivate the same area (1 hectare) as in 1985-1986, whereas Derrick used 50.7% of his income to cultivate the same area of 4 hectares. Both farmers used hired labour to assist them with such activities as land preparation, planting and harvesting. Since Derrick Chisenga did not own a plough and trained oxen, he had to hire these from others. Unlike Mumba Cotton, many other farmers who cultivated approximately 1 hectare of hybrid maize made no use of hired labour, and quite a number cultivated their land with the hoe. But as can be concluded from Table 6.1, even in the case of a reasonable yield (a production of 34 bags per hectare is slightly above the average), farmers needed to put aside roughly 50% of their maize income for the next season's crop.

I now consider the hypothetical situation in which a married couple, without making use of any hired labour, wished to earn an income from maize which would enable them to purchase one plough and one ox in the 1986 season. In October 1986, one plough (costing K300) and one fully grown ox (costing approximately K900) together cost approximately K1,200. Some of the larger cultivators of runner beans that year produced between 5 and 8 tins for the market, which were sold locally for K35 per tin.

The majority of these farmers did not use any outside labour to cultivate this crop. Thus after having sold say 8 tins of beans, our couple would thus need an additional K920.

Table 6.1: Hybrid maize cultivation: income and expenditure for Mumba Cotton (August 1986 - August 1987). (34 bags (90kg) of hybrid maize produced, of which 8 retained for home consumption)

Income	K	K
26 bags of hybrid maize @ K55		<u>1,430</u>
Expenditure		
Fertilizer:		
Basal dressing 4 bags @ K80	320	
Top dressing 4 bags @ K65	260	
Hybrid maize seed (SR 52) 1/2 bag @ K240	120	
Hired labour:		
Ploughing and planting	150	
Weeding	30	
Harvesting	50	
Hiring ox cart	26	
Total	956	

Table 6.2: Hybrid maize cultivation: income and expenditure for Derrick Chisenga (August 1986 - August 1987)

Income	K	K
140 (90kg) bags of hybrid maize @ K55		<u>7,700</u>
Expenditure		
Fertilizer:		
Basal dressing 16 bags @ K80	1,280	
Top dressing 16 bags @ K65	1,040	
Seed:		
Hybrid maize (MM 752) 2 bags @ K242	484	
Hybrid maize (MM600) 10kg	29	
Hiring oxen	350	
Hired labour:		
Applying fertilizer and weeding	220	
Harvesting, shelling and transporting maize	500	
Total	3,903	

This means that, given recommended usage levels of fertilizer and seed (200 kg/hectare top dressing, 200 kg/hectare basal dressing, and 25 kg/hectare hybrid maize seed); given an average yield of 33 bags per hectare; and given their retention of 7 bags for home consumption, they would have had to cultivate a minimum area of approximately 1.25 hectares. The calculation is based on the assumption that our couple intended to purchase the same amount of fertilizer and seed for the next (1986-1987) season and that the cultivation of 1.25 hectares enabled them to sell at least 34.25 bags at the fixed price of K55 each. In these circumstances, our couple would achieve a net income of at least K920.⁵

In order to purchase one ox and one plough in 1986, our couple would have had to invest in K650 worth of fertilizer and seed at the start of the 1985-1986 season. In contrast, their Turkish-tobacco cultivating colleagues of the early 1960's, according to Long, hardly had to make any such investments, especially since many tobacco cultivators did not apply any fertilizer in their tobacco gardens. It is, however, precisely this capital which most farmers lack in the early stages of the development of their farming enterprise. The discussion in the following pages, therefore, will partly centre on the issue of which strategies farmers developed to expand their commercial activities gradually and to move from the cultivation of such crops as beans to the cultivation of hybrid maize. For the sake of the argument, I have assumed in the preceding pages that farmers had no other sources of income and that they had no other expenditure. This, of course, is not realistic since in both the 1960's and the 1980's farmers had different sources of income and they also had various expenses.⁶ Further examination leads to the discovery of some of the other problems faced by farmers at the time of the restudy. The annual inflation rate, which in 1986 exceeded 65 % (as compared with less than 3 % in 1963), in combination with relatively low annual interest rates on savings (between 14% and 18% in 1986) has made it very difficult to accumulate, by means of saving, the capital needed to purchase oxen and equipment. Soko for instance shows that a package consisting of one plough, an ox cart and two oxen which cost K1,621 in 1985 and K3,805 in 1986, had increased to over K7,000 in 1988 (Soko 1990: 454). As a result of the high rate of inflation, many farmers at the time of the restudy felt obliged to set aside large parts of their income from maize or other activities for various foreseen and unforeseen household expenditures (school fees, travel, etc.). But it equally forced them to reinvest their money quickly in other income-generating activities. Blaison Makofi, whose farm and farming strategies are discussed in detail by Norman Long (Long 1968: 67-72), analyzed the differences between the early sixties and the mid-eighties as follows:

'Norman Long believes that a bicycle or a plough show someone's wealth (see also Long 1968: 33-5). Well, it's true for the plough but not for the bicycle. A bicycle cannot earn profit for you, you can remain stagnant. But cattle are like a bank, you get interest from both. When Norman Long was here I was cultivating tobacco and maize, yes. In those days we made small fields, but when we sold one tin of maize or beans we could buy more things with the money we received as compared with these days. And you could save it, because it maintained its value. That's why it was easy to start a farm. Now we have to spend our money quickly, everything is more expensive and prices go up all the time. Money has lost its value. That means that keeping money in the pocket is losing money. People

used to save a lot, but now money is circulating very quickly. In this area, more people are getting money these days, because of beans and maize. But the problem is that it is difficult to find commodities like spare-parts, bicycles and other things. That's why many farmers invest in cattle or spend it on beer or things for the house like cooking oil.' (L)

Another difference between the early 1960's and the 1980's appears to be that the need for persons possessing non-farming skills has become somewhat less. Several Jehovah's Witnesses explained this as follows. In the 1960's and the 1970's, much of the employment in the non-agricultural sphere had been created by returned migrants, by pensioners who wished to construct Kimberly brick houses or stores, and who had the money to hire Jehovah's Witnesses who had been trained as bricklayers or carpenters. At present, however, many farmers prefer to use their capital for other purposes and often carry out all necessary construction work themselves (see also Appendix 5). The same Witnesses also explained that 'brothers and sisters' who wished to establish their own farming enterprises could nowadays count much less on the assistance of fellow Witnesses because members of the sect who owned oxen and ploughs nowadays tended to consider opportunity costs and preferred, having completed the preparation of their own fields, to earn some extra cash by hiring themselves out to other farmers. The high demand for hired oxen had, according to these Witnesses, to some extent undermined economic cooperation among the members of the congregation.

The farm of Kashulwe Kayumba

This case study describes the establishment and further development of the farm of Kashulwe Kayumba (25/26 years of age in 1986). Prominence is given to the ways in which this farmer over the years managed to gain access to such resources as land, labour, capital, farming knowledge and information.

10 Ngwee

'I went to school in Chibale. One Monday (in 1978, H.S.) I found a ten Ngwee coin along the road. I started thinking: "What shall I do with this coin. Should I buy myself a new pencil or ballpoint?" But instead I decided to buy two bags of rape seed at five Ngwee each. That was on Friday. A week later I chose a small piece of land near the *dambo*, to make a garden. But I didn't know how to plant rape, so I decided to carry out an experiment and first make a very small nursery. When that seed started coming up well, I knew that this was the way to cultivate rape. Then I planted the remaining seed and it also germinated in five days. After four to five weeks I had eight main beds. I did not use any fertilizer, only chicken droppings. At that time, I didn't know much about agriculture but I was lucky. I started selling rape at 5 Ngwee per bundle and when the rape was all sold I was showing a profit of 30 Kwacha. With some of that money I bought a school uniform for myself and one for my sister. Then I sat down to think what I could do with the money that remained. I came to the conclusion that if I wanted to make more money I had to change over to another crop. I decided to go to NAMBOARD (National Agricultural Marketing Board, H.S.) in Chibale where I bought two bags of fertilizer at K4.75 each and 50 kg of SR 52 (hybrid maize, H.S.) seed. When the rains came, I dug 2 limas (1 lima = 1/4 hectare, H.S.) with a hoe on my father's farm. I planted my maize on

the 15th of December, 1979. It was my father who had taught me how to cultivate maize. In those days, he was one of the super guys when it comes to maize. He often produced more than 50 bags, and only a few, such as Mr. Mashlepa and Mr. Formenti, were ahead of him. Because I did a lot of weeding and the soil was very fertile I got 22 bags that year and I received K163.03. Then I went to Serenje with my father and I opened an account at Barclays Bank. That cost me K10. The next season I prepared 1.5 acres which yielded 35 bags for which I received K199.99. The following year my father taught me how to use his plough, and that season I harvested 54 bags. Then I decided to leave the hoe and buy my own pair of oxen. I also bought one cow, a plough, a ridge plough and a planter. That was four years ago in 1982.

- Did you apply for a loan?

No, I used my own capital. Until now (September 1986, H.S.) I have never applied for one. As I told you, I started with a very small amount. And I think it is better to develop your farm step by step, by using your own power and by learning from others. The best farmers are those who depend on themselves, not those who depend on agricultural loans. Rome wasn't built in a day. I think farming is like the development of a new born child, it goes step by step, but if a child tries to run before it can crawl it will be thrown back. I can't go for Landless Corner (an area between Lusaka and Kabwe where a large number of European commercial farmers live, H.S.) before learning from the people here, before making a strong foundation.' (E)

In 1981 Kashulwe got married and settled at the farm of his parents-in-law. Although he assisted his father-in-law with various tasks, he also maintained his own fields on his father's farm. In 1982, tensions rose between Kashulwe and his parents-in-law:

'I helped my father-in-law whenever I could, but I also kept producing my own maize, and in 1982 I bought a scotch cart from the IRDP (the Integrated Rural Development Project, H.S.) people for K420. Because of this my in-laws became very jealous. They told others that the name of their farm was disappearing because people spoke of "Kashulwe's farm". Once, a few Europeans from IRDP came to visit their farm but they only wanted to talk with me. Because of this jealousy I decided to start my own farm, and in 1983 I came to this place. At first my wife remained with her parents, but after six months they allowed her to leave their place.' (E)

In the 1982-1983 season Kashulwe cultivated hybrid maize for the last time at his father's farm. In July and August 1983, having just settled at his own farm, he sold 197 bags of maize and 4 bags of sunflower to the Kofi Kunda depot.

'When I came here there was nothing, only a plate which said that this was to be my farm. This place is far from the road and other farms, so I felt like Adam at the time of creation. I started uprooting part of the land and I had to chase away the monkeys and even a lion. That was in July. I had a lot of money in my account so I hired nine young workers to assist me with uprooting. Before the rains we finished more than 6 hectares. Then I went to my friend, Mr. Chunga Musonda, and gave him the cow I had bought in 1982. He then agreed to plough my fields with his tractor. It took 4 days. This was in October. In a pamphlet which had been given to me by the DAO (District Agricultural Officer, H.S.) from Serenje I had read something about the advantages of dry planting and it seemed to be a good idea. I had already seen this method at Kalwa farm (the farm of the Baptist Mission 10 kilometres north of Serenje Township, H.S.) when Musonda Chunga took me there for a visit. So on the 15th of November I started planting my maize in the furrows, but this time I used my oxen. The 28th of November we finished. The next year (July 1984, H.S.) I sold 345 bags.' (E)

The following season, Kashulwe managed to increase his production of hybrid maize further. In 1985 he sold 841 bags. The next years, however, his maize sales dropped

to 496 bags in 1986 and 578 bags in 1987. As Kashulwe explained in December 1987, this had to be seen as merely a temporary retreat from the 'bags race', partly attributable to the fact that he had not been able to hire a tractor and partly because he had practised crop rotation to prevent the soil from 'getting spoiled'. These seasons some of his fields had lain fallow, while others had been planted with finger millet to extract the remaining fertilizer from the soil. But, indeed, in the 1987-1988 season Kashulwe was back in the race and sold over 1,200 bags to the Finkombwa depot which, as he proudly explained, made him the third-best farmer in the Nchimishi-Kofi Kunda area, preceded only by two of his colleagues and friends, Musonda Chunga and Kalunga Ackson.

Kashulwe's success story had already attracted the attention of the district and provincial authorities in the early 1980's, and on several occasions he was visited by the District Agricultural Officer (DAO) and personnel from the IRDP (the Integrated Rural Development Project). In March 1987 Kashulwe received the Youth Award from the hands of President Kaunda in Lusaka, having been nominated by the Provincial Rural Information Officer.

Farm composition and farm management

In August 1987, Kashulwe's farm was composed of Kashulwe, one of his classificatory sisters, his second wife Roster (20 years of age) whom he had married in 1986, and their newly born child. Kashulwe's first born son, Joe, (8 years of age in 1987) also lived most of the time on his father's farm. At times, however, he stayed with his mother, Kashulwe's first wife whom he had divorced in 1985 on discovering that she had committed adultery. During our conversations, Kashulwe always emphasized the importance of the relationship between a father, his daughters and especially his sons. A man's children, according to Kashulwe, were not only among his main reasons for living but also potentially his most reliable labour force, if they were promised a share of their father's inheritance. Not surprisingly, Kashulwe strongly rejected the traditional matrilineal ideology which places more emphasis on the bond between a man's children and their maternal uncle, as they belong to the same clan and lineage. Kashulwe also argued that Lala customs and rules (*amafunde*) related to kinship and inheritance, although slowly being replaced by new practices, made it difficult to develop stable farming enterprises:

'These days a farmer depends on his children. They are the ones who will work with him. Relatives are useless, you cannot reach a commercial level in farming if you want to depend upon your relatives. You cannot control them, and if they work with you on your farm you can't trust them, they will act as if they own your property. But children are your followers, they are your blood. That's why I want my children and my wife to inherit all my property. They are the ones who suffer with you and who take care of you. But relatives, according to our custom they are the ones who should inherit your property, so if you work hard, they just wait for you to die. And a man who knows that his relatives will grab his property after his death is not motivated to work very hard. Such a person can think: "Why work very hard if it is my relatives who will take all my power. No, it is better to sweat for my own blood and not for my brothers or the children of my brothers and sisters. They have never worked with me". Also, the children do not want to assist their father if they know that

they will remain with nothing. When things go to your relatives, it's like throwing a clean cloth to the pigs. They can tear it apart through ignorance, they haven't worked and sweated for it, unlike your wife and children. But things are changing. People in town, for example, copied the Europeans they saw: "Ah, it's bad if our relatives take all our property". Also in Parliament they are talking about this. They want to make one rule; property should be left to the wife and children.' (E)

Like many other men and women in Nchimishi, Kashulwe argued that in respect of inheritance Lala custom had lost its rationale (see Chapter 10 for a more detailed discussion of the changing ideas and practices with regard to inheritance). In the past, a man's brothers inherited property such as guns, axes, etc. These items were destined to remain circulating within the clan. Nowadays, however, a farmer's estate often consists of productive resources such as cattle and farming implements. The consequence of this, according to Kashulwe, is that if customary rules are followed the main beneficiaries of the estate are the deceased's brothers. The brothers' children, who may now benefit from the fields and farms of their uncle, do not, however, belong to the same clan as the deceased.

On several occasions Kashulwe indicated that thoughts related to the future of the farm often occupied his mind. Issues concerning, in particular, farm labour and farm management seemed to worry him. Although he maintained that a man's children were his most reliable labour force and that they were the most suitable candidates to assist in various management tasks on reaching adulthood, he also acknowledged that Lala custom had not yet been replaced by what he described as 'modern rules' and practices. In the event of divorce a woman could still take her young children with her, justifying her action by referring to Lala custom. Although his oldest son, Joe, who already assisted Kashulwe in such activities as ploughing and planting, had refused to leave his father's farm and settle permanently with his mother, the four younger children had been taken by Kashulwe's first wife when she left the farm. Losing custody of some of his offspring had made Kashulwe decide not to marry another 'local girl':

'According to our tradition, children remain with their mother. That's because here we only pay K10 to our in-laws when we get married. That's nothing if you compare it with some other tribes. That's why I decided to marry this new wife. She is Kaonde and her parents charged me a few thousand Kwacha. A lot of money, but at least if I divorce her my children will remain with me. I paid for my blood, these children will really be my followers. So I will work with them in the future and they will look after me. But children from a Lala woman can say: "Our father is old now, we cannot stay with him". And another thing is that my wife comes from a good agricultural area, so she knows a lot about farming and when I visit my in-laws I can learn something.' (E)

Kashulwe repeatedly argued that the members of a conjugal family should assist each other whenever possible. On the other hand, he also emphasized that he aimed at making all the inhabitants of his farm financially independent from each other, an objective which he once justified as follows:

'Going back to our ancestors: husband and wife always worked together, but each had his or her own jobs, and the husband took all important decisions. He could say: "You, my wife, go and look for a forest so that we can make *ifyonde*". The harvesting of millet was also a woman's job. But nowadays SR 52 (a hybrid maize variety, H.S.) and money have changed everything. Coming to men:

they have proved to be very selfish when it comes to money; misusing all the family income after cashing the cheques, and forgetting to satisfy the needs of the ones who suffered with him; buying a lot of beers, but not buying clothes and *citenge* material or cosmetics for his wife. This can lead to quarrels in the house. The wife has also got five senses and she can think: "Ah, we earned K2,000, but I got nothing. Why keep on helping him, why not grow my own maize, like my friend? She bought herself a nice new *citenge* and new shoes". That's how you get divided houses, the man is still in the Lala custom, treating his wife as his worker, but the wife is modern. That's why nowadays many women want to have their own acres and you cannot refuse. A man may think that on his farm he can make his own rules leaving his wife to make some by-laws, but (in reality, H.S.) you are forced to copy the rules you find at other farms. If you don't, your wife can divorce you, or refuse to assist you. That's why you may decide to share with your wife and children. As the husband you can then remain with half of the income. Myself, when I married my wife I ploughed her one hectare and she got 50 bags, almost K5,000, last year (1987, H.S.). But I didn't think: "I helped her to get K5,000, why give her more money". No, I went to the shops and with my own money I bought her some *citenge* and shoes. But that K5,000, that's her money and she can spend it the way she likes. But if she uses it foolishly she cannot say to me: "I need money to buy this or that". No, she has got her own fields and money. Doing it like that is modern. A man who does things in that way is following town ways; because husband and wife assist each other, the house is not divided. The wife has her own money and the husband does the planning.' (E)

The conclusion we may draw from this statement is that although Kashulwe felt that to some extent he was forced by developments which had occurred at other farms to allow his wife to cultivate her own cash crops, he also saw the advantages of Roster having her own cash income. Besides encouraging Roster (who in 1988 sold over 100 bags), Kashulwe also persuaded his 'sister' to cultivate her own cash crops and in 1988 even his son Joe made a small garden where he cultivated rape as his father had done in the past. Moreover, Kashulwe helped his son to prepare one lima (0.25 ha.) with hybrid maize. Maintaining his own field and garden, Kashulwe argued, would help his son to become a progressive farmer who knows how to make money and invest it.

Another reason Kashulwe had for wanting the other residents of the farm to become financially independent was that he hoped that they would become more motivated to acquire farming knowledge, that they would develop their managerial capacities and a more commercial spirit: qualities which he believed would benefit the farming enterprise as a whole in the long run.

Crop management: practices and strategies

Kashulwe was generally regarded by others to be one of the most successful and innovative farmers in the area. He differed from the majority of farmers in that he cultivated a large variety of crops. He not only grew millet, Lala maize, beans, hybrid maize, groundnuts and a number of other more common or traditional crops, but also belonged to the minority of farmers who had an orchard with oranges and who cultivated such crops as Irish potatoes, cotton, soya beans, cabbage, rape, tomatoes and onions.⁷ Kashulwe to my knowledge was the only farmer in the area who cultivated rice, raised pigs and was among the few to have a fish pond. In 1988 he owned 42 head of cattle (of which 14 were oxen), and kept pigeons and ducks. Kashulwe also possessed a large number of ox-drawn farming implements. He owned a number of one-furrow

ploughs, two ridge-ploughs, a harrow, a cultivator and one ox cart.¹⁰ As far as the cultivation of hybrid maize was concerned, Kashulwe not only was one of the few farmers who practised dry planting on a large scale, but also experimented with a large number of different maize varieties (MM 604, MMV 600, MM 504, SZ 225, R 215 and R 201). According to Kashulwe, his production of maize had reached such a high level that it had become necessary to prolong the planting season by using varieties with different maturation periods, in order to limit the number of piece-workers he had to hire during the period when labour shortage constraints are felt most by farmers: the ploughing and planting season.⁹ According to Kashulwe, investing in seeds for dry planting remained a gamble as he was never sure whether the tractor of his friend, Musonda Chunga, was in running condition, or whether he could hire one of the few other tractors in Serenje District.

Kashulwe pointed out that he, like most other young farmers in the area, had laid 'the foundation' of his farming enterprise with a hoe which he still kept in his house as a souvenir and which he at times used to work in his vegetable gardens. From 1981 onwards, oxen, the ox-drawn plough and the ox cart started playing a crucial role in the further expansion of the farm. On numerous occasions Kashulwe stated that his oxen had enabled him to become the successful farmer he was. In 1983, Kashulwe hired a tractor for the first time to have his fields ploughed. In later years, when it became increasingly difficult to recruit a sufficient number of people to work for him due to the further expansion of his farming operations, Musonda Chunga often came to Kashulwe's assistance: for instance, by lending him his tractor or maize sheller. However, until the day he could purchase his own tractor, Kashulwe argued, oxen and ox drawn implements would continue to play an important role, since they were used for winter ploughing,¹⁰ making furrows, harrowing and weeding. Furthermore, since Kashulwe did not always succeed in borrowing or hiring the tractor of Musonda Chunga (due to a breakdown) or of other commercial farmers in Serenje District, some seasons he had been forced to plough his fields with his oxen and even had to call in the assistance of a number of other farmers and hire their labour, oxen and ploughs. Since the farm was located at a considerable distance from the main road and the nearest maize depot, oxen also continued to play an important role in the transportation of inputs and farm produce.

As explained earlier, Kashulwe also practised crop rotation, a technique he learned from his father and the Agricultural Assistant based in Chibale:

'I do not want to move from this place so I do not want to destroy the soil of my acres. That's why I practise crop rotation. I planted beans for crop rotation, because that helps to keep the soil fertile and it also adds some nitrogen to the soil. For example soya beans, they add nitrogen to the soil and help to kill the pests, the bacteria and fungi. Those pests that attack maize cannot attack beans, and pests that attack beans can't attack maize. So that is the benefit of crop rotation. If you continue growing only one crop that means that you are spoiling your soil.' (E)

Since his maize fields were extensive and runner beans and soya beans were a much more labour-intensive crop, only a part of the maize fields were planted with the latter two crops, while the rest usually lay fallow. Kashulwe at times rotated hybrid maize

(which was grown for two consecutive seasons in the same fields) with finger millet if he estimated that his fields still contained too much fertilizer after the maize harvest. Kashulwe did not apply any cattle manure to restore the fertility of his fields because he had found that manure tended to contain large amounts of weed seeds.

Horticulture was an important activity from 1978 onwards, accounting each season for a substantial part of the total farm income (see also Table 6.3). With the establishment of his own farm, rape was replaced as the main vegetable by less perishable crops such as cabbage, onions and Irish potatoes, mainly because the quantities Kashulwe produced surpassed local demand. As a consequence, he was forced to transport his produce to the Great North Road with his ox cart in order to sell it in Serenje, the Copperbelt or Lusaka. In 1988, for instance, Kashulwe sold over K20,000 worth of cabbage (approximately 25% of the total farm income of that year).

Diversification

When asked to provide the names of the five best farmers in the area, Kashulwe named some of the largest maize cultivators in Nchimishi. During many other conversations, however, Kashulwe emphasized that in his eyes a really good farmer was one who, like himself, had dared to diversify his enterprise. That Kashulwe attached great value to diversification also became apparent when he was asked to participate in the Repertory Grid Technique and was invited to assess and compare the performances and enterprises of ten farmers he knew. It appeared that five out of seven 'constructs' contained comparisons which directly related to agricultural diversification. The two remaining constructs concerned the use of agricultural technology (hiring oxen versus owning oxen and *citeme* versus plough agriculture).¹¹ Kashulwe often explained that a high degree of diversification is what made his farm different from the majority of other farms in the area. Diversification, according to him, had several distinct advantages:

'I want to have many different sources of income and not concentrate on just one or two crops like many others. If the maize rots and you have no other crops, there is nowhere to go. Some farmers only depend on one or two crops, maize only or maize and beans. But some of us have seen that if you only eat beans, beans, beans, you become thin. The same thing applies to farming. Growing a lot of different crops is much better; it is better for the health of your soil; you also have more sources of income; you get money all year round; and you can use your labour more efficiently. That's why I have a fish pond, why I keep chickens, ducks and pigeons and why I grow crops like millet, maize, onions, rape, and tomatoes. It's better for our health and you get plenty of money. In the future I want to cultivate more bananas and citrus fruits, and raise rabbits. I also want to buy more cows and start selling milk. You, from Holland, must know milk is a weapon against malnutrition.'

(E)

Once, Kashulwe proudly explained that even his friend Musonda Chunga, an experienced farmer who in previous seasons had concentrated his efforts and financial resources mainly on the cultivation of hybrid maize, had started following Kashulwe's advice to diversify, as he had come to the conclusion that in order to remain a successful farmer he had to spread risks and cultivate a large number of different cash crops.

Table 6.3: Income and expenditure for Kashulwe Kayumba (August 1986 - August 1987)

Income	K	K
Maize (1986)		26,565
Soya beans		9,000
Runner beans		15,000
Vegetables		8,000
Finger millet		400
Livestock: pig		605
cow		1,700
chickens		500
Earnings from non-farming occupations		220
Expenditure		
Farming equipment	7,000	
Fertilizer for 1986-87 season	14,500	
Seeds for 1986-87	3,680	
Hiring oxen/ploughs	1,562	
Hired labour	9,800	
Household items	11,200	
Clothing	4,600	
School fees	1,230	
Gifts to relatives	4,250	
Entertainment	3,700	
Unaccounted for	468	
Total	61,990	61,990
Short term agr. loan	3,800	
Loan repayment	4,125	
Repayment store debts	12	

Kashulwe regarded agricultural diversification as being the key to the further development of farming enterprises and of the area as a whole. Diversification, in his opinion, would also result in more sustainable economic growth since many crops could

be integrated in crop rotation schemes, and the growing of most vegetables and some fruits did not require large financial resources. He added, however, that diversification demanded a lot of detailed planning and budgeting on the part of the farmer. For this reason, he and a few other farmers in the area each year drew up a farm budget and designed a detailed farm programme and time schedule - methods which Kashulwe had learned by listening to *Radio Farm Forum*, a radio programme on agriculture.

Kashulwe's success in diversifying his farming enterprise can, as I show in what follows, be attributed to a large extent to the fact that over the years he managed to gain access to, and create, an extended network mainly consisting of other farmers and government officials.

Access to resources

1) Land

According to Kashulwe, all a farmer needed to become successful was a large enough tract of land with fertile soil, access to water, a hoe and some initial capital. Towards the end of the 1980's it was still possible for a young farmer to find a piece of fertile land near a stream, but, as Kashulwe added jokingly, due to high inflation rates one needed a little more than 10 Ngwee to buy a few bags of vegetable seed. In 1983 it had been his father who had helped Kashulwe to select the farm site. Although the soil appeared to be fertile, Kashulwe approached some IRDP staff who were touring the area and persuaded them to take a few soil samples with them to Mpika for examination in order to get confirmation.

2) Capital

Until October 1986, Kashulwe had never applied for an agricultural loan. That year, however, as he had not received his maize cheque on time, Kashulwe felt obliged to apply for a short-term loan. He needed the loan, which he paid back soon after receiving his maize cheque, in order to buy maize seed for early planting. As he explained to me later, the K3,800 loan was granted to him by the Standard Chartered Bank without any difficulties. The herd of cattle he owned, together with the recommendations of his friend, Musonda Chunga, who was a close friend of the bank manager, apparently had provided the bank with enough security.

Kashulwe, like most other farmers in the area, strongly believed that instead of taking up agricultural loans it was highly preferable to remain independent from credit institutions and build the 'foundation' for a farming enterprise in a gradual manner (*panono panono*: little by little), accumulating capital by only using one's own 'power'. Having become a successful farmer, however, Kashulwe now felt he could take up loans without any risk since, as he explained, he had his own bank at home in the form of cattle and therefore could always repay his debts. Towards the end of 1987, he applied for a fertilizer loan from the Serenje branch of the LIMA Bank. Although his application was approved, the Serenje branch of the bank apparently lacked sufficient funds to advance the amount Kashulwe had applied for:

"They even came here to apologize, and they told me that in the past when LIMA Bank was still called AFC (Agricultural Finance Company, H.S.) many farmers had not paid back their loans. That's why they did not have enough money. After that, Musonda Chunga went to see them in Serenje and he told them about me, he said: "This young man is known by the president, he was given an award by His Excellency". They said: "Yes, we know that, but we simply do not have the money".' (E)

In 1988, Kashulwe came to the conclusion that his enterprise was at a critical juncture. He was convinced that if he intended to expand his undertakings further he could no longer count on borrowing or hiring the tractors of other farmers, but had to purchase his own. He also concluded that, if he wished to achieve his goal of becoming a commercial farmer, he would probably have to resort to external financing in the near future. His experience with the LIMA Bank made him conclude, however, that despite his presidential award and his friendship with Musonda Chunga (who in April 1987 had been elected the Masaninga Ward Chairman), his name was probably not known to the LIMA Bank employees in Kabwe and Lusaka who took the decisions regarding 'commercial loans'. Another contributory factor was that the outside world was not yet sufficiently aware of the fact that Chibale Chiefdom was a fast up-coming farming area with enormous potential. According to Kashulwe, Musonda Chunga (who had decided to run for the post of MP for Serenje Constituency in elections which were to take place in October 1988) had, therefore, made a brilliant move when in April that year he invited the Member of the Central Committee (M.C.C.) for Central Province to visit the Chiefdom:

'It was very clever to invite the M.C.C. to Chibale, so she could see how we are progressing in farming. It wasn't to make us laugh because our M.C.C is a woman. Even if it had been a man he would have been invited, because it is important that people in Lusaka and Kabwe know what is happening here. If they don't know this, they can turn down our applications. But now the M.C.C has seen our problems and how we are progressing, we stand a better chance.

- But what has the M.C.C. got to do with loan applications?

Small-scale farmers' application forms are sent to the Ward Committee. They make a first selection. Then the approved forms are sent to Serenje, where we have our office of the LIMA Bank. They make the final decision. But farmers like myself, who have applied for a commercial-level loan, their forms go to Serenje and are approved by the District Council. From Serenje they go to Kabwe (the capital of the Central Province, H.S.) to the Provincial Council and from Kabwe to headquarters in Lusaka. So for the big farmers in this area it is important that Chibale, that our names, are on the map of people like the M.C.C.. They can make sure our forms are not rejected. That's why it is important to call important people from Lusaka to come and visit this place. And I was happy when our Ward Chairman, Mr. Chunga, introduced me to the M.C.C. telling her about my work and the award given by His Excellency.' (E)

3) Labour

Kashulwe acknowledged that his farming enterprise could never have undergone such a rapid development without the use of off-farm labour. For the first three years, Kashulwe had relied completely on his own labour and the hoe. Later, he was able to expand his undertakings by using his father's plough. In this period, he only received occasional assistance from his father and brother, Mark, who helped him with

ploughing. When in 1983 he decided to establish his own farm, Kashulwe was forced to hire workers to help him with the uprooting of the land at his new farm in order to continue producing maize without any interruption. During subsequent seasons also, he continued making extensive use of hired labour. In the early years at his own farm he even hoped to establish a large permanent labour force. Following the example of Musonda Chunga and of European farmers in Mkushi District and the Chisamba area between Kabwe and Lusaka, in 1984 he even had a 'workers' compound' built at some distance from the farmhouse. In 1986, Kashulwe employed twenty-two 'permanent workers' as he called them, who received payment for each day they had worked and who were mainly involved in such activities as uprooting, ploughing, planting, and harvesting hybrid maize and other cash crops. At times they were asked to assist Musonda Chunga's workers. The advantage Kashulwe saw in having permanent workers was that temporary workers were not always available as they preferred to finish tasks at their own farms before hiring themselves out to others. The main disadvantage was that the majority of his older workers apparently were not good and motivated farmers themselves and Kashulwe repeatedly referred to them as being unwilling to work hard and lacking any long-term plans regarding their own future:

'Some of my workers had more than 22 bags this year. But others are not motivated. They say: "That 10 Ngwee didn't drop for us". I try to encourage them, I ploughed free of charge and gave them each a loan for two bags of fertilizer, without interest. I want them to be okay in the future. But some of them have sold their fertilizer at a low price, to buy beer.' (E)

In 1987, Kashulwe fired a large number of permanent workers and retained only ten:

'After conducting an experiment I found that I wasted a lot of money on labour (see also Table 6.3, H.S.).

- What kind of experiment?

If you put a lot of people on a job, say hoeing a vegetable garden, they will stand near to each other and will start talking. Then another person who is working at some distance will think: "Let me go and listen to what they have to say". Then they start talking, joking and what and what. But if you only use a few workers, you can make sure there is a distance between them, so they do not start talking all the time. In this way, I found that it's easy to manage ten workers and they can do almost as much work as twenty-two.' (See also Carlstein 1982: 46-7). (E)

Another reason Kashulwe had for getting rid of more than half his permanent labour force was that he had found it very difficult to appoint tasks to persons who were almost twice his age. The ten workers he had retained were all under 22 years of age and somewhat more motivated as they all wished to have their own farm in the near future. I found that some of these younger labourers regarded working for Kashulwe as a kind of training period and as a transitional phase during which they were able to build a financial 'foundation' for their future farming enterprises. During the 1986/1987 season, one worker, Devson Mukosha, purchased fertilizer from Kashulwe on credit and produced 40 bags of maize on his employer's land.

According to Kashulwe, changing over to a smaller labour force had made him more flexible since it was difficult to find enough jobs for a large labour force during parts

of the dry season. When his permanent workers could not meet labour demands during the planting and harvesting season, he recruited a number of temporary workers, or hired a work-party from the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses (see also Chapter 13). Sometimes temporary workers were recruited by his father when he attended UNIP meetings or beer parties.

The recruitment of temporary and permanent labour to meet the labour demands of the various crops and other activities gradually developed into one of the major difficulties faced by Kashulwe. Temporary labourers, piece workers, who worked for money or such items as clothes, salt, millet, or maize often did not feel inclined to see the whole job through, but often left as soon as they considered they had earned enough. Frequently, persons with whom Kashulwe had made working arrangements did not show up at all. A survey carried out among temporary workers who were taking part in the maize harvest at Kashulwe's farm in July and August 1988 showed that none of these workers were at all worried that in the meantime operations at their own farms would suffer or even be delayed. Some had already finished harvesting and processing their own crop, and others, whose maize had not yet been harvested and shelled, stated that they would quit working as soon as the other inhabitants of their farm needed their assistance.

The difficulty Kashulwe faced with permanent workers was that older workers were difficult to control and often not very motivated. He argued that since they had not been able to establish successful farming enterprises themselves they apparently lacked 'power' and initiative. The main problem with younger workers was they could leave quite unexpectedly, either to get married and work for their parents-in-law, or to set up a farm of their own.

I think Kashulwe analyzed the situation correctly when he said that whereas in some other regions of Africa, such as South Africa, land was scarce and an employer could therefore exert more control over his farm labourers, commercially-oriented farmers in Chibale did not occupy a strong position vis-a-vis their workers who were farmers first and foremost. During the 1987 harvesting season, for instance, Kashulwe had great difficulty finding a sufficient number of labourers. Since most farmers in the area had expanded their own maize operations and the harvest turned out to be particularly good, many of the farmers he had recruited in previous years now had to work on their own farms.

Therefore, one of the reasons he had for trying to purchase his own tractor was that it would make him less dependent upon outside labour. The expansion of his maize operations by means of animal traction would make him more dependent upon others since this would entail either training more pairs of oxen and each season recruiting a large enough labour force to make up teams for ploughing, or hiring an increasing number of other ox-farmers to assist him.¹²⁾ In addition, because of his strong wish to become more independent from others, Kashulwe did not want to continue forever hiring the tractors of other farmers.

Long's chapter on farm management shows that in the 1960's some returned migrants integrated a number of matrilineal kinsmen into their farms to solve their labour difficulties. When I confronted Kashulwe with this idea, he acknowledged that

such an arrangement might go some way towards solving his labour problem. As can be concluded from statements quoted earlier, however, Kashulwe felt very reluctant to do this as he feared that in the longer run his independence and his ability to make his own decisions might be affected. He also feared that conflicts would arise between these members of his matri-clan and his wife and children: conflicts concerning property, cattle or the use of farming equipment. This in turn could result in the loss of his wife and children's support and cooperation; a loss, as we saw earlier, that Kashulwe wished to avoid at all costs, especially in the context of his vision of the children as the backbone of the farm's labour force and future co-managers.

4) Farming knowledge and information

Over the years, knowledge and information gradually became more critical and scarce resources for Kashulwe. At first, he was able to obtain the farming knowledge he required from his father (who had started cultivating hybrid maize for sale in the early 1970's), from other neighbouring farmers, and by carrying out small experiments in his vegetable garden; but as soon as he decided to diversify and expand his enterprise further, Kashulwe gradually came to the conclusion that he would have to look further afield for some inputs (for instance the seed of certain maize varieties); for information regarding the availability and location of certain inputs; and for specialized farming knowledge. This forced him to start spending time away from the farm and to establish contacts outside Chibale Chiefdom in order to pursue and gather these resources:

'In the past, people here learned about farming around the fire, in the *nsaka* of their grandparents or their (maternal, H.S.) uncle. They learned how to make axes, handles and how to cut *ifyonde*. People copied and learned from each other. Nowadays it's the same. But if you want to learn new things you cannot only do the things our ancestors were doing. If you want to grow the same amount of maize every year, you do not need to consult others all the time. But if you want to grow new crops and keep different domestic animals, you have to go out and visit other commercial farmers, and you have to put questions to the people from the Ministry of Agriculture. But some here say: "We know how to grow our crops". They do not visit the DAO (District Agricultural Officer) in Serenje when they are facing problems. But, for example, Musonda Chunga, Kalunga and myself visit other farmers in Serenje, or Mkushi or even in other parts of Zambia, and we ask a lot of questions. By asking questions you learn and get new ideas. Then we try out these new things at our farms. When things work out well you can see that others start copying from you.' (L)

In 1982 Kashulwe decided to attend a week-long seminar on farming organized by the Serenje Farmers' Training Centre. During this seminar he was taught how to practise crop rotation and to implement certain soil conservation measures. He also learned how to construct a millet barn out of bricks with a cement floor to prevent attack by rodents. All this information was put into practice on the farm. In later years, Kashulwe continued to pay regular visits to the centre from which he obtained a large number of booklets and brochures on animal husbandry and crop cultivation. In the early 1980's, Kashulwe also became a member, and later the secretary, of a *Radio Farm Forum group* - a group of approximately 50 farmers who meet every Tuesday at the Finkombwa depot to listen to a broadcast on farming.

In the previous pages it has become clear that Kashulwe's relationship with Musonda

Chunga, the first and only large-scale commercial farmer in the Nchimishi-Kofi Kunda area, (in 1987, for instance, Musonda Chunga sold nearly 10,000 bags of hybrid maize to the Kofi Kunda depot) has proved to be an important asset over the years: not, however, because Kashulwe was able to learn certain agricultural methods and techniques from his friend. In fact their two enterprises have developed in different ways, and at the time of the restudy their enterprises, strategies and management styles differed in many respects. To a large extent this can be attributed to the different background of both men as well as to the capital they had available when starting their farms. Although Musonda Chunga (37/38 years of age in 1987) had considerable savings from his urban existence, he started borrowing large sums of money immediately after his return to Chibale in order to purchase a tractor and farming inputs and to hire labour, because he wished to become a commercial farmer within one or two years. Even before returning to his place of origin, Musonda had come to the conclusion that it would be rather difficult, if not impossible, to become a successful commercial farmer without becoming actively involved in the Party; and, indeed, within the political and financial bureaucracy of Serenje District, almost all posts were occupied by members of UNIP. Making skilful use of the fact that he was well acquainted with two Lala Ministers who in the past had been elected as MP's for the two constituencies of Serenje District, Musonda managed to establish an extensive network within the District - a network which he further expanded and deepened when he was elected as the Ward Chairman for Masaninga in 1987. This UNIP-related network, together with the contacts Musonda maintained with various commercial farmers throughout the country, turned out to be extremely useful for Kashulwe, who was also a member of UNIP. Musonda Chunga - whom Kashulwe sometimes jokingly called the 'six-million dollar man' - introduced him to persons like the District Governor, the bank manager of Standard Chartered Bank, the District Agricultural Officer and the District Rural Information Officer, contacts which have all proved to be very useful. In Kabwe also, the provincial capital, and in Lusaka Musonda Chunga introduced Kashulwe to government employees working for the Ministry of Agriculture.

After receiving the 1987 Youth Award, Kashulwe hoped he would now be able to establish useful contacts without the help of Musonda Chunga. Although he figured that his friendship with Musonda Chunga would remain important - especially after the latter was elected in 1988 as MP for Serenje Constituency - he also believed that he should not continue to be dependent upon one man.

According to Kashulwe, a farmer with commercial aspirations depended upon the contacts he could establish and maintain with Party officials and civil servants at the district as well as at the provincial and national level, since some information and inputs were only obtainable through these channels. He argued that in the past, when people in Chibale still depended on *citeme*, such contacts had not been important, but with the advent of cash-crop farming things had changed, and nowadays a farmer needed to be on his toes all the time. If, for instance, the Zambian Government decided to follow the strictures of the IMF and lowered the subsidies on fertilizer, farming practices were likely to be seriously affected. It was therefore important to know as early as possible when the Government was about to change its policy, so a farmer could try adapt his

strategies accordingly.

Kashulwe frequently emphasized that Musonda Chunga, by introducing him to 'important people' within the Party and Government, had helped him to develop his farm. Moreover, Musonda had assisted him in obtaining different maize varieties for dry planting which were normally not available at the local maize depots, and he had also managed to get Kashulwe particular drugs for his cattle at a time when these were extremely scarce. But what is more important, Musonda had encouraged Kashulwe to broaden his horizons and had introduced him to a number of commercial farmers, both within and outside Serenje District, whose farms they had visited on numerous occasions. Kashulwe explained that his tours with Musonda Chunga had not always been undertaken with a preconceived goal, in order to obtain a specific kind of information. As Musonda Chunga had frequently pointed out to him, a good farmer always maintains good contacts with the world outside his own chiefdom in order to stay in touch with new agricultural, political and economic developments - developments which can yield unexpected opportunities. Sometimes these visits had indeed given Kashulwe new ideas and had made him decide to engage in new income-generating activities:

'Once, Musonda Chunga took me in his car to Serenje to visit Serenje Fisheries. I asked them a lot of questions, and they explained everything to me. They gave me measurements, depths etc. I was also given a brochure, which I read. Then I decided right away to make a fish pond, because here we only get dried fish from Luapula. But people prefer to have fresh fish.' (L)

Kashulwe was convinced that becoming a commercially-oriented farmer necessitated operating outside the locality of the chiefdom and establishing links with a large variety of persons, farmers and non-farmers alike:

'When you meet different people you end up learning a lot of new things. For example, once I met a Chinese man working for TAZARA (Tanzania-Zambia Railways, H.S.). He started talking about keeping pigs. He said: "They grow very fast and they fetch a good price". Later he came here by car to sell me a sow and a boar. At first I kept them here, in the house. Then I asked the Agricultural Officer in Serenje to assist me, and he gave me a booklet on animal husbandry. Then I made a pigsty. When I go to town I prefer to spend time with people from other tribes. If I stay with another Lala he will ask me about relatives and what is going on in Chibale. But if I make friends with a Tonga we can exchange knowledge on farming methods. He will learn from me and I will learn from him. For example, shelling maize above a pit. I learned it from a Tonga farmer from Mazabuka. Now, here, people used to shell the maize in their houses, but that caused a lot of coughing and eye problems, because of the dust. But when people saw me using that new method, H.S.) it started spreading very fast.' (E)

It was Kashulwe's frequently-expressed view that, besides labour, farming knowledge and information about scarce inputs were the other critical factors in developing a diversified and commercial farming enterprise. Knowledge, and especially knowledge which he had not yet translated into certain farming practice, had, therefore, to be preserved carefully. To this end, he had in his house a bookshelf where he kept numerous pamphlets, posters, some books and other publications, and a number of exercise books which contained a lot of information he had collected over the years.

Although a farmer wishing to operate at a commercial level had to orient himself towards the outside world, one could, Kashulwe argued, always continue learning from local colleagues. Even with farmers who had much smaller and less diversified farming enterprises one could have valuable discussions, for instance regarding various methods of increasing the yields per hectare. Maintaining a strong local network also enabled a farmer to recruit labour. Besides discussing his problems and plans with Musonda Chunga, Kashulwe also exchanged a lot of farming knowledge with some other commercially-oriented farmers in the area. His friend, Kalunga Ackson, for instance, convinced him to stop cultivating sunflower on small ridges, and to adopt a less labour-intensive method instead - a method with which Kalunga had obtained good results and which involved dispersed sowing and the covering of seed by means of harrowing.

Besides exchanging farming knowledge with local farmers and visiting commercial farmers outside Chibale, designing and carrying out experiments remained an important knowledge-generating activity for young and ambitious farmers like Kashulwe. According to both Kashulwe and Musonda Chunga, farmers who wish to pursue new courses are forced to experiment and generate their own farming knowledge since such institutions as the University of Zambia and the Mount Makulu research station near Lusaka do not make their agricultural knowledge and research developments (other than hybrid maize varieties and recommended fertilizer applications) available to farmers. According to these two farmers, this may be attributed to the fact that agricultural scientists prefer to work in urban environments and tend to shun the rural areas. Kashulwe has conducted numerous experiments at his farm over the years: experiments, for instance, aimed at determining the optimal spacing between rows of maize plants. Having experienced recurring frost damage to the tomato crop during the cold season (June and July), Kashulwe and Musonda Chunga decided to listen carefully to the radio weather-forecast and to burn fires near the tomato gardens on frosty nights. With regard to another of his specialities, horticulture, Kashulwe continued designing and carrying out experiments:

'Some farmers who have vegetable gardens make very high beds, sometimes higher than 50 centimetres. But I did some experiments and I found that it's just a waste of time. Those who make high beds find that their beds dry out very quickly because when you have high beds water evaporates easily and does not go very deep. It stays near the surface. They continue making high beds because they do not develop their own methods of farming. They make high beds in their gardens because they keep following those traditions. In our Lala tradition, working with the hoe meant making ridges. So when vegetables were introduced they continued making ridges. But I found that it's better to grow vegetables on the flat because water is not wasted and irrigation is easier.¹³ But some are learning now, their ridges are getting lower every year.' (E)

Commentary and analysis

It should come as no surprise that among the population of Nchimishi Kashulwe and his farm were regarded as special and very different from most other farmers and farms

in the area. In general, farmers not only operated on a smaller scale, but also diversified less. Most farmers with whom I discussed Kashulwe's farm admired his 'power', his farming skills, and his ability to innovate and to establish useful contacts. Only a few tended to attribute his success to either sheer luck, or to sorcery. ('He must have something which is working on his behalf'.) Some had their doubts as to whether Kashulwe had really started off with only 10 Ngwee, and one farmer was convinced that a rich person, probably an Indian business man from Serenje or the Copperbelt, supported him financially.

Given that the purchase of oxen and modern farming implements was a common goal, the question now posed is whether, by discussing a farming enterprise which seems to differ in so many respects from the other farms in the area, one is able to demonstrate and analyze values shared by large sections of the Nchimishi population, or the strategies and management styles farmers devise and use to gain access to productive resources. The answer to this question is twofold. First, the first five years of Kashulwe's enterprise to a large extent resemble the early stages of the farming enterprises of many young farmers in the area. Like Kashulwe, most young farmers in the mid- and late 1980's had to develop their enterprise without the support of town savings or relatives' remittances. Nevertheless, they managed in many cases, often by using similar strategies as Kashulwe, to purchase their own oxen and ploughs, albeit sometimes after three to four or even ten years. Second, the Kashulwe case study also shows that, once farmers have adopted the plough on their farms, they may face serious problems if they wish to expand further and diversify their farming enterprise. In what follows I show why many young farmers in Nchimishi were unable to transform their farm into an enterprise such as Kashulwe's, and why many did not intend to do so. The analysis is based upon the Kashulwe case and upon a number of other case studies (see also Chapters 8 and 13), but also upon the accounts and analyses provided by other farmers.

Capital

A farmer with no or little initial capital must establish a strong 'foundation' before s/he is able to purchase a 'package' consisting of oxen and such 'modern' implements as ploughs and ox carts. According to many respondents, establishing a foundation involves getting married, securing a tract of land, building farm houses and above all saving and investing capital. Therefore, building a 'foundation' involves long-term planning. The Kashulwe case shows that although farmers lacking initial capital are capable of generating and accumulating the cash needed to purchase oxen and farming equipment, it may take them several years before they are able to buy such a package.

The most common strategy used by farmers in their quest for cash to finance future development is to cultivate crops which demand little in the way of capital. Like Kashulwe, some young farmers started building their foundation by cultivating vegetables like rape and cabbage. Since horticulture demands frequent attention and access to fertile land in the *dambo*, many farmers, and women in particular, prefer to grow crops such as sunflower and especially runner beans for sale.¹⁴ These crops are

usually cultivated by means of hoeing in *inkule* or *katobela* gardens. At a later stage, once they have saved enough money to buy a few bags of fertilizer, farmers may also take up the hoed cultivation of hybrid maize. Kashulwe started cultivating hybrid maize in *inkule*, but I found that many farmers prefer to replace Lala maize with SR 52 in their *katobela* where the new crop is interplanted with beans. One of the remarkable consequences of the introduction and the acceptance of the plough has been that, in recent years, the hoe and hoed gardens have come to occupy a more prominent position within the agricultural system of the area. Once farmers began to see the cultivation of beans, vegetables and hybrid maize as important income-generating activities, the size of hoed gardens increased on many farms. Many young farmers, therefore, regard the hoe as a kind of transitional technology (see also Chapter 5) which enables them to generate the capital they need to (partly) replace it with the plough.¹⁵ Sometimes the size of the *katobela* garden is reduced once the farmer has purchased a plough. At many farms, however, the cultivation of beans remains an important source of income.

Farmers in Nchimishi also use various other strategies. I found that some farmers, most of them women (see Chapters 8-10), were involved in the runner-bean trade, selling them on the Copperbelt. Others were engaged in petty trade, selling fish from Luapula Province or cigarettes bought in Serenje. Still others, many of them Jehovah's Witnesses, possessed special skills, such as bricklaying, carpentry, tailoring and shoe repairing, from which they derived a modest cash income.

An important source of income for many women is the brewing of local beer: *chipumu* or *katata*. *Katata* is mainly made from hybrid maize. The brewing of *katata*, although it demands a lot of work and expertise, is seen as a very profitable business.¹⁶ Within some households, the income from beer is considered to be the wife's personal income. Although men are not involved in beer-brewing, a man can ask his wife to brew him some *katata* or *chipumu*. Within other households, revenues were shared between husband and wife or used for joint investments or purchases. Female Jehovah's Witnesses were in most cases not involved in beer brewing, and many made and sold *munkoyo* instead.

Working for other farmers is another strategy used by young men and women to generate capital, but, as the Kashulwe case shows, these young people may have an additional reason for so doing, namely to acquire farming knowledge. Although 49.8% of all adult men and women in the survey sample at times worked for other farmers and 48.2% hired labour to assist them during the planting and/or harvesting season (see Table 6.4), most young people refused to become permanent workers for one of the commercially-oriented farmers in the area. The ultimate goal of most men and women was to build a 'foundation' and set up their own farming enterprise. Working for others on a more permanent basis was generally seen as a low-status occupation. Respondents often talked about permanent workers with some disrespect: permanent workers not only lacked 'power' and risked becoming dependent upon others, but they obviously had no pride since they were helping another farmer to develop his enterprise instead of making plans for their own future and that of their wife and children. Since land is not yet a scarce resource, it should come as no surprise that there was no indication of the creation in Nchimishi of a large group of people permanently dependent on wage-labour

for their livelihood.

Table 6.4: The use of hired labour in Nchimishi in 1988 (percentages in brackets)

	ADULT FARMERS WHO OCCASIONALLY MAKE USE OF HIRED LABOUR	ADULT FARMERS NOT MAKING USE OF HIRED LABOUR
ADULT FARMERS WHO OCCASIONALLY HIRE THEMSELVES OUT TO OTHER FARMERS	61 (50.0) (51.7) (24.9)	61 (50.0) (48.0) (24.9)
ADULT FARMERS WHO DO NOT HIRE THEMSELVES OUT TO FARMERS	57 (46.3) (48.3) (23.3)	66 (53.7) (52.0) (26.9)

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.
.19818	1	.6562	58.759
.32837	1	.5666	(Before Yates correction)

It is important to note that many younger as well as older people (71% of the 45 persons working for other farmers who were interviewed during the 1988 harvesting season) were involved in barter labour and worked in exchange for salt, millet, maize, meat, cooking-oil, sweets, or specific goods such as trousers, dresses, citenges, children's clothing, etc. In addition, women who brewed beer often did so with the intention of covering specific household expenditures: school uniforms, new bicycle tyres, relish, etc. In the early stages of farm development, these activities are often regarded as enabling the family or the individual to purchase household necessities without encroaching on the cash generated from the sale of crops. This latter income is often kept separate, and used to finance the purchase of farming inputs such as seed and fertilizer, the hiring of labour and investment in cattle and farming implements.

A common strategy used by farmers who have accumulated enough capital to increase their acreage under hybrid maize is to (partly) switch over from preparing their *inkule* with a hoe to hiring the oxen, the plough, and often the labour, of ox farmers. As Chipungu concludes for Southern Province, in Nchimishi non-ownership of oxen and a plough does not prohibit access to this technology (Chipungu 1988, 65). Many adults who did not possess their own oxen and plough, asked or hired their parents, close matrikin or other farmers to plough their fields. A number of these farmers, mostly younger men, made certain working arrangements with ox owners, often relatives, neighbours or friends, who faced a shortage of labour during the ploughing season. In exchange for the assistance given to these ox farmers with the ploughing of their fields, these young farmers were allowed to plough their own fields afterwards. Other young

male and female farmers, such as Kashulwe, do not have to make this kind of arrangement, nor do they have to hire a ploughing team. Being the son or the daughter of a farmer who owns oxen and a plough implies ready access to animal traction. As shown in Chapter 5, the main disadvantage of having to hire oxen, or of having to work for ox-farmers, is that it is likely to result in the reduced timeliness of all maize operations as the ox owner will normally wish to prepare the fields on his own farm first.

Oxen, loans, and 'power'

Until the early 1980's, the agricultural policy of the Zambian Government was tractor-biased to a large extent (Baker and White 1983). In the early 1980's, tractor farmers still produced over three quarters of the country's commercially-marketed maize. Thus, despite the fact that many of these tractor farmers incurred high losses, they remained the focus of government policy. Whereas virtually no loans were given for ox purchase, tractor hire continued to be heavily subsidized (Baker and White 1983, 3-7). In 1980, as Chilivumbo shows, for a population of three million peasant farmers, only 20,000 seasonal loans for agricultural inputs such as hybrid maize seeds, fertilizer, empty grain bags, oxen, ploughs and tractors were issued by the Agricultural Finance Company (AFC), a parastatal institution. According to Chilivumbo, the loans were given to a select few who were creditworthy and who were labelled officially as 'emergent farmers' (Chilivumbo 1985: 77-8). But farmers without savings, cattle or other kinds of security were excluded by the AFC. Among these farmers were a large proportion of female-headed households. Chilivumbo also shows that returned migrants in particular were successful in applying for loans since, as compared with others, they had the means to improve their farms to a level which qualified them as creditworthy (Chilivumbo 1985: 80).

In 1987, the situation regarding access to agricultural loans by small-scale farmers in Zambia appears to have improved following the Zambian Government's implementation of a policy formulated in the Interim National Development Plan (1987-1988). This policy aimed at placing more emphasis on animal traction at the expense of tractor mechanization, among other things by increasing the supply of ox-drawn equipment and by increasing the availability of credit to small holder farmers, and women in particular, (National Development Plan 1987; Dibbitts 1988: 444-9; Times of Zambia, 15-06-1989). Two major consequences of this policy change were that many farmers who had never before applied for a loan submitted applications to one of the credit institutions in 1988 and 1989, and there was a marked increase in the percentage of applications that received approval. [The relevant credit institutions were LIMA Bank (called AFC until 1987), CUSA (Credit Union and Savings Association), the Agricultural Cooperative Society and the Standard Chartered Bank.] Before 1987, not all farmers in Nchimishi had stood the same chance of obtaining the loan for which they had applied. The applications of farmers who did not produce large quantities of hybrid maize or who had no 'security' in the form of farming equipment or livestock were rejected in quite a few cases.¹⁷ The applications of female farmers and Jehovah's

Witnesses were less likely to receive approval. Throughout Zambia since the period preceding independence, antagonism has existed between members of UNIP and the Jehovah's Witnesses, over the latter's refusal to vote during elections and to become party members (see also Long 1968: 156, 192, 204, 214). These tensions to some extent still existed at the time of the restudy, and, in Nchimishi, party members frequently accused the Witnesses of being against UNIP and of obstructing the development policy of the Government by remaining utterly passive (see also Chapter 13). As Kashulwe explained, loan applications from the LIMA Bank had to be assessed and approved by the Ward Committee which, being part of the organizational structure of Party and Government, was made up only of Party members (for more details on the organizational structure of UNIP and the Zambian Government, see Ollawa 1979 and Tordoff 1980: 185-212). Loans from the Cooperative Society had to be approved first by the Society Loans Committee before being sent to the CPCMU (Central Province Cooperative Marketing Union) in Kabwe. This committee also was made up exclusively of Party members. It was a well-known public secret in Nchimishi that Jehovah's Witnesses' loan applications stood less chance of reaching Serenje or Kabwe, since they were often removed from the pile. A local UNIP member and member of the Ward Committee explained this as follows:

'As I told you before, the Cooperative Society, the LIMA Bank, CUSA: they are all babies of UNIP. Now these Watchtowers, they refuse to support the Party. Now what do you think happens when we find that a certain application belongs to one of them?' (E)

On the other hand, several staunch Party members who were generally considered to be extremely bad farmers and who had never sold one bag to the depot had been granted seasonal loans year after year. Instead of using the fertilizer they received to grow hybrid maize, some had frequently sold their supplies well under depot prices. According to many Witnesses as well as non-Witnesses, it had not, therefore, been the attitude of the Witnesses vis-à-vis UNIP and the Government, but this unchecked favouritism towards Party members which had obstructed the implementation of government policy, which had made the Party unpopular among large sections of the population and which had resulted in the bankruptcy of credit institutions like the AFC. The small number of commercially-oriented farmers who were party members and who, like Kashulwe, maintained good relations with the Ward Chairman and had direct or indirect access to his network stood the best chance of getting their application approved in Serenje or Kabwe. Although Jehovah's Witnesses claimed that they had less access to formal credit, the survey results show that, after 1987, there is no significant difference between Witnesses and non-Witnesses as far as loan approvals are concerned.

Women in Nchimishi, at least before 1987, stood less chance than men of getting their loan applications approved (68% of all loan applications submitted by men before 1987 received approval, compared with 39% of all applications submitted by women). Both women and men offered several explanations for this. First, until recently, the AFC in Serenje was said to have a somewhat negative attitude towards women because officials believed that a large majority of all women were only involved in the

cultivation of food crops and thus had little to offer in the form of security for a loan. Second, married women tended to be screened carefully by the AFC since experience had shown that men who had defaulted on repaying loans in the past used their wives to obtain credit. Third, the Ward Committee, which consisted of men only, was said to be male-biased, and those members who were not very successful farmers themselves tended to be jealous of ambitious women who had become successful farmers. Fourth, as one woman pointed out, traditionally women had been under the authority of men, of these brothers and their husbands. Therefore, despite the fast-changing position of women in farming (see Chapters 8-11), quite a few men still seemed to have difficulty accepting that women can apply for an agricultural loan independent from, and often without the consent of, their husbands. Fifth, several women explained that because most women were overburdened with the demanding tasks relating to both agriculture and household chores they were less mobile, and thus had less time to attend beer parties, political meetings and other gatherings. As a result, the names of female applicants were often unknown to those within Nchimishi who took the decisions regarding applications. In view of the growing awareness among LIMA Bank officials that women in Nchimishi were becoming increasingly successful in cash-crop cultivation, after 1987 the LIMA Bank (the successor of the AFC) placed more emphasis on women. Because of this better access to credit, women and men have an equal chance of having their loan applications approved.

One may conclude that, in Nchimishi, credit has not yet replaced the role which urban capital, in the form of savings and remittances, played in the 1960's in helping farmers to purchase cattle and ox-drawn implements and to take up the cultivation of cash crops,¹⁸⁾ not only because over the years it has remained difficult for farmers to gain access to credit, but also because a majority of the farmers have never aspired to apply for any agricultural loan. Despite the change in policy in 1987, in December 1988, 63.8% of all adult men in the survey sample and 85.1% of all adult women had never applied for a loan. Furthermore, even when they did request credit facilities, farmers usually applied for small seasonal loans to cover the costs of fertilizer, seed and labour. I came across a few cases where farmers had applied for a medium-term loan for oxen and implements. Many farmers with whom I discussed the issue said they were reluctant to take up loans because this entailed a substantial risk. Credit institutions could provide farmers with the capital they needed, but one could never be certain about the weather and it always remained a gamble whether the government would deliver sufficient seeds and fertilizer on time, that is, before the start of the rainy season.¹⁹⁾

Risk aversion was not the only reason for farmers not applying for agricultural loans however. Many farmers in Nchimishi shared the viewpoint that, ideally, individuals or conjugal units should build the 'foundation' of their farming enterprise using nothing but their own 'power'. Like Kashulwe, most young farmers felt that the capital they needed to purchase equipment and cattle had to be accumulated through activities such as the cultivation and sale of crops. Building a 'foundation' with external capital meant surrendering something as important as one's independence and becoming a 'slave of the Government'.

There were many farmers who had serious misgivings regarding agricultural loans,

particularly among the Jehovah's Witnesses. Many farmers, both Witnesses and non-Witnesses, fostered an ideology of independence: independence from relatives as well as from the Government. Moreover, according to the Witnesses, inability to repay a loan not only could lead to serious problems with the Government, but most certainly would result in having 'a case with Jehovah'. The Witnesses who did apply for loans mainly consisted of returned migrants or their sons. These farmers were in most cases well established and already owned cattle and ox-drawn implements.

Since relatively fewer women as compared with men had received formal education (52.6% of all adult women as compared with 80% of all adult men; see also Appendix 3) more female farmers (but also illiterate men) had difficulties in filling in their application forms. Some women did not know that they were eligible for agricultural loans. More importantly, however, there existed a conviction among most women in the area that, in order to remain independent, it was preferable to generate one's own capital.

Farmers in the Nchimishi area are able to generate and accumulate capital and to purchase oxen and equipment without having to rely on external capital. The Kashulwe case shows, however, that if farmers wish to continue expanding their enterprises they have either to increase their labour force (since handling a span of oxen requires three persons and one span can only cultivate up to a maximum of 7 or 8 hectares per season), or to spread planting activities back into the dry season. For commercially-oriented farmers in the area who opted for the first solution, it often turned out to be extremely difficult to recruit a large labour force. Adopting the second solution has the advantage that it reduces labour peaks since labour demand is spread more evenly throughout the planting season. On the other hand, dry planting requires the use of a tractor since oxen cannot be used for ploughing dry soil. A farmer who practises dry planting thus often needs cash to hire tractors and to purchase fertilizer and seed before he has received the maize cheque for the crop sold in September.

Another reason farmers who are interested in mechanized farming have for taking up loans is that the financial 'gap' between animal traction and the tractor is much wider than that between the hoe and the ox-drawn plough.

I found that once farmers become well established, producing large quantities of crops for sale and owning a herd of cattle, they often become less reluctant to apply for agricultural loans. It appeared that possessing capital in the form of cattle and equipment not only made them more creditworthy in the eyes of credit institutions, but also tended to make farmers feel less reticent about applying for loans. Owning capital gave them the comforting assurance that being indebted did not jeopardize their independence since in the event of a disappointing harvest they always could sell some of their animals in order to repay their debts.

In a few cases, I found that farmers tried to meet their need for external capital by borrowing money from relatives, neighbouring farmers or fellow church members. For example, Agnes Musonda Kalaka, a successful female farmer whose farm will be discussed in Chapter 8, borrowed money in 1987 from at least seven other farmers. The same year, however, she decided to apply for a seasonal loan from a credit institution, arguing that it was easier to deal with only one creditor. Furthermore, she maintained

that she preferred to be indebted to a more impersonal entity such as 'the Government'. She had found that borrowing from persons to whom she was related, or with whom she maintained a friendly relationship, tended to undermine her independence within the community. According to Agnes Musonda Kalaka, being indebted meant handing over 'power' to others who could now ask for various favours. Other farmers stressed that it was difficult to borrow money from relatives or friends. Derrick Chisenga explained this as follows:

'Your friends often refuse to lend you money because they don't want you to surpass them in farming. They don't want you to use their power to develop your farm.' (L)

To sum up the main conclusions of this section: farmers, and women and Jehovah's Witnesses in particular, at the start of their career and without capital, often face serious difficulties when they wish to obtain external capital, be it from formal or informal sources. However, the strategies farmers use to generate and accumulate capital can only partly be explained by referring to organizational and institutional factors. As shown earlier, strategies can also be the response of farmers to certain macro-economic factors and changes. In this section I have shown that social factors - certain shared values and goals - can account for the fact that farmers develop and use particular strategies. Most young farmers in Nchimishi share the objective of adopting animal traction in order to cultivate more hybrid maize for the market. Hiring oxen and ploughs from other farmers, however, is considered by many young farmers to be only a transitional phase, preceding and enabling the purchase of one's own oxen and/or farming implements a transitional phase, because hiring, according to most farmers, implies dependence. Becoming and/or remaining independent can be considered an important value shared by large sections of the population within the Nchimishi community. The same value, translated into expressions such as 'using your own power', 'being your own master', also accounts for the fact that a majority of the farmers are reluctant to apply for loans, but instead prefer to develop their farming enterprise in a more gradual way which does not force them to surrender their control over certain resources and their ability to make decisions.

Traces of the past

It would be wrong to suggest that the further diffusion of the plough and the other developments in agriculture which have taken place in Nchimishi in the 1980's can be attributed completely to the development and diffusion of new farming strategies and, to a lesser extent, to agricultural credit. In recent years also, a small number of wealthy migrants returned to their place of origin and established their farms with urban capital. More importantly, however, some of the present-day wealth of the area and some of the recent progress in agriculture can be said to rest on a foundation which was laid in colonial times and the first ten years after independence. Traces of the migration epoch are still very much present and observable in Nchimishi: not only because many ex-migrants still live in the same Kimberly brick houses covered with the same galvanized

iron sheets; not only because some still wear the shoes, trousers and suits they bought back in the 1950's; and not only because some of them still use their old Singer sewing machines, but also because many of the oxen and herds of cattle which are found in the area can be traced back to animals which were purchased in the 1950's or even as far back as the 1930's.

Although it is generally argued by many authors that farming equipment such as ploughs and ox carts only last between five and ten years (Baker and White 1983, 13), a number of farmers in Nchimishi still use the ploughs which they, their fathers or brothers acquired in the 1950's or 60's. Some of the pick-up trucks which were bought in that period were 'remodelled' and nowadays serve as ox carts. On some farms, cultivation still takes place on fields which were cleared before independence, using urban capital. Because of these traces from the past, not all young farmers in the area find themselves in the same position when starting out on their farming career. Some young people have a somewhat easier start than others if their parents, parents-in-law, or maternal uncles allow them to use the oxen and implements which they purchased in the past with their town savings. I also encountered several cases where farmers had only moved into plough agriculture after inheriting some old equipment and cattle from their parents, brothers or maternal uncles.

Labour

Before getting married, young men and women usually assist their parents with various farming and household tasks. During their teenage years, many children, sometimes without the assistance of their parents, start cultivating small gardens or fields. I found several cases where children between 12 and 16 years of age cultivated and sold beans, vegetables and even hybrid maize. Others raised and sold chickens. Many teenagers are involved in barter labour and assist other farmers with ploughing or harvesting in exchange for sweets or second hand T-shirts.

Among the Lala, marriage is uxorilocal for the first few years and it is customary that in this period, called the *kwikala ubuko*, the husband works for his parents-in-law. As can be concluded from the remarks made by Henry Chimpabu in Chapter 5, the *kwikala ubuko* is considered to be a kind of test period for the new son-in-law during which he has to demonstrate his hard workmanship and skilfulness (N'diaye 1985: 8). A son-in-law (*mukweni*) is expected to perform a number of services for his father-in-law (*batafyala*). These may include the cultivation of hoed gardens, the construction of a millet barn, or he may provide assistance with ploughing (Long 1968: 20-1, 116). In theory, as long as he forms part of the household of his parents-in-law a man has no exclusive rights to any portion of the produce resulting directly from his labours, and he receives his food from the fireplace of his mother-in-law. Only after a couple have children are they allowed to establish their own separate household.

Even at the time of the original study, many young men attempted to reduce the period spent at their parents-in-law's farm in order to return to the settlement of their matrikin, or to establish their own farm. This trend had become even more marked in the 1980's. I found that many young men and women consider the *kwikala ubuko* as a

waste of time, a waste of 'power', a temporary set-back which only delays the process of laying a 'foundation' for their own farming enterprise. Some farmers try to overcome this predicament by asking their parents-in-law for permission to cultivate cash crops on the land they control. Some male farmers, such as Kashulwe, continue cultivating cash crops on their parents' farm. In some cases, these farmers are assisted by their wives. When husband and wife pay a lot of attention to their own undertakings this at times may give rise to tensions and conflicts with the wife's parents who feel that their son-in-law is attempting to evade his duties towards them. Some young and relatively wealthy farmers, often the sons of returned migrants, paid their parents-in-law a sum of money in order to be released from any further obligations. I also came across a few cases in which the son-in-law refused to settle at the farm of his parents-in-law, to do service, or even to buy his way out of the *kwikala ubuko*. I discovered only a few cases where the son-in-law had no objections at all to living at the farm of his in-laws for a prolonged period. Most of these men had parents who were not involved in plough agriculture. They had then married into richer farms. In return for their labour, these sons-in-law were allowed to cultivate their own cash crops using the farming implements and oxen of the family. Many other young farmers, however, told me that marrying into a rich family and being allowed to use their assets to develop one's own farm had its obvious disadvantages. In the event of conflict or divorce, the wife and her relatives could always claim a large stake of the farm property arguing that their son-in-law had not used his own 'power', but had developed his enterprise 'under their property'.²⁰ I also found that when parents-in-law controlled relatively large tracts of uncultivated land sons-in-law often remained longer periods at the farm of their in-laws. In a few cases, these men later established their own farms on the land of their parents-in-law.

Once they have established their own farm, many couples continue to work for other farmers in the years preceding the joint or individual purchase of their own oxen and/or plough. During the transition period, when they are switching from hoe to plough agriculture, they become dependent on other farmers for the preparation of their fields. After acquiring their own animals and implements they usually become much less dependent upon outside assistance during the ploughing and planting season, the season of greatest labour constraints (see also Figure 6.1).

Three people are needed to make up a ploughing team, but if the farm or household consists only of a husband, a wife and a number of children (see Appendix 2) who are either too young or unwilling to work for their parents, it is not usually difficult to recruit one or two teenagers from a neighbouring farm to guide the oxen. Even married couples who operate separate farming enterprises and each cultivate their own hybrid maize in most cases manage to make up a ploughing team. Sometimes they do this by employing youngsters from neighbouring farms on an *ad hoc* basis and sometimes by making working arrangements with the other spouse or other members of the household or farm (see also Chapters 8-10).

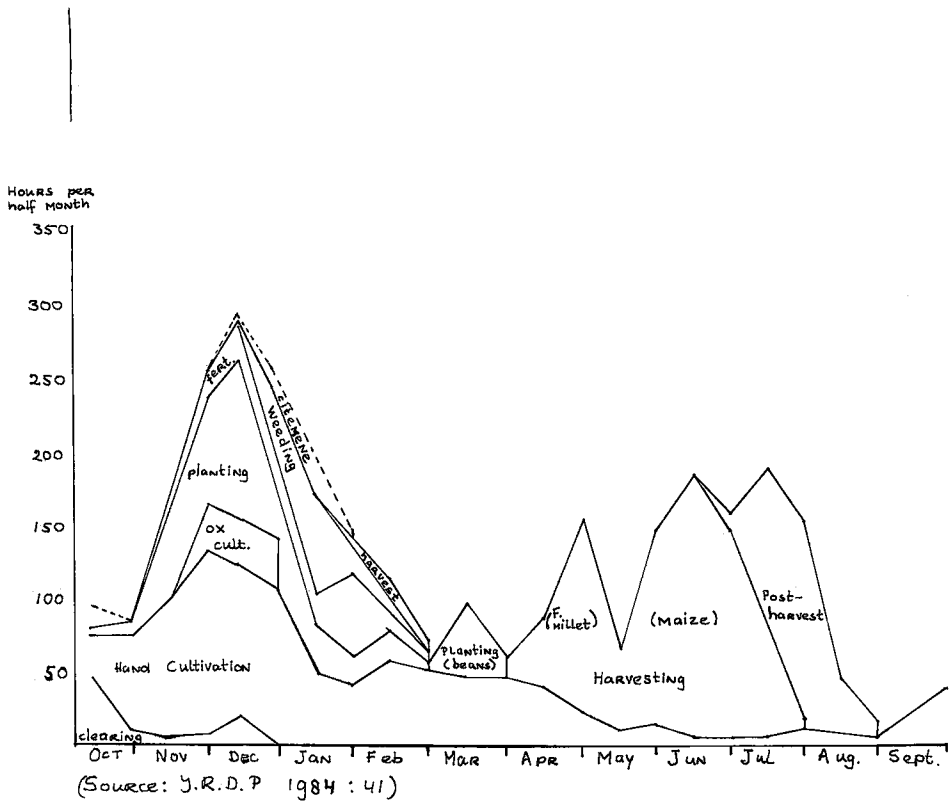


Figure 6.1: Mean labour inputs by activity in the area of Chibale village: 13 farms

Contrary to what Long found to be the general pattern in the early 1960's, there was no evidence that towards the late 1980's male farmers still married a second wife just to meet the labour demands of plough agriculture (Long 1968: 75). Some farmers explained this apparent change by pointing out that nowadays most young women refuse to marry a 'polygamist' who needs an extra labourer, but instead prefer to establish their own farming enterprise (only 8.5% of all adult men in Nchimishi were married to more than one wife). I tend to agree, however, with those farmers who had serious doubts about whether farmers in the 1960's only married a second wife to bring her into the ploughing team. According to these farmers, the enhancement of social status was a much stronger motivating factor in the decision of farmers to marry a second wife.

Many farmers who do not have access to sufficient labour within their household or farm make working arrangements with brothers, sisters, friends or neighbours who have their own households or farms and who cultivate hybrid maize on ploughed fields, but do not own oxen and implements. Another form of labour exchange I encountered existed between farmers who only possessed part of the 'plough package'. In one particular case two farmers, who each owned a plough but only one ox, decided to join forces and assist each other with the preparation of their respective fields.

I found that in the Nchimishi area one pair of oxen can plough a maximum of between 6 and 8 hectares per season under optimum conditions.²¹ This means that farmers who cultivate such an area have to use their span of oxen to its full capacity and, as a result, are unable to earn extra cash by ploughing for other farmers, especially when they are obliged to plough the fields of those persons who assisted them.

When farmers wish to increase the hectareage planted with hybrid maize, they will reach a point where they are forced to make an important decision concerning the preparation of their fields. They have to decide whether they want to purchase and train an additional pair of oxen, whether they will hire other ox farmers to assist them, or whether they will hire a tractor. As indicated earlier, Kashulwe tried all three alternatives: he attempted to create a large labour force; he purchased a number of ploughs and trained more oxen; and several seasons he also hired other local farmers' tractors and, when tractors were not available, he paid neighbouring ox farmers to help him plough his fields. But whatever solution a farmer chooses, it invariably means becoming more dependent on outside assistance, on hired labour, during the ploughing season as well as during planting, weeding, harvesting and crop-processing activities.

The small number of farmers in Nchimishi who expanded beyond 6 or 7 hectares in most cases became ox hirers again. One of them, Kalunga Ackson, recruited three neighbouring farmers in November 1986 to plough his 14 hectares. Each of them was paid K125 per hectare. Other farmers bought additional ploughs and trained additional pairs of oxen, arguing that although recruiting other farmers was always difficult, it appeared to be somewhat easier to make arrangements with farmers who did not own trained oxen and a plough but who nevertheless wished to have their fields ploughed.

Many adult farmers (men and women) who did not own any oxen and ploughs and hired other farmers to plough their fields. Nevertheless, the general opinion among farmers in Nchimishi was that the period during which a farmer must hire oxen and teams for ploughing - usually the period preceding the purchase of draught animals and

implements - is not an enviable phase in her or his career since s/he is heavily dependent on others. As mentioned previously, most farmers in Nchimishi have a strong desire to become and remain independent of others. Therefore, the prospect of having to rely once more upon the labour, oxen or implements of outsiders has played an important role in recent years in the decision of quite a number of rather successful farmers in Nchimishi to moderate their ambitions and not to increase their hectarage planted with hybrid maize beyond approximately 7 hectares.²²⁾

Farming knowledge

Knowledge concerning the cultivation of cash crops such as runner beans, groundnuts, sunflower and hybrid maize can be obtained easily by all farmers. Most young men and women learn to grow these crops while assisting their parents, while making their own fields or gardens, or while working for other farmers. Even migrants returning from the Copperbelt usually have to spend little time picking up the basic agricultural methods and techniques, especially since many of them, in order to cope with the high cost of living, maintained vegetable gardens and sometimes even small maize fields while living in the urban areas.

As the Kashulwe case shows, it is only when farmers wish to use new cultivation techniques, plant new maize varieties, or when they attempt to diversify their enterprise by adding a new range of crops or domestic animals, that farming knowledge and information become scarce resources. Kashulwe and some other farmers tried to overcome these problems and fill the lacunae in their knowledge by carrying out their own experiments, but these experiments, although innovative and very useful, did not provide answers to all their difficulties and questions. Having access to Musonda Chunga's network proved to be very important for Kashulwe and a small number of other farmers since these contacts helped them to find solutions to many specific problems. Being able to establish and maintain contacts with commercial farmers and government institutions at the district, provincial and national level not only helped these farmers to solve specific problems, however, but also served as an eye-opener giving them new ideas and making them aware of possible new opportunities. Although Kashulwe disagreed with me on this, I think that even the very idea of diversifying his farming enterprise may have been the result of his friendship with Musonda Chunga and the fact that the latter took him on numerous tours within and outside Serenje District.

Kashulwe and other commercially-oriented farmers who had access to Musonda Chunga's network were clearly exceptions. Although there were a few other farmers who were somewhat different in that they cultivated uncommon crops, or maintained large irrigated gardens, the majority of the farming population was clearly less innovative and seemed to make few attempts to diversify their enterprises. Most farmers with whom I discussed this issue rationalized this attitude by pointing out that experimentation and diversification into new crops entailed many risks. They preferred, therefore, to concentrate on crops with which they were familiar and for which they had a secure outlet.

Other farmers had a different opinion and argued that diversification was in fact

taking place, albeit rather slowly. These farmers tended to emphasize that although over the past few decades a number of traditional crops had virtually disappeared, these had been replaced by a large variety of newly-introduced ones, mainly vegetables. Some respondents maintained that they and quite a number of other farmers were well aware of the long-term advantages of diversification. Since they lacked 'good contacts', however, their room for manoeuvre was somewhat limited, and they could do nothing other than decide whether it was beneficial to adopt some of the innovations introduced by 'the Government' or by such farmers as Kashulwe.

The question of why Musonda Chunga helped some commercially-oriented farmers, why he introduced them to some of his contacts, remains. According to Musonda Chunga, commercially-oriented farmers in the area had a clear interest in seeking his friendship:

'I was the first commercial farmer in the District so I seem to be a class on my own. That's why all the others who are coming up seek my friendship. They know I can be of assistance to them by introducing them to some of the people I know. Although I still feel there is a lot I can learn from them, they think there is more they can get from me. That's why it's difficult to make good friendships, because relationships are always unbalanced. I want to be a true friend, but to many I am someone who can help them, someone who is above their class. At least that's how I assess the situation.' (E)

Musonda Chunga further explained that he had a clear interest in encouraging the commercially-oriented farmers in the area to expand and diversify their undertakings. If persons within the higher echelons of UNIP and the Government heard about the agricultural developments taking place in Chibale, this would certainly help him to further his political career. According to Musonda Chunga, his farm, because of its size and the fact that it was established with urban and external capital, did not serve as an example to other farmers. It was important, therefore, to encourage and assist the young and innovative farmers in the area who had started building their 'foundation' with little or no capital. These farmers did serve as examples to many other young farmers, and their methods and techniques, their innovations, if proven useful, therefore stood a much better chance of becoming accepted.

There were several indications that Musonda Chunga's conclusions were correct, since some of the useful methods and techniques (for example the cultivation of vegetables 'on the flat', a method for threshing maize, the making of fish ponds) introduced into the area by Kashulwe and the others were indeed adopted by a number of other farmers.²³⁾

Conclusions

It is maintained in much of the literature dealing with animal traction in Africa that, since there is a shortage of capital among the rural population, the introduction or improvement of credit facilities or programmes is a condition which has to be met

before animal traction can be introduced successfully (Munzinger 1982: 294-5; Kalb 1982: 371; Gboku 1988: 311-19; Kokoye 1988: 186-91). I acknowledge that indeed credit can and sometimes does serve as an important aid to the introduction and promotion of animal traction, since it can help farmers to overcome the high entry costs that act as a barrier to the adoption of the technology. Nevertheless, in their attempt to assess or stress the importance of agricultural credit, many authors implicitly or explicitly assume that rural populations find themselves in a vicious circle of poverty and that farmers do not have the resources, the ability or the initiative to break out of this circle and to overcome the high entry costs of animal traction. Kalb, for instance, argues that if the spread of animal traction is not to remain limited from the outset to high status groups, it is in most cases essential to arrange credits for the acquisition of production inputs (Kalb 1982: 371-2).

This chapter shows, however, that the availability of credit is not a prerequisite for the successful introduction and diffusion of animal traction among large sections of the population. In Nchimishi, many farmers who started their careers with practically nothing have managed to accumulate and invest sufficient capital over the years to purchase draught animals and farming equipment without having to resort to external sources. Instead of stressing the importance of credit, most farmers in Nchimishi considered access to land and a person's 'power' to be the critical factors determining whether a farmer was able to acquire his or her own oxen and implements. I should like to add that the existence of a market for a cash crops (such as runner beans and vegetables) which can be cultivated and sold without having to use any financial inputs has also proved to be an important factor enabling farmers to generate capital. Furthermore, we may conclude that apparently situations exist where farmers have accepted the plough but have strong reservations about availing of credit - reservations which are based on certain socio-cultural and religious considerations. At the time of the restudy, only a minority of all male and female farmers in Nchimishi had ever applied for a loan. Moreover, almost all applicants had applied for short-term 'fertilizer loans' and not for medium-term credit for oxen and implements.

In this chapter, I have discussed various strategies developed and used by farmers in Nchimishi to generate and accumulate capital. These strategies can to some extent be seen as the response of the inhabitants of this area to the macro-economic changes which have occurred in Zambia over the last decades: the closure of the urban job market, but equally the rise of new cash-earning opportunities resulting from the growth of the urban market for cash crops. To some extent, these strategies can be regarded as the reaction of some farmers to institutional and organizational factors. As a result of procedures and practices surrounding the handling of loan applications, it often proved to be difficult, if not impossible, for female farmers and Jehovah's Witnesses to obtain loans.

Finally, I argued that farmers' strategies are to a large extent shaped by certain shared goals, values and concepts. The objective of becoming successful seems to be shared by most farmers in Nchimishi. In other words, a farmer wants to obtain a reasonable income from the sale of cash crops and provide for a secure future for his or her children. Most farmers also have the strong desire to remain as independent as

possible from others and to lay the 'foundation' of their farming enterprise by using only their own 'power'. It is this wish to remain independent which accounts for the fact that most farmers are very reticent when it comes to availing of credit. Moreover, it is this value which partly explains why animal traction is so popular among male and female farmers of all generations. The ox-drawn plough not only enables farmers to achieve their economic objectives by cultivating larger areas, it also allows them to accomplish these goals without having to depend (much) on outside labour. Animal traction and the plough, therefore, not only symbolize a farmer's agricultural and economic achievements but also his or her independence.

I have shown that farming enterprises may pass through a number of transitional phases. In the years preceding the purchase of their own animals and equipment, farmers may practise hoe agriculture and consider this to be mainly a transitional farming technique. In a later stage, they may also start cultivating hybrid maize on ploughed fields, by hiring the oxen, implements and labour of other farmers. Hiring animal traction was regarded by many farmers as being just another transitional stage in their career, as a strategy enabling them to become ox owners themselves.

If a farmer decides to hire other farmers to plough his or her fields, this inevitably means becoming more dependent upon outsiders. In some of the literature on animal traction, ox hirers as compared with ox owners are often labelled as being have-nots who either are dependent upon the assistance of the ox owners, or have to revert to hoe agriculture (Baker and White 1983: 7-11). Furthermore, it is assumed that only outside intervention in the form of credit programmes can alleviate constraints and change the position of ox hirers or farmers who practise hoe agriculture and thus prevent an irreversible process of economic differentiation from occurring. It is important, however, to realize the dynamics of farming and farming enterprises. In other words, the organizational forms found at particular farms at a given moment, as well as the agricultural methods and techniques which are being used, may not represent a final stage. The Nchimishi case shows that farmers may decide to become ox hirers since they consider this to be the best strategy to become ox owners themselves in the not-too-distant future.

When emphasizing their desire to remain independent, farmers in Nchimishi often pointed at what they considered to be the upper limits of animal traction. Operating several pairs of oxen at the same time certainly enables a farmer to cultivate more hectares and thus to obtain a higher income, but on the other hand it tends to jeopardize his or her independence, since the creation of several ploughing teams is likely to require the recruitment of off-farm/household labour. Many farmers in Nchimishi, therefore, were reluctant to increase their hybrid maize operations beyond the 'one-span' level. In this context, farmers frequently referred to farmers like Kashulwe who had indeed succeeded in achieving their economic goals and had managed to become successful commercially-oriented farmers. But these farmers had paid the price for their success by surrendering part of their independence, since they had come to rely on outsiders: on contacts, friends, relatives, or neighbouring farmers.

Notes:

1. The 1988 survey shows that approximately 75.2% of all adult men and women had never applied for a loan from any of the credit institutions.
2. The price of one 50 kg bag of basal dressing rose from K14.95 in 1985 to K125 in 1989 and K284.20 in 1990.
3. The survey question was formulated as follows:
Life in town is better/worse/more or less the same as compared with life in Nchimishi.
4. 49% of all male migrants in the survey sample who returned to Nchimishi after 1980 and 32% of those who returned before 1980, stated that unemployment had been the main reason they left the urban areas. 26% of all men who settled in Nchimishi after 1980 and 59% who returned to the area before that year said they had decided to return home on retirement from their urban occupation.
5. $1.25 \text{ hectares} \times 33 \text{ [bags per hectare]} = 41.25 \text{ bags.}$
 $41.25 \text{ bags} - 7 \text{ bags [retained for home consumption]} = 34.25 \text{ bags.}$
 $34.25 \text{ bags} \times \text{K55} = \text{K1,883.75.}$
 $\text{K1,883.75} - \text{K962.50} = \text{K921.25.}$
 The figure K962.50 is derived from the following: $1.25 \times \{\text{the cost of 4 bags (50 kg) of top dressing, 4 bags (50 kg) of basal dressing and 25 kg of hybrid maize seed (SR52)}\}$
6. 75.8% of all adult men and 60.4% of all women in the survey sample stated that they possessed one or more special skills from which they derived a, in most cases irregular, cash income. Bricklaying, carpentry, tailoring, blacksmithing, working for other farmers and hunting in the case of men, and beer-brewing and working for other farmers in the case of women, were the most common skills.
7. The crops cultivated by Kashulwe were:

Crop	Type of garden
Runner beans	ploughed/flat
Groundnuts	ploughed/flat
Livingstone potatoes	<i>dambo</i> garden/ <i>fibunde</i> ridges
Sweet potatoes	hoed ridges
Pumpkins	<i>myunda</i>
Cabbage	ploughed/flat
Onions	ploughed/flat
Tomatoes	ploughed/flat
Irish potatoes	ploughed/ridges
Hybrid maize	ploughed/flat
Rice	<i>dambo</i> /ploughed
Cotton	ploughed/flat
Soya beans	ploughed/flat

 Fruit trees: Orange, Lemon (2 trees only), Banana, Mango, Guava, Mulberry.
8. List of farming equipment owned by Kashulwe:

4	ordinary ploughs
2	ridging ploughs
1	cultivator
2	harrows
1	planter
1	ox cart
24	hoes
23	axes
4	insecticide and pesticide sprayers
4	chains

9. In 1987, for instance, in November just before the start of the rainy season he planted SZ 225 with a maturation period of approximately 150 days. In early and mid-December, he planted R 215 with a maturation period of approximately 135 days. Finally, from the 20th until the 27th of December he planted R 201 which has a maturation period of 130 days.
10. Winter ploughing: the first ploughing of fields which, depending upon the moisture of the soil, normally takes place between the end of March and the beginning May or June (see also Chapter 3).
11. The names of 10 farmers provided by Kashulwe:
 - 1) Chibuye Sakeyo
 - 2) Ronald Mukosha
 - 3) Charles Muzewa
 - 4) Abel Filato
 - 5) Martin Kayumba
 - 6) Cretos Chibuye
 - 7) Victor Mwape
 - 8) Daron Mwela
 - 9) Phileas Kunda
 - 10) Patson Chiwembe

Constructs:

Farmers 1 and 4 are compared with farmer 5:

'Chibuye and Abel only grow maize but Martin also grows vegetables, soya beans.' (E)

Farmers 2 and 10 are compared with farmer 6:

'Patson and Ronald both have oxen, but Patson doesn't plough. Cretos is a *citemene* man and hunger strikes him often, especially at this time of year (March, H.S.).' (E)

Farmers 1 and 7 are compared with farmer 3:

'Victor produces maize only. This year he sold over 300 bags. Chibuye Sakeo grows only vegetables and no maize; he has to buy mealie meal. But Charles, that one grows a lot of different crops and after selling he spends his money on beer.' (E)

Farmers 8 and 9 are compared with farmer 4:

'Daron has got oxen and he ploughs 5 acres, but he doesn't use any fertilizer. Now Phileas, he has got oxen too, but he ploughs very late, in January. Abel has no oxen, he hires others to plough for him in November.' (E)

Farmers 3 and 5 are compared with farmer 8:

'Well, Martin and Charles, they like to grow many different crops, unlike Daron.' (E)

Farmers 9 and 10 are compared with farmer 5:

'Patson and Phileas both have oxen. Martin has no oxen, but ploughs very early and grows a lot of different crops as compared with the others.' (E)

Farmers 6 and 2 as compared with farmer 7:

'Cretos and Ronald are not very interested in agriculture. Cretos is a *citemene* man, he grows millet, and Ronald only grows maize. Victor Mwape, now he is not very interested in agriculture either, but at least he grows different crops, especially vegetables.' (E)

12. Musonda Chunga, having experienced tremendous difficulties in keeping his tractors in running condition, had serious plans in 1987 to switch to animal traction. He argued that this thought was inspired not only by the fact that prices of diesel and imported spare-parts had gone up and probably would continue to go up in the coming years, but also by the fact that having to search for scarce spare-parts and tyres demanded an increasing amount of his time - time he had to spend away from his farm. Chunga figured that it would certainly be cheaper, and probably easier and less time consuming, to recruit the labour force needed to manage 9 to 12 spans of oxen.
13. Kashulwe once made the following remark regarding the irrigation of vegetable gardens:

'Once, Mr Wadill from Kalwa farm (the Baptist Mission, near Serenje Township, H.S.) gave me a lot of literature on farming. One pamphlet was on the advantages of furrow irrigation. After reading it, I decided to irrigate my garden. But when digging the furrow, I made a mistake because my seedlings dried out. So I read this pamphlet again, very carefully. It said that if the slope was 1%, water could reach the plants without causing erosion and without over-watering the crop. But how to measure 1%? So I had

to experiment several times before I had a good furrow.' (E)

14. Apart from a few exceptions, women were not involved in the cultivation of vegetables. One woman explained to me that women did not cultivate vegetables since they were too busy. Watering, she argued, had to take place in the evening hours when they had to prepare dinner, or in the early morning when they had to clean the farmhouse and take care of the children.
15. The wooden ox-drawn sledge can also be regarded as a kind of transitional technology, coming between head portage and transportation by means of ox cart. For farmers who owned oxen but no ox cart, using the sledge was the only way to use their oxen for transportation purposes. Many of these farmers regarded their use of the home-made sledge as a phase preceding the purchase of the much more efficient cart - a phase during which they still lacked the means to buy an ox cart and during which the sledge provided an opportunity to earn some of that cash. When prices of ox carts rose tremendously after the mid-1980's (K650 in 1985; K2,200 in 1986; K3,100 in 1987; K3,400 in 1988 and over K10,000 in 1989) many young farmers realized that, for the time being, the purchase of an ox cart lay far beyond their reach. As a response to this development, a few farmers started constructing their own carts with wooden wheels and wooden or metal axles. These carts are more efficient than the sledge as they can transport loads at least three times heavier. Nevertheless, the home-made cart, like the sledge, was regarded by these farmers as a technology which could be instrumental in bridging a financial and temporal gap which, due to price increases, had become much wider. A factory-made ox cart, or an ox cart made from the back of a pick-up, still remained the ultimate goal of these farmers, not only because an even heavier load could be transported on them but also because these carts were generally regarded as a symbol of success and prosperity.
16. In 1986 when hybrid maize was selling at K55 per 90 kg bag, Mumba Cotton's wife, Bana Labeka, brewed one oil drum of *katata* using two tins of hybrid maize and one tin of millet (six tins equals one 90 kg bag). The beer, which was sold at 20 Ngwee per cup, brought in nearly K100.
17. Anybody of sixteen years and over is eligible to apply to LIMA Bank for a loan. But the applicant should have security, like farming implements or animals, to facilitate the recovery of the loan should the applicant default. He should also be able to open an account of not less than K500 with the bank.
LIMA Bank gives seasonal loans for fertilizers, labour costs and seeds for a period of five years and a maximum of 10 hectares. Medium-term loans for farming implements, oxen, scotch carts and ploughs are offered to farmers cultivating from 10 hectares up to commercial level. The maximum amount an applicant can obtain is not fixed but depends on how much money the bank can allocate that particular season. If there are too many applicants the bank cuts down on the number of hectares that farmers have applied for, so that all the applicants with approved loans can have a loan (This note was written by Mushili Mukangwe, farmer and the chairman of the LIMA BANK, Nchimishi main group 1., 16-08-1989).
18. Within the framework of the decentralization policy of the Zambian Government, the LIMA Bank introduced a new credit programme during the 1988-1989 season in order to make agricultural loans more accessible to small-scale farmers and to improve repayment rates. This programme involves the formation within the different Wards of a number of farmers' groups. Such a group, called the 'main group', consists of a maximum of 100 farmers. If in any area more than one hundred farmers wish to apply for a loan from the LIMA Bank, another main group is formed. The members of each main group elect a loans committee, a disciplinary committee and an inspection committee. The main group is divided into different so-called contact groups consisting of 20 farmers. Each contact group has a contact farmer who is chosen by the loan committee and who is supposed to file reports on the performances of individual farmers. Although each farmer, in consultation with his contact farmer and the inspection committee, can determine the number of hectares for which s/he wants receive inputs on credit, loans are given on a group basis, and the responsibility for repaying these loans thus, in principle, rests with the whole contact group. All individuals of sixteen years and over can become a member of a main group. Although I left the field before I could gather more detailed information regarding the programme and before it was possible to assess its success in Nchimishi, there were some indications that the programme was well received by many farmers. According to the chairman of the main group, 96 farmers had registered, including quite a number of women and Jehovah's Witnesses who had never applied for loans before. Although members of the loans committee, who were all members of UNIP, repeatedly emphasized that

Chapter 7

Processes of economic differentiation

Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the process of economic differentiation in Nchimishi. An important issue I discuss concerns the question of whether different categories or classes have developed in Nchimishi over the years, or whether these are still in the process of formation. Can we discern a section within the farming population which has lost, or threatens to lose, its access to certain critical productive resources and can we identify another category consisting of farmers who have gained, or are gradually gaining, control of these resources? (see also Shanin 1972; Amin 1977; Cliffe 1978; Cheater 1984; Chipungu 1988 and Kennedy 1988.) Another important and related question is of course whether these categories, if they exist, tend to reproduce themselves. Before attempting to answer these questions, however, we ought to look first at the various factors which had led to the pattern of economic differentiation as it existed at the time of the restudy. Again, I have adopted in my analysis the views and explanations of various respondents.

Economic differentiation: the rich, the poor and the middle class

According to Long, the economy of Nchimishi prior to the 1950's was largely subsistence-based, and people relied on cash remittances from migrant kinsmen in town to pay their taxes, to purchase clothing and to pay school fees (Long 1968: 33). Since the late 1950's, however, commercially-oriented agriculture, with Turkish tobacco as the main cash crop, led to a diversification of the local economy; to increased circulation of locally-earned cash; and to greater investment by returning migrants. The greater prosperity of the area manifested itself in the growing number of stores, grinding mills and commercially-oriented farming enterprises. Although in the early 1960's the area was thus going through a period of rapid economic expansion, Long emphasizes that the effects of economic change were somewhat uneven. A minority of individuals, mainly returned migrants, were involved in cash-crop farming and owned cattle, modern farming implements and consumer durables such as sewing machines, bicycles, Western-type furniture or even motor vehicles. The large majority of the

population continued to be oriented primarily towards subsistence production. Long shows that, in 1963, 73.8 % of all males were firmly rooted in subsistence agriculture and that less than 10% of them owned cattle (Long 1968: 33-8). That year, 36.4% of all male farmers practised plough agriculture.

On comparing the situation of the early 1960's with the pattern of economic differentiation in the mid and late 1980's, one must conclude that considerable changes have taken place. If we consider both agricultural production and economic wealth and look at both extremes of the economic differentiation spectrum, we notice that the gap between those who do not produce for the market and the more commercially oriented cash-crop farmers, as well as the gap between the very rich and the very poor, has grown wider over the years. Whereas farmers like Paul Lushwili and his wives, Musonda and Muzewa, (see Chapter 5) did not cultivate any hybrid maize, and only occasionally sold a small quantity of beans, the commercial farmer, Musonda Chunga (see Chapter 6), produced several thousand bags of maize each season and cultivated a variety of crops for the market. Paul Lushwili and his wives owned a few axes and hoes, some clothing, shoes, ornaments, plastic cups, buckets and enamel dishes, but no other farming implements or consumer items. Musonda Chunga's material assets were considerable. He owned a Bedford truck, a Toyota pick-up, tractors, a planter, a maize sheller, ploughs, a large herd of cattle, a store, a villa, Western-type furniture, a refrigerator, a radio cassette-recorder, a colour television set, a video-recorder, a camera, a generator, several pairs of Italian shoes, various suits, etc.

We may also conclude that in the last decades both agricultural production and the prosperity of the majority of the population in the area have increased. In 1988, 34.2% of all adult men and 12.5% of all adult women owned cattle and almost all households were producing either beans, hybrid maize or both crops for sale each season. Not only was a much larger proportion of the population involved in the cultivation of cash crops, but most farmers in the 1980's cultivated much larger areas and had a much higher output than farmers who were active in the early 1960's (see also some of the remarks made by Kash Chipilingu in Chapter 4). According to the sales figures kept by the local depots, the total output of hybrid maize in Nchimishi in 1988 and 1989 was twenty to thirty times higher than that of the mid-1970's. The higher output can be attributed to the increase both in the number of maize producers and the amount produced per household (see also Table 7.1). In 1985, 33.6% of the adult population sold hybrid maize to the depot, whereas in 1988, 57% of all adults sold the crop. Of all adult persons producing hybrid maize for sale in 1985 and/or in 1988, 35% sold more hybrid maize in 1988 compared to 1985, 13% sold less, 50% had not sold maize in 1985 or previous years and 2% had sold maize in 1985 but for some reason had stopped cultivating the crop in later years.

Table 7.1: Hybrid maize sales per household: a comparison between 1985 and 1988 (percentages in brackets)

BAGS OF HYBRID
MAIZE MARKETING
IN:

1988 1985	0 BAGS	1-10	11-30	31-60	61-150	150+	TOTAL
0 BAGS	26 (38.8) (89.7) (23.5)	5 (7.5) (50) (4.5)	16 (23.9) (66.7) (14.4)	12 (17.9) (42.1) (7.2)	8 (11.9) (42.1) (7.2)		67 (100) (60.3)
1-10	2 (15.4) (6.9) (1.8)	2 (15.4) (20) (1.8)	5 (38.4) (20.8) (4.5)	3 (23.1) (12.5) (2.7)	1 (7.7) (5.3) (0.9)		13 (100) (11.7)
11-30	1 (6.3) (3.4) (0.9)	2 (12.5) (20) (1.8)	3 (18.7) (12.5) (2.7)	6 (37.5) (25) (5.4)	4 (25) (21) (3.6)		16 (100) (14.4)
31-60		1 (11.1) (10) (0.9)		2 (22.2) (8.3) (1.8)	5 (55.6) (26.3) (4.5)	1 (11.1) (20) (0.9)	9 (100) (8.2)
61-150				1 (20) (4.2) (0.9)	1 (20) (5.3) (0.9)	3 (60) (60) (2.7)	5 (100) (4.5)
150+						1 (100) (20) (0.9)	1 (100) (0.9)
TOTAL	29 (26.1) (100)	10 (9) (100)	24 (21.6) (100)	24 (21.6) (100)	19 (17.2) (100)	5 (4.5) (100)	111 (100) (100)

Thus, although the gap between cultivators who are not engaged in cash crop farming or who only produce very small quantities of cash crops for sale and the group of commercial farmers has become wider, these categories only form minorities. A large section of the adult population can be said to belong to the category of, what some English speaking farmers called, the middle-class farmers. These farmers are more commercially oriented and cultivate crops such as beans, hybrid maize, sunflower, Irish potatoes, groundnuts or vegetables for sale.¹⁾ In 1988, 62.9% of all households produced more than 10 bags of hybrid maize for sale. The same year 42.6% of the adult population and 50% of all men and women of 22 years of age or more, alone or with other members of the household, produced between 11 and 100 bags of hybrid maize for sale per season.²⁾

When within the framework of the survey adult respondents were asked for their opinion on the changes in the general standard of living of the Masananga area, 98.9% of them stated that the standard of living had risen in the last 10 years.³⁾ Men and

women frequently pointed out to me that, as compared with a few decades ago, more farmers had a regular income which allowed them to purchase such items as clothing, shoes, blankets, local beer, salt, sugar, cooking-oil, soap, washing powder, vegetables, meat and dried fish. This income (in the longer run) also enabled farmers to invest in cattle and farming implements. A number of male and female farmers also managed to purchase consumer durables such as furniture, beds, bicycles, pocket calculators, watches, radios and galvanized iron sheets (see also Appendix 4). Farmers, and in particular those belonging to the older generation, often explained, however, that the success of the inhabitants of Chibale in cash-crop farming was not reflected in their ability to purchase consumer goods. Respondents tended to argue that because money had lost its value and farmers received relatively little in return for their crops, much larger quantities of maize or beans had to be produced in order to buy the same package of consumer goods or farming implements as compared with colonial times and the years after independence.⁴ Moreover, many goods had become scarce or had even completely disappeared from the Serenje shops. For instance, bread, bottled beer and soft-drinks such as Coca-Cola, had often been available in local shops and bottle-stores in the 1960's. At the time of the restudy, these goods (with the exception of bread) were often not even available in Serenje township. Many farmers also emphasized that due to high inflation it had become difficult to save, partly because they were forced to re-invest large parts of their earnings in the next season's operations (see also Chapter 6).

Economic differentiation and animal traction

Most farmers in Nchimishi tended to discuss economic differentiation and to evaluate their performance, as well as the performance and success of their colleagues, in terms of their production of hybrid maize, by the number of 90 kg. bags they sold to the local depot. Owning a large number of trained oxen and/or cattle was also seen by farmers as a sign of wealth and success. Furthermore, the variety of crops farmers cultivated, the kind and number of farming implements they possessed, and (to a lesser extent) the consumer items they had been able to purchase contributed to their economic as well as social status within the community.

A wide variety of explanations was offered in discussions which centred around issues regarding economic development and differentiation when respondents were asked to describe and define the factors which, in their view, could be held responsible for the process of differentiation. Many respondents argued that the widening economic gap between individuals and farms can be seen as a consequence of the introduction and diffusion of cash crops, animal traction, and the plough. This is because using animal power enables a farmer to cultivate much larger areas than his colleague who practises hoe agriculture. One farmer, William Chimpabu, explained this as follows:

"The plough has meant wealth for a lot of people here. With the plough, with oxen, you can advance quickly. Before the plough came it was difficult to become a farmer, you only had a hoe and an axe.

Because of the plough there are big differences between rich and poor people nowadays. Also in the past some people were richer than others because some worked harder than others and because some grew different crops. But the difference was less because everybody was using the same implements. But I can say that in those days the wealth of a person did not depend so much on money as on knowledge, knowledge of how to make certain things. Some were a little richer than others because they were blacksmiths or witch finders.' (L)

Other respondents equally linked their analysis to the diffusion of cash-crop farming and the plough, but tended to go further back in time trying to untangle the main causes for the spreading of plough agriculture. Some of these farmers emphasized the impact of colonial rule and the rise of the cash economy. According to some, the British, by imposing taxes and school fees, had forced people to become involved in the cash economy: to seek wage-employment in the urban areas or to cultivate crops for sale. Others spoke less of external coercion but maintained that the main factor responsible for the growing involvement of the local population in the cash economy was the wish of an increasing number of people to purchase consumer products to become 'modern' and wealthy. They argued that it was this desire which made many farmers decide to migrate to the Copperbelt, to take up cash-crop farming and to adopt the plough. Arguing along the same lines as Long, some of them stated that it had been returning migrants who had made up the first group of well-to-do in the area. By investing their urban savings in peasant farms and stores they expected to continue leading a semi-urban way of life.

A number of farmers pointed out that the disappearance of the villages and the establishment of farms had equally contributed to the process of economic differentiation. Living on their own farm, people had more opportunity to carry out their own projects and to accumulate wealth without having to share it with matrikin and other villagers.

Many respondents linked economic differentiation to the emergence of an ethic which tended to emphasize individual achievement and increases in farm production. This ethic is often held responsible for the fact that nowadays many farmers are reluctant to share with others or to assist their relatives, friends and neighbours. Such an attitude is often defended by pointing out that assisting others may have an opportunity cost and therefore hamper the development of one's own commercial undertakings.

A few farmers believed that the provision of agricultural credit had accelerated the differentiation process, especially as many farmers were reluctant to take up loans, while others, women and Jehovah's Witnesses in particular, until recent years had difficulty getting their applications approved.

One respondent, Derrick Chisenga, arrived at what I think is a correct conclusion when he said that formal education had probably played an important role in starting the differentiation process, since farmers who had attended primary and secondary school were better able to budget and to draw up long-term plans and programmes. Derrick Chisenga backed up his theory by explaining that not only he himself, but also many other young and successful farmers were fairly well educated.

'Power', sorcery and the 'bags race'

A conviction I encountered among many farmers in Nchimishi was that in principle every man and woman who had the 'power' could become a successful farmer who owned oxen and produced crops for the market. Since it was still possible for young farmers to acquire large enough tracts of uncultivated land, all a farmer needs, it was argued, is knowledge and 'power': that is the will to work hard, the perseverance, initiative and physical ability. The pattern of economic differentiation was thus often explained as resulting from the fact that some worked, or were able to work, harder than others. The accounts of Blaison Makofi and of Peter Sibangani, a school teacher at the Nchimishi primary school and a non-Lala, are illustrative of this line of reasoning. Blaison Makofi:

'It's possible for everybody, even the son of a poor farmer, to become a big farmer. Hard work is very important, but knowledge and experience also count. Knowledge you get from other people, from your parents for example. Experience you get from the work itself. But the difficulty is finding money to buy fertilizer. Taking a loan is risky. Suppose you get a fertilizer loan and the rains are poor! So it's difficult to start a farm without any support from parents, but it's possible, and many start with no capital. It just depends on the way you think. If you make a good plan and think well, you can start with a hoe, making *inkule* for beans and sunflower, or Irish potatoes. You do not need money to cultivate these crops.' (L)

Peter Sibangani:

'The differences you find here are the result of different attitudes of people. You see, some people are hard working and because of their hard work they have bigger fields and more cattle. That's why their standard of living is higher. They have more property. They have the desire to work in order to improve their standard of living. Others have a kind of negative attitude towards life. They do not have the desire to work hard, they are lazy. That's why they remain in poverty. Some of these poor persons develop ill feelings towards the ones who work hard and who are successful. Such a person starts thinking that others have become rich because of magic. *Ukungula*, getting the maize of others. I can see some classes developing here. Some are very well off now, people like Kalunga and Kash. They can be placed in one group. Then there are people who work hard to catch up with those ahead of them. Then there are those who are lazy. So I can see an upper class and a lower class developing, because some have the desire to work and some don't. And there is a middle class of those who are trying. Some of them are young farmers, they begin in a humble way with a few bags and move up to 20, 30, 80, 100 bags and so on.' (E)

Many farmers argued that, besides such qualities as being a hard worker and having knowledge and perseverance, the differences between farms and farmers were also caused by the skills individual farmers possessed or lacked: the skill to design long-term farm plans; to budget; to secure the oxen and services of other farmers; to recruit labour; to obtain a loan; or the skill to establish 'contacts' with officials within the party and government bureaucracy. Many farmers acknowledged, however, that a number of other factors also accounted for the existing pattern of economic differentiation. Differences in farm production and wealth were also attributed to the fact that, though

land was still in relative abundance, many young farmers were unwilling to move to less densely populated areas and were therefore destined to remain small farmers (see also Chapter 5). Most respondents recognized that factors such as farm or household composition and farm-family life-cycle often had important repercussions for agricultural production. Some people, because of age or ill health, simply lacked the 'power' to develop their farms and to become or remain big farmers, especially if they were unable to fall back upon the assistance of children, parents or relatives. Women, and especially young women with young children, were said to face particular problems when trying to develop their farms, since in many cases they had less time to spend on farm work (see also Chapters 8-11).

Like Blaison Makofi, most other respondents stated that assistance provided by parents or relatives could give a young farmer who was just starting out an important edge over colleagues who had to generate their own capital and hire the oxen and ploughs of other farmers. Inheriting property, money or cattle was also considered to be one of the important factors accounting for the present pattern of economic differentiation in Nchimishi.

In Chapters 13 and 14, in which I discuss the doctrine and ethic of the Jehovah's Witnesses in relation to farm management practices, I show that religion also can be seen as an important factor helping to explain certain farm management practices as well as economic differentiation.

Although I am hesitant to make a clear-cut division, I found that younger people and successful farmers, in particular, tended to explain the economic differentiation among farmers as resulting from the qualities and actions of individuals. Poorer farmers on the other hand, and especially those belonging to the older generation, were often less convinced that their own actions could alter the course of events. These farmers often considered economic differentiation to be an unjust phenomenon and tended to describe success or failure in farming as being determined by factors lying outside the control of the individual, such as fate, chance, or sorcery.

Differentiation, whether in agricultural production or wealth, has been a phenomenon which many inhabitants of Nchimishi find difficult to accept. Some respondents rationalized this by pointing out that differentiation is a relatively recent phenomenon which had been more or less absent in pre-colonial times. Others disagreed with this point of view arguing that, in the past also, chiefs, village headmen and persons possessing special skills had been more wealthy and had occupied a higher social status than others in the community. Notwithstanding this difference of opinion, most respondents agreed that the opportunities which had been created by the introduction of the plough and hybrid maize, as well the process of rapid economic differentiation which had followed the diffusion of the plough, had resulted in an atmosphere of jealousy and resentment among farmers. This envy, it was argued, tended to provoke different kinds of reactions. According to many respondents, some farmers tend to respond in a negative way to their own feelings of jealousy. These farmers are unable to cope with economic and social inequality and, prompted by their feelings, they attempt to bring successful farmers, their relatives, friends or neighbours 'back in line', by either discouraging them, stealing some of their property, destroying their fields,

practising sorcery, or accusing them of sorcery. It was often argued that farmers used sorcery and accusation to enforce conformity to what we might call an ideology of equality. Some respondents explained this attitude by referring to what one could describe as a kind of 'image of the limited good' (Foster 1965). The following quotations express how many inhabitants of Nchimishi made a connection between cash-crop farming, the concept of jealousy they shared and the actions of individuals. Edwin Chaiwila (about 65 years of age):

'Many people are jealous. They don't want anybody to advance. They want everybody to remain at the same level as themselves. When you progress they start hating you. In the past, the wealth of a person did not depend on money but on knowledge, but now it depends on farming. That's why sorcery is increasing, because people get jealous. Some also believe that when someone produces a lot of beans this means automatically that fewer beans will remain for others. Then they try to engage in *ukungula*: transferring your crops to their own fields with magic.' (L)

According to Agnes Musonda Kalaka, a successful female farmer:

'Some follow the words of Satan. If someone is progressive they try to bring this person down. Some are jealous like Cain in the Bible. Cain killed Abel because he was jealous. Those who are behind you in farming accuse you of sorcery or say you are showing off. That's why they want to kill you. People here do not like anybody, especially their matrikin, to be ahead of them. But if you fear sorcery you will always remain behind. Our Ward Chairman, Mr. Chunga, said to us one time: "You people here are not progressive because you fear that if you become a big farmer like me, others will bewitch you." Jealousy suits the Lala custom, if you work very hard sorcery comes up. But we should not fear it' (see also Chapter 8). (L)

Peter Sibangani:

'Some people will congratulate you and encourage you. They think: "Ah, that person produced 100 bags, I must catch up with him." But others think: "That person, why can't he die?" They buy and use magic to bring him down, to make sure that maize disappears from his field. Old habits die slowly. We believe in witchcraft here. I believe in *ukungula*, that a person can make the crop from your field go to his own field. Magic exists, but the point is that more and more people, a majority, do not let witchcraft interfere in their plans any more. They learn scientific methods of farming and in the future those old beliefs will die. Now many do not believe that everything is caused by *ukungula* and say: "No, he produced more bags per acre because he managed his crop very well".

- Do people nowadays have less difficulty accepting differences in wealth?

Ah, you are trying to drag me into a discussion on capitalism and socialism?

- Not really, no.

No, let me talk. Even in the old African society there were what I would call capitalists. People with cattle. But the thing is, when they slaughtered a cow they had to share with others. No matter whether people were poor or rich, there was more equality as far as consumption was concerned. When someone who had more millet than others brewed beer, all drank. But people are somewhat more ready to accept differences in wealth these days and they have stopped sharing. People are jealous of each other, but many accept that what others have is a result of their hard work. People who cannot accept differences are the ones who practise witchcraft. But differences are inevitable these days. People cannot be the same economically and socially, that's why you find many different groups here. But some cannot get rid of this Lala thinking. If someone progresses they become jealous and want to bring him back in line. They don't know that through competition, that's how you can develop. They don't know that other countries have developed through competition.' (E)

Although witchcraft and accusation do not, as Sibangani has already suggested, seem to have an effect upon the economic ambitions, plans and strategies of many farmers, I found that in a few cases these phenomena did indeed influence the behaviour of farmers and acted as a kind of levelling mechanism. A number of respondents also made similar observations. Kaulenti Chisenga:

'Some people are afraid to expand their farms because of witchcraft. Because they are afraid that if they work hard, others, their relatives, will destroy their fields or bewitch them. That they will try to bring them down, down to their own level. Some people do not expand because they fear they will be accused of engaging in *ukungula* themselves. But the spirit of competition will win. Most people now do not change their plans because of the fear of witchcraft. They just continue to develop their own farm'. (E)

According to Kalunga Ackson, the second largest farmer in the area:

'There are different things which can prevent a farmer from expanding his farm. For example not finding enough workers, making a poor budget, difficulties in getting fertilizer, not having enough land, not being a hard worker. Some farmers are happy with what they produce. Others cannot find the time to work at their farms because they listen to their friends and follow them to beer parties. They lack a sense of determination. Some fear that if they improve their farm every year, people will start thinking differently of them. In my case, for instance, there are people who accuse me of witchcraft. They say that I have become a commercial farmer because I steal crops. My mother and Mangala (Kalunga's maternal grandmother, H.S.) really fear this witchcraft. They have asked me to reduce my fields because they fear that people like Zebon (Mangala's brother, H.S.) may kill us. But we differ in ideas. People like my mother were born as farmers and they fear risk taking, but I am a commercial farmer and I have to take risks. If I listen to their advice, ah. Witchcraft exists, but I cannot take it into consideration.' (E/L)

Notwithstanding that jealousy was generally considered to be a negative quality since it tended to bring out the worst in a person, many acknowledged that jealousy could also trigger more positive responses. Most farmers in Nchimishi who cultivated hybrid maize increased their maize operations each year not only to keep up with inflation and to maintain their purchasing-power, but also to participate in what has become a kind of local competition between friends, relatives and neighbours. Many farmers stressed the importance of keeping a watching brief on the strategies and successes of other farmers. This leads to what some farmers described as 'the bags race', whereby each farmer attempts to catch up with, or stay ahead of, those whom s/he regards as her or his competitors or significant others. It struck me that each farmer knew the production figures of a large number of other cultivators in the area. As can be concluded from earlier remarks made by Peter Sibangani, competitiveness is seen by many as a positive effect of jealousy since it not only tends to motivate farmers to work harder and increase their output, but also contributes to the development and prestige of the area as a whole. Again, I present a few quotations in order to show how farmers in Nchimishi discussed and evaluated issues like farming and competition in relation to concepts like 'jealousy' and the 'bags race'. Kashulwe Kayumba, (see also Chapter 6):

'I have heard that at beer parties they talk about me. Some can gossip saying bad things like:

"Kashulwe is doing well, he is competing with everybody. If we let him, he is going to be the leader and boast about himself, so it's better for us to kill him". But those people are still in the Lala custom, talking about the past. But wise men, civilized men, talk about the future, about farming. Instead of trying to bring someone down they feel encouraged if someone is doing well. I can say the best method, not a Lala custom, is to exchange knowledge with your friends. For example, farming, you can be competing with them. When everybody wants to win, then you have a competition. Who is going to win? Competing with others, that's how you can develop your farm." (E)

Blaison Makofi:

'Everyone wants to be in front and wants to become a good farmer. It is a kind of competition. People copy each other because they like to catch up or beat others. It is a bags race. Farmers produce more maize every year because we are now at a stage where everybody wants to be progressive. In the past, people were happy with two pairs of trousers, one for work and one for Sunday. But now people feel they cannot do without a lot of clothes. This forces you to work, you do not want to remain behind. If new things are introduced, you are forced to adopt them to keep up in this race. Everybody wants to progress, nobody wants to remain behind.' (L)

According to Frank Mumbulu, a young farmer:

'A lot of people fail to prosper, to develop. You find a farmer, each year he has a plan which includes buying clothes, blankets etc. So he gets K1,500. But instead of re-investing that money in farming he starts buying shoes, shirts and other things, just to look presentable in society. He forgets about farming. That's why a lot of farmers fail to prosper, they admire society life. They are jealous, they think: "Ah, my friend has got a suit, I cannot do without a suit." But that character is forgetting that living is up to each one of us. Why admire other people? It's pointless to admire characters like Kalunga. You tend to forget that he is a hard-working farmer, if you see him putting on a suit. Instead of working hard to earn something in the future, you just think of going into competition with someone who is rich. You also think of buying a suit, forgetting that Kalunga has got a lot of money. K700 cannot be a problem to him since he earns thousands of Kwacha. But what about you with your K1,500, ah! Competition that's why a lot have proved to be failures in farming!

- What about competition in farming?

Ah, but that's a different kind of competition, that's not consumption. Competition in farming is good, that's how you can develop. It's better to admire someone's *chitewa* (maize stack, H.S.) full of maize instead of his suit.' (E)

Frank Mumbulu's remarks show that competition between farmers is not limited to agricultural production alone, but to some extent also includes the sphere of consumption. Notwithstanding the fact that ownership of consumer goods certainly contributed to a person's economic and social status within groups of friends or relatives and within the community as a whole, the display of material goods to the outside world was generally considered as boastful behaviour.

I would not assert, however, that farmers in Nchimishi resemble Weber's ideal type of the capitalist entrepreneur (Weber 1989). With the exception of most Jehovah's Witnesses, farmers usually had no scruples about the conscious enjoyment of wealth, and they did not tend to feel embarrassed by the outward signs of social recognition they received (Weber 1989: 70-1). Nevertheless, many respondents indicated that being recognized by others as successful, as a 'powerful' individual, was determined only to a limited extent by the ownership of consumer goods. As pointed out earlier, a person's

success in farming, measured in terms of the number of bags of maize produced or cattle owned, was a more important indicator of success, of economic as well as social status, than the quantity or quality of consumer items owned. There was general disapproval of indulgence in forms of conspicuous consumption, and it was usually considered a virtue if a person, despite his or her economic success, remained humble and responsible, and tried to be economical and re-invest capital in the farming enterprise or in other productive and income-generating activities; activities which enabled the individual to provide for a secure future for him or herself and his or her children. Some respondents maintained that ownership of cattle and consumer items could not be regarded as indicators of a person's 'power' and success since these were sometimes obtained through inheritance and, therefore, did not represent the 'power' of the present owner but that of a deceased relative or parent. Other farmers with whom I discussed these issues did not agree with my analysis, arguing that the preoccupation of most farmers with the number of bags they and others produced was not due to the fact that people ascribed more value to production than to consumption and competition, but was simply attributable to the fact that because consumer goods and especially imported ones had disappeared from the shops, had become scarce or too expensive for the majority of the population, farm production had remained as the only important standard of success and status.

Besides factors such as sorcery, the fear of sorcery, or sorcery accusations, I found several other factors which acted as a kind of check upon unlimited economic differentiation.⁵ As explained in Chapter 6, farmers face a number of problems when trying to expand their farming enterprise beyond the 'one ox-span' level, since this often implies becoming dependent upon hired labour. The emergence of a limited number of commercial farmers may be attributed to two factors: the wish of most ox farmers to remain independent, and the desire of most young men and women to establish their own farms rather than become permanent workers. The reluctance among most farmers to take up medium-term loans has also certainly acted as a barrier to economic growth and differentiation. Kashulwe Kayumba's friend, Musonda Chunga, once explained to me that after he had established himself as a successful commercial farmer, many of his close matrikin, as well as some of his wife's, had decided to settle at his farm in Kofi Kunda. Although Chunga attempted to make all farm residents financially independent by encouraging and helping them to cultivate their own cash crops, he admitted that having to feed approximately 40 persons (adults and children) placed a considerable drain on his financial resources and as a result slackened the further expansion of his enterprise.⁶ Other commercially-oriented farmers in the area also stated that they had been approached by their matrikin or matrikin of their wives with the request to settle at their farms. Like Musonda Chunga, these farmers felt that a large number of resident kinsmen was probably not an asset but rather a drain on available resources (see also Long 1968: 72-9), particularly since matrilineal relatives were said to poke their nose into everything. It would be taking things a bit too far, however, to say that the settling of kinsmen of either husband or wife can be seen as a factor placing a check upon economic differentiation, because, contrary to Musonda Chunga, other commercially-oriented farmers skilfully managed to discourage relatives from settling on their farms.

Education, inheritance and differentiation

I now return to the questions posed at the outset of this chapter: whether Nchimishi has witnessed the rise of a class of successful farmers which controls the access to productive resources and which is able to reproduce itself; and, secondly, whether the success of these farmers is a direct result of their exploitation of other less successful farmers.

As explained in earlier chapters, land along the road to Chibale has become scarce in the last decades, and there was certainly an awareness amongst farmers that land is also likely to become a scarce resource in the not-too-distant future in the less densely populated areas of Chibale Chiefdom. At the time of the restudy, however, young farmers and returning migrants were still managing to gain access to land, and many realized that as long as land was still available no one needed to become dependent upon others and no one was forced to work for others on a permanent basis.

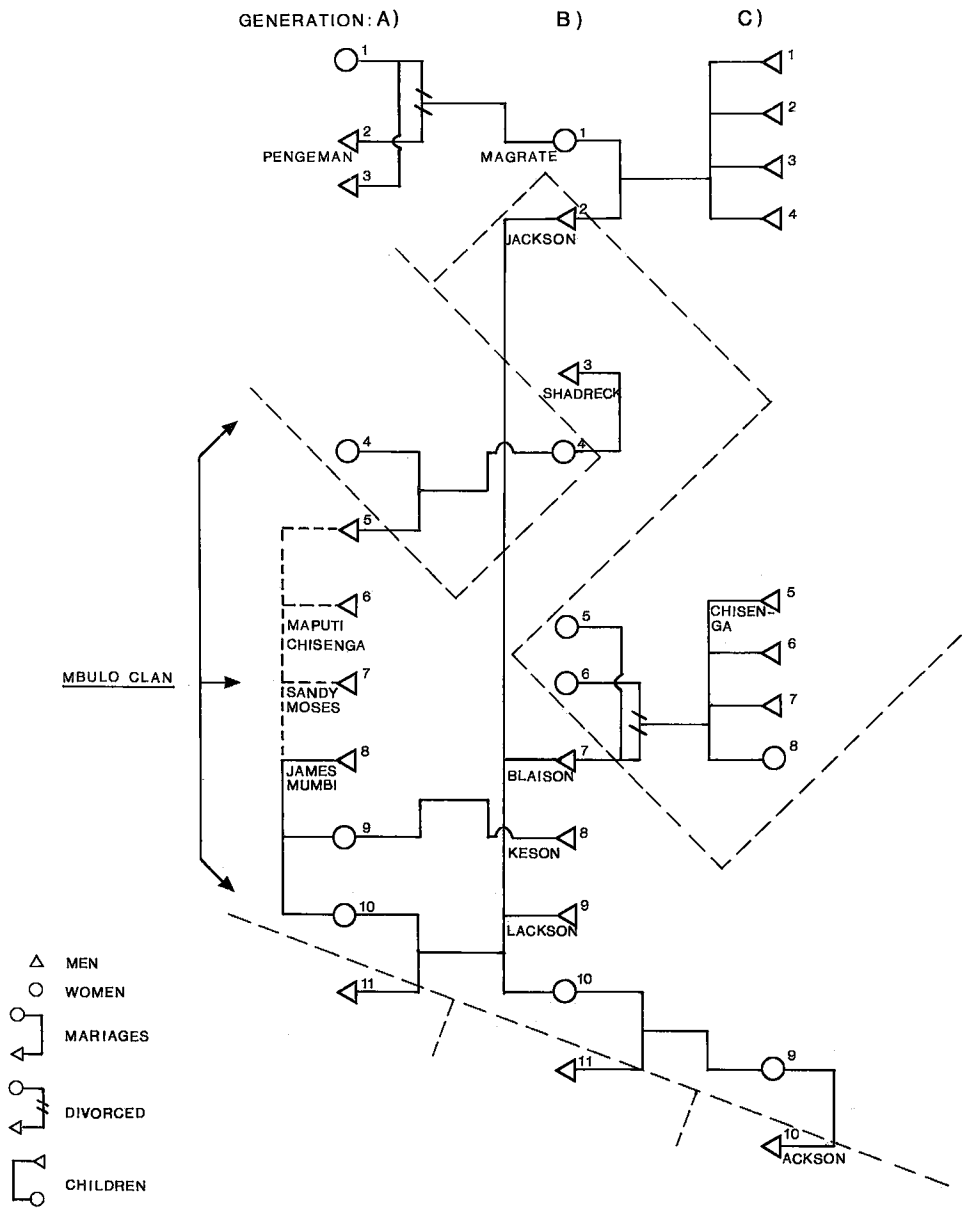
Although there was no sign of the emergence of a permanent labour force, there were some indications that a large category of relatively well-to-do commercially-oriented farmers is emerging. This category includes households which may own cattle, often use ox/plough technology to prepare their fields and which produce more than 10 bags of hybrid maize for sale. It excludes the subsistence and small-scale producers and households.

By presenting a short case study I show that certain factors - such as education of children by parents, the access children have to the assets of parents, and changing practices with respect to the inheritance of property - allow for the reproduction of this category which in 1988 comprised roughly 63 % of all households in Nchimishi.

The Blaison Makofi case

The establishment and further development of Blaison Makofi's farm is described in detail by Norman Long (Long 1968: 67-72, Long uses the pseudonym Daiman). Long shows how Blaison, who returned from the Copperbelt in 1955 at the age of 26, within a few years managed to become one of the most successful young farmers in Nchimishi. Blaison (B7; see Genealogy 7.1), who had returned from town with little in the way of savings, owed his success, according to Long, largely to his having ready command over basic resources. In 1959, his mother's brother, James Mumbi (A8), was killed in a car crash and Blaison, who had a strong argument in favour of his receiving some share of his maternal uncle's property since he at one time had worked as Mumbi's herdsboy, was able to secure six of the cattle, a plough, an ox cart and a hand grinding machine. Towards the late 1950's, Blaison and his brother, Jackson Makofi (B2), who had been a farmer at the Mulembo peasant farming scheme and had recently paid off his agricultural loan, decided to join forces. They agreed to establish adjacent farms and

Genealogy 7.1 Blaison Makofi farm



to assist each other with various farming tasks. In 1962, Blaison and Jackson jointly financed the opening of a small store along Chibale road not far from the Mulembo scheme. They gave their younger brother Lackson (B9) the job of managing the store. Blaison, when responding to Long's description of their joint enterprise, pointed out that in later years tensions arose between the two brothers. At a given point, Jackson demanded that Blaison pay for the goods he took from the store for home consumption. Blaison, however, felt that he, being a co-owner, should have the same privileges as his older brother. After Blaison established his own store around 1965 relations between the two brothers improved and in 1966 they even purchased a small truck together. In 1968 the truck was sold and in 1970 replaced by a Landrover. In 1974 Jackson, without consulting his younger brother who had invested more money in both vehicles, sold the Landrover for K600. Instead of giving Blaison his share of the deal, Jackson kept the money for himself. The same year Jackson and his brother-in-law purchased a second-hand Ford truck for K1,000, using all the money he had received for the Landrover. Although Blaison was sometimes allowed to use the Ford to order and collect new supplies from the Copperbelt for his own store, Jackson, to the annoyance of his younger brother, acted as if he were the only owner. The truck broke down in 1975. That year, tensions between the brothers mounted to a new climax when their herds, which were kept together in one kraal, broke through the fence on several occasions and started grazing in their respective maize fields. Since they did not have sufficient money to buy enough barbed wire to repair the fence, Blaison decided to harvest his maize early in order to prevent further damage. A few weeks later, the animals broke through the fence once more and ravaged Jackson's field. Jackson was furious, and, when his younger brother left for a short trip to Chibale, he decided to slaughter one of Blaison's cows in order to get some compensation for the damage. Jackson intended to exchange the meat against un-shelled maize, but when neighbours and their matrikin heard about his motives for slaughtering the cow they, according to Blaison, laughed at him and refused to buy the meat. He then decided to give the meat to some of his relatives and asked his son to deliver the head and one leg to Blaison's house. Blaison Makofi:

'When I came back from Chibale I found a lot of meat in the house. My wife started explaining what had happened. I got very annoyed and I asked my son to return the meat. That evening I went to see Jackson to discuss the matter. I told him that both our animals had destroyed his fields and that they had destroyed my crop too, just because we had not repaired the old kraal. The next week we went to the Kingdom Hall together (Blaison and Jackson were both members of the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses, H.S.). After the service I organized some of the old people who had cattle, to ask them for advice on this matter. People like Zebron Bulwani, Gibson Mutende and Mushili Luanfya. I explained the situation and told them that the cow Jackson had killed was pregnant. The old people advised us to make separate kraals. At that meeting everyone spoke his word and Jackson said: "If we decide to make separate kraals, Blaison may as well leave the farm, it's my farm." In those days I accepted what my older brother said, and since I had a farm licence I decided to relocate.' (L)

In 1975, Blaison Makofi established his own farm. Apart from Blaison himself, his second wife ((B5), his father (A11) and the children from his first marriage (C5-8), the new farm was composed of his younger brother Lackson (B9), the daughter of Blaison's

sister (C9) and her husband Ackson (C10), Jackson's mother-in-law (A1) and her husband Pengeman (A2), and Blaison's friend and distant relative Shadreck (B3), who was married to a daughter of one of Blaison's classificatory maternal uncles. All these persons had decided to leave Jackson's farm and follow Blaison. According to Blaison, the farm residents who did not belong to his conjugal family were not a drain on the resources of the farm in the beginning, especially since they were able to help him with the ploughing, after which they were allowed to use Blaison's two pairs of oxen in their own fields. After some time, Blaison gradually came to realize that it had been a mistake to allow so many people to live on the farm. He became convinced that relatives and brothers were not to be trusted and that it was better to follow the words of the Bible and live and work with wife and children only. Relatives and even brothers, he argued, were often nowhere to be found when work had to be done but were always the first to show up and to start quarrelling when there was something to be shared (for similar cases, see Long 1968: 39-79). To sustain his point of view Blaison explained to me that, after he had become the treasurer of the Farmers' Tobacco Association, he had approached Keson (B8), the son of his mother's younger sister, to manage the store. However, the moment Keson became responsible for the running the store, it began to make a considerable loss, partly because Keson used to take goods home without paying for them. Blaison also pointed out that there had always been confusion over ownership of property when he was working with Jackson and, later, with his younger brother, Lackson, and some of his other matrikin - a confusion he never experienced when working with his wife and children only. During discussions on Long's analysis (passages read to Blaison Makofi: Long 1968: 67-72, 74-9) of the advantages and disadvantages of working and living with either one's matrilineal kinsmen or one's children, Blaison Makofi made the following remarks:

'It is good to live on the farm with your wife and children only. What Norman wrote is true. If your matrikin are with you, you always end up with a loss. At times they may help you, but most of the time you lose. If you live with your matrikin, the work sometimes becomes easy, but the problems come when it is time for sharing. Then you lose because relatives always want a bigger share. If you hire others you know in advance what that is going to cost you. But in the past people depended upon their relatives. But today children are important, people work with their children and it is better to work with your children, because whatever you intend to buy no one is going to prevent you. Children are not like relatives, wanting their share all the time. Your relatives are always against you. Like I explained to you the other time, in the past if someone bought something like a bicycle his relatives said: "Look, we bought a bicycle." But nowadays if you buy a bicycle your children will say to each other: "Look, our father has bought himself a bicycle, it will be ours in the future".

- What about cattle, does the same thing apply?

Cattle are different from a bicycle. A bicycle is not capital since it will always remain one. Cattle are capital because numbers can increase and because you can use oxen for ploughing. But even when you buy a cow nowadays your relatives can't say any more that they bought a cow.' (L)

The first persons Blaison asked to leave the farm were Ackson and his wife, because they kept on complaining to Blaison that the latter's oxen had grazed in their fields. The others followed in later years and, by the time of the restudy, the farm was composed of Blaison's fourth wife whom he had married in 1982 and his father. Two sons of his

first marriage were now living at nearby farms. One son (C5) lived at the farm of his mother, Bana Chisenga (B6), whom Blaison had divorced in 1965 after a marriage which had lasted for 10 years. Even after their divorce, however, Blaison and Bana Chisenga kept in touch. Although the children remained with their father, Blaison and the children frequently visited Bana Chisenga and assisted her with farm work. Bana Chisenga was considered by others to be a good female farmer, but according to Blaison her success was mainly due to the assistance she received from the son who was living with her. Blaison claimed that at the time of their divorce Bana Chisenga had not been completely 'normal', and he was convinced that his children would have suffered if he had acted according to custom and left them with their mother. Blaison Makofi has always felt responsible for the provision of a good and secure future for all his children. When they were still living at the farm he allowed them to use his oxen and implements. Blaison had helped them to 'build a foundation' by providing them with some initial capital which had enabled them to purchase fertilizer and to hire labour for uprooting new fields. He also spent a lot of time teaching them how to cultivate different cash crops, how to plough and to train oxen. According to Blaison, knowledge and a mentality of hard work were some of the most important qualities parents could convey to their children. At the time of the restudy, his sons and daughter from his first marriage, who were in their thirties, had all become successful farmers who produced maize for sale and owned cattle. With his son Chisenga (C5), who lived at his mother's farm, Blaison established a flourishing enterprise. In 1988 they jointly purchased a second-hand grinding mill in Serenje. Chisenga provided the major share of the K12,000 they needed for this investment. He had been able to raise this cash by selling cattle and producing over a hundred bags of hybrid maize for a number of years (in October 1987 Chisenga sold around 130 bags, and 150 bags in 1988). Blaison and Chisenga had several reasons for installing the mill at Chisenga's mother's farm instead of at Blaison's own farm, one of them being that Bana Chisenga's farm was located near Mulembo bridge along Chibale road, which made it more accessible for customers and easier to obtain fuel. The proceeds of the mill were kept by Blaison who, when visiting Serenje, deposited the money in his son's bank account. Father and son decided together over matters concerning new investments and the running of the business. During a conversation which took place in November 1988, Blaison made the following remarks regarding their joint enterprise and their reason for operating the mill at Bana Chisenga's farm:

'In the case of the grinding mill, my wife has no part in it. It belongs to me and my son. We each raised money to buy it. My son runs the grinding mill. He got his capital from selling maize. He used to bring me the money to keep it for him. When there was sufficient money, I told him it would be a good idea to buy a grinding mill. So when we found one for sale in Serenje, we decided to buy it. After grinding for some time, I told him it would be good to buy a car. Some years ago I sent my son to the driving school so he has a driving licence. We bought an old Toyota for K10,000. Later my son came to see me and asked whether we should buy a second grinding mill in Ndola for K30,000. But then we found out that someone was selling a Landrover, so we decided to sell the Toyota because it was not very powerful. We sold it for K17,000 and bought the Landrover (for K23,000, H.S). We used money we earned from the grinding mill to make up the difference. The profit from the mill belongs to both of us, but because we fear my relatives we put the money into

my son's bank account.

- But many people think the grinding mill and the car are owned by Bana Chisenga?

That's true and it's a good thing. That's going to confuse my relatives and will prevent them from interfering with our business. If it's too obvious that I am working with my son, relatives like my younger brother, Lackson (B9, H.S.), will say to my son: "You received everything from our brother. In the future we will come for that property". That's also why the mill is not here at this farm.' (L)

Analysis

On several occasions, Blaison Makofi explained that his sons and daughter, like the sons and daughters of other successful and wealthy farmers, started life in a much stronger position than children born into poorer households. Blaison, in my view, got to the heart of the matter when he said that these commercially-oriented farmers of the second generation were placed in an advantageous and privileged position because they have had the opportunity to learn from their parents, for instance, how to put into practice modern farming methods, how to plan, how to handle and generate capital, and how to make budgets. Furthermore, these sons and daughters have an edge over other young farmers since they are in the position to use the implements, oxen and fields of their parents and sometimes even have access to their parents' capital. As some farmers explained, these young farmers are able to build the 'foundation' for their own enterprise by making use of the 'power' of their parents as it is embodied in their animals, implements and fields. Blaison Makofi and other farmers also stressed that children of successful farmers stood a better chance of becoming good farmers themselves because their hard-working parents were most likely to stimulate their children, show them good example, and instil the right mentality. When discussing the starting position of young farmers, one older farmer, Kash Chipilingu, and two farmers of the younger generation, Kaulenti Chisenga and Kalunga Ackson, made the following observations on different occasions. Kash Chipilingu:

'The son of a successful farmer has a better chance of becoming a successful farmer too. In the past, the son of a hunter also became a hunter because of the good example and the teaching he received from his father. The same goes for farming; getting good example is important. My children, for example, copy their father's methods and plans.' (L)

Kaulenti Chisenga:

'Some parents are poor, and they do not know much about farming. They cannot teach their children, they are not a good example and they cannot assist them with oxen. Many people think Kalunga Ackson is rich because his mother is rich. When he came back from school he found oxen and a plough already in his family. His family is educated and rich. All his brothers and sisters work for companies and some even live in other countries. Their father, Ackson Chunga, was rich, he was a store owner and one of the first people to start farming. So his children found money a long time ago. Anybody is in the position to take up farming, but it is more difficult to become a good farmer for someone who has not learned from the parents how to work. Many are like me, they have to build their own foundation, they start with nothing.' (E)



Plate 7.1 Stronger ties between fathers and sons

Kalunga Ackson:

'It also depends on the environment and whether there is a tradition of hard work at a particular farm. Someone will be more motivated to work hard if he sees that others with whom he lives are working hard. That's why some sons-in-law start working hard when they marry into a hard working family.'
(E/L)

Blaison Makofi, and most other farmers with whom I discussed these issues, stressed that the agricultural and economic cooperation between husband, wife and children, the material foundation of the children's farming enterprises, and thus eventually their success in farming, have to be considered in relation to the customary matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance. However, this cooperation within the conjugal family must also be considered in relation to the changes which have taken place in the last decades in the thinking, the values and the norms regarding inheritance and the relations a person has with his or her relatives and children - changes which find expression in current practices and strategies related to the inheritance of property. It was frequently argued by various respondents that the starting position of children is considerably strengthened if a father manages to place his children in control of part of his assets. During his lifetime, a man can transfer some of his cattle and farming implements, but the position of children is also strengthened if a father is able to give them the assurance that they will inherit a major share of the remaining property when he dies. I agree with those respondents who maintained that the gradual development of a large category (some even spoke of 'classes') of prosperous farmers, a category able to reproduce itself, was and is largely due to changes in practices related to inheritance. Most respondents felt it unlikely that such a category could develop under the traditional system of inheritance, under which all property is divided among a man's relatives, particularly among his brothers and the children of his sisters. According to these respondents, the 1980's are characterized by a large and increasing number of cases where both matrikin and children were considered to be rightful heirs and ended up receiving a share of the inheritance.⁷ However, if one wishes to understand the development of a large group of well-to-do farmers, many respondents argued, inheritance should not be seen in isolation, since a combination of factors accounts for the fact that a certain correlation indeed exists between the size and output of parents' farms and those of their children (see Table 7.2).

Although many children succeed in seizing part of their father's estate, either through inheritance or what Long calls 'anticipatory inheritance' (Long 1968: 122-3), children's success in farming can also often be explained by the fact that they are stimulated by their parents and are able to use their parents' animals and implements. Long shows that the establishment of a separate farm by a son in the early 1960's had to be seen in terms of the father wishing to ensure that his sons received a handsome share of the property before he died, rather than as merely an attempt by the son to become independent (Long 1968: 122). Blaison Makofi's remarks with regard to the enterprise he established with his son are illustrative of the same trend in the 1980's.

It can, of course, also be in the interests of the father to ensure that his sons and

daughters are able to set themselves up as successful farmers. In most cases, it is his children who will carry the burden of taking care of him when he is old. Moreover, a man's children are likely to feel more inclined to assist their father in building up his enterprise if they have obtained the assurance that in due time they will reap the benefits of their assistance. The following account is illustrative of the various strategies Blaison and other farmers developed and used to give their children access to their property, hoping to avoid the bitterness between children and relatives that might arise on their death:

Table 7.2: Production of hybrid maize for sale: parents and their children (percentages in brackets)

CHILD PARENTS	DID NOT PRODUCE HYBRID MAIZE FOR SALE IN 1988	PRODUCED HYBRID MAIZE FOR SALE IN 1988	
DID NOT PRODUCE HYBRID MAIZE FOR SALE IN 1988	17 (51.5) (58.6) (18.9)	16 (49.5) (26.2) (17.8)	33 (100.0) (36.7)
PRODUCED HYBRID MAIZE FOR SALE IN 1988	12 (21.1) (41.4) (13.3)	45 (78.9) (73.8) (50.0)	57 (100.0) (63.3)
	29 (32.2) (100)	61 (67.8) (100)	90 (100.0) (100)

CHI-SQUARE:
PEARSON

VALUE:
8.88045

DF:
1

SIGNIFICANCE:
.00288

'Yes, according to the Lala custom property remains within the clan, it goes to the relatives. But as I told you before, I have already divided my property among my children and relatives. So when I die no conflicts will arise. It is advisable to make provisions, to divide before you die, so that the relatives won't grab everything. My children, my sons and my daughter, I have given them 14 head of cattle and my relatives will receive 23. Even Jackson came here to talk about my decision. He told me both our herds were started by our relatives, but since we have worked with our children for many years they should inherit as well. That's why my sons will also receive some of my implements.

- But why will your matrikin receive the biggest share of your wealth?

Because Maputi Chisenga (A6, H.S.) and James Mumbi (A8, H.S.) started this herd, they are my relatives, they are from the Mbulo clan. So when I die my relatives will ask what has happened to the property of their relative, James Mumbi. When you do not consider your relatives they will come and grab everything from your children when you die. Like in the case of Sakeni Chibuye. He worked at the peasant farm block. He killed some of his animals and gave those remaining to his sons. He kept three animals for himself. Now his relatives are talking about this all the time: "Why did you only give animals to your children?" They have told Sakeni that after his death they will come and take everything from the children. I want to prevent such a situation. It's better to find some kind of compromise. By giving my relatives a big share they won't talk like that. Some came here already

so that I could indicate what they will receive. They have not complained because they know I have worked with my children. Now the number of animals I gave to my children is increasing and they keep them in their own kraals. The system is going to change but it will take a long time, because relatives who do not have their own oxen are always going to fight over cattle when their brother dies. I prefer the system whereby the children get the property, because you always work with your children. You cannot rely upon the assistance of your relatives. Children are more important than the people you were born with. In the past, men did not know the importance of children. But today children are the ones who can assist the father and who can take care of him. That's why now marriages have become more important to men.

- What about your daughter, will she inherit some of your property too?

Yes, I want to leave her at least one cow. But I want to follow the Lala custom and I will ask her to bring K60 to Jackson to say *ukulala panshi* (sleeping on the floor, H.S.).

- Can you explain that?

Ukulala panshi is a Lala custom. It means, "saying thank you". If my daughter gives that money to Jackson and if he accepts, it means that he cannot claim that animal after my death. He has accepted my daughter's thank you. If you are given something, you should say thank you to those who might claim that property. An (maternal, H.S.) uncle of mine who lived in Kasama was given a gun by Jackson many years ago. When he died I was given that gun, but I left it with the son of that man. He kept it for five years without saying *ukulala panshi* to our clan. So my young brothers went there to take the gun from him.

- What is the importance of *ukulala panshi*?

Ukulala panshi is an old custom, but it helps you to give property to your children. It's difficult for a relative to refuse *ukulala panshi*.

- But why don't you use that custom to give all your animals to your children?

That's impossible, my relatives would not consent to it.' (L)

Although most respondents asserted that the matrilineal system of inheritance was showing signs of decay, traditional norms and practices have not yet been replaced by generally accepted new norms and new well-established practices. Matters concerning the inheritance of property are therefore often the issue of long negotiations and serious and long-standing disputes and conflicts. Many farmers manage to transfer part of their assets to wife and children. Some of them, such as Blaison Makofi, attempt to evade the traditional claims made by their relatives by strategically exploiting another traditional custom: *ukulala panshi*. It always remains uncertain, however, whether the children and the wife of the deceased will inherit. Although most farmers recognized the rights of a man's offspring, it was also acknowledged that when death occurs it is always tempting to claim some of the property of a wealthy brother or uncle. Blaison Makofi also experienced this. When Jackson Makofi (B2) passed away in 1988, it was Blaison's younger brother, Lackson (B9), who claimed the considerable assets which were left by his older brother. In the end, however, Blaison, who was placed in charge of the funeral and the division of his deceased brother's estate, was able to secure a large stake for Jackson's children and wife.⁸⁾

Conclusions

In the last decades, Nchimishi has witnessed the emergence of a large category of relatively well-to-do commercially-oriented farmers: a category (and I realize it is impossible to demarcate its boundaries precisely) which has also proved able to reproduce itself to some extent, because parents belonging to the first generation of commercially-oriented farmers are usually able to provide their children with more opportunities, with a better starting position. At the same time, however, we may conclude on the basis of this and previous chapters that this category of farmers is a relatively open one and in principle accessible to subsistence cultivators and small-scale producers who practise hoe agriculture, provided they have land, 'power', and knowledge. Despite the fact that young farmers born into poorer households have a handicap in many cases, access to land and the fruits of their own labour allow them to become successful commercially-oriented farmers too. A few farmers feared, however, that in the near future, due to population growth, this situation might change gradually and that the opportunity for nearly all to become commercially-oriented farmers might cease to exist: when land became scarce and more farmers protected their rights through title deeds; when children became a man's only heirs; and when only richer farmers could and would apply for agricultural loans. According to many respondents these developments could certainly have their effects upon the future pattern of economic differentiation. One farmer, William Chimpabu, expressed this as follows:

'Now everybody can become a good farmer but in the future there will be big differences between poor and rich people. There will be a fight for land, and farmers will be putting barbed wire around their land. Some will have 40 acres but others will be squeezed, not having more than two or three acres. Then maybe some of us will have to become workers, like some people in Mkushi. Others will borrow land from big farmers.' (L)

Notes:

1. A number of farmers belonging to this 'middle class' produced no hybrid maize for sale. Their income was derived from the sale of vegetables such as Irish potatoes and runner beans.
2. The survey shows that in 1988, 26.1% of all households did not cultivate hybrid maize for sale and 9% of all households sold 10 bags or less (but at least one bag) to the local depot. Thirty-four percent of all individuals of 22 years of age or more did not sell any maize to the local depot, 9.9% sold 10 bags or less and 6.1% sold more than 100 bags.
3. The survey question was formulated as follows:
The standard of living in Masaninga has
A) fallen
B) risen
C) remained the same in the last 10 years.
Choose A, B or C.
4. One farmer, Langson Mupishi, made the following remark regarding wealth and inflation:
'Many people have a lot of money these days, but that does not automatically mean that they have become more wealthy. If you have money you have to spend it quickly, because of inflation. In the past, after working one morning, assisting another farmer, you could have earned one shilling. That was enough to buy Saladi (cooking-oil, H.S.) and meat or kapenta (a kind of fish often sold in dried form, H.S.). But now you have to work much longer to be able to buy that.' (E)
5. It should be noted that sorcery does not always act as a check on unlimited economic expansion but that, as den Ouden and Long show, it can also be used by individuals to bring prosperity to their business enterprises (Long 1968: 101; den Ouden 1989).
6. According to Musonda Chunga:
'In African society it is difficult to make a household or farm budget because this society is such that we allow everybody to stay with us. Right now so many are staying here at the farm. They don't have to write in advance, and when they arrive they can stay with us even for one or two years. So it becomes difficult to budget. Now I am looking after my sister, my mother, my uncle (mother's brother, H.S.) his wife and children, a sister of my mother, some of my wife's relatives, well something like forty people in total.
- Why did they decide to come here?
They feel attracted to this farm because of my wealth, and I would be given a hard time if I drove them away. You can't run away from your relatives, from tradition, and that's what makes my life difficult. I spend a lot of money on them, clothing, school fees, fertilizer, etc. But I try to convince them that they have to produce their share. So my sister, she produced 300 bags this year. People have to realize that they should not depend on me. I start educating them telling them that tomorrow I might not be there. They have to support themselves.' (E)
7. Farmers who took part in the survey were asked the following question regarding the inheritance of property (percentage responses given in brackets):
Nowadays, when a man dies his property goes to his:
A) Relatives (matrilineal) (24.6%)
B) Sons (15.5%)
C) Sons and daughters (15.5%)
D) Relatives (matrilineal), sons and daughters (32.9%)
E) Relatives (matrilineal) and sons (11.6%)
(Total number of respondents: 207)
8. What follows here is an accurate account, provided by Blaison Makofi (B7) and independently substantiated, of what occurred during Jackson Makofi's (B2) funeral:
'If you think in a traditional way, the relatives are going to get the property. But a modern uncle (mother's brother, H.S.) is going to refuse the property of his nephews (sister's sons, H.S.). When my brother died there was this grandfather present at the funeral who told us that property had to go to the

relatives. But others disagreed. I also refused and I told him that things had to go to the children as well. Since I was the younger brother I was the one who did the sharing at this funeral. Now, Jackson had a lot of property and many people came to witness. I gave one cow to the daughter of Jackson's first wife and nine animals were given to the children. In the future, most of the cattle will go to the children. When I die a lot of the animals I own will remain with my children. During Norman's time, things were different. When James Mumbi (A8, H.S.) died his relatives (matrikin, H.S.), people like Sandy Moses (A7) and myself, received everything. Children were not considered. There is this change now because people are learning. Most of the time we work with our children. People here have come to realize that it's very bad to grab the property of someone who has worked with his children. During Matala's (Jackson Makofi's, H.S.) funeral the only problem we had was with Lackson (B9). He said: "Blaison is not going to divide that property. When Jackson was alive he denied you. You were not important to him. There is nothing you can decide". But later I called upon my grandparents (some of Blaison's matrikin, H.S.) - those born of my grandmother (mother's mother, H.S.) - and I told them that Jackson had a lot of property, two farms, galvanized iron sheets, a gun which he had inherited from the late uncle Sandy Moses, and cattle. I also told these old people about the widow and the children and asked if they could continue living in the same house. Then the grandparents wanted to consult Lackson and hear what he had to say. But Lackson refused saying: "There is nothing Blaison can announce or decide at this funeral". He said to the grandparents: "You should not follow what Blaison has told you. When Matala was alive they did not get on well with each other and Matala told me that all his things were to remain with me, Lackson." This is what he announced at the funeral, but then I said to him: "If Jackson never wanted me to come to this funeral, why did he call me when he was sick, to talk about his property?" Jackson showed me all the records he had concerning his property. He said to me: "When I die you should give these things to my children and keep these things yourself". So I said to Lackson: "Why do you tell people I was in conflict with my brother?" I was very angry with Lackson and I even wanted to leave the funeral, but my younger sister said to me: "You are the older brother, you should not leave just because of your younger brother". Then I said to Lackson: "Jackson and I always worked together and we bought a lot of things together, galvanized iron sheets, the gun, the sewing-machine. Now you Lackson, show us the things you bought with Jackson". He said nothing. Then my grandfather, Mr. Slacki, said: "In the case of cattle, you, Blaison, should share them with the children of the deceased". But I refused and told people that if I was given a lot of cattle conflicts would not stop, conflicts between relatives and the children of the deceased. So I suggested sharing them between the relatives and the children. The children and the wife received ten animals, the rest were divided among those belonging to the *mukowa* (lineage, H.S.), the *abena Mbulo* (members of the Mbulo clan, H.S.). I took five, the same as Musonda Mange (a classificatory brother of Jackson, H.S.) who had been a herdsboy. Musonda Kasanda was given three animals, Chubeck Mulasa took two cows and Lackson received five animals. One cow was given to the wife of the late Mr. Pati (a classificatory sister of Jackson's mother, H.S.). Most of the farming implements were given to the children: a harrow, and two ploughs; also the two houses, the galvanized iron sheets and all the maize in the fields.' (L)

Without the consent of his older brother, Lackson grabbed Jackson's gun and the supplies of salt and sugar which Jackson kept for sale to neighbouring farmers. Later Blaison and others found out that Lackson had also taken Jackson's savings pass book and K5,500 which the deceased had kept in his house. Blaison Makofi:

'Lackson took the pass book but already I had collected forms in Chibale to have the name changed so that the children and the wife can get all the money at Standard Chartered Bank. So now the pass book is in the hands of the children. Jackson had K10,000 in his account. But Lackson will try to get a hold over that money. I have heard that he told his sister from Mkushi to come over with all her children and go with him to the bank where she and her children are to pretend they are Jackson's widow and children.' (L)

Chapter 8

From farmer's assistant to independent entrepreneur: Nchimishi women and their engagement in commercially-oriented farming

Introduction

The purpose of this and the next three chapters is to provide an analysis of the changes in the social and economic position of women in Nchimishi. I do this by examining several interrelated themes. First, by offering an historical account, I show how and in what respect changes have come about in the role of women in agriculture, and in the social and economic relations both between wife and husband and between parents and children. This examination cannot be undertaken, however, without considering other social relationships, such as, for instance, relations with matrilineal kin, which stretch beyond the boundary of the conjugal family. The second theme revolves around the question of how, from the late 1970's onwards, a large number of women in Nchimishi were able to engage in the cultivation and sale of cash crops. In this chapter I show how these women grasped new opportunities which presented themselves, and the strategies they developed and used to overcome various problems and constraints. Then I examine the different motives women had for establishing their own farming enterprises independently from their husbands.

I start, however, with a discussion of some of the literature which focuses on gender relations and the changing social and economic position of women. I do this, firstly, because by presenting the Nchimishi case I intend to highlight the limitations and shortcomings of some of the current approaches and, secondly, because some of the works cited were quoted and discussed during conversations with different female and male farmers.

Women, women's studies and processes of agrarian change

The marginalization of women

Over the last two decades, there has been a growth of interest in the consequences for the position of women of the shift to a kind of agriculture which makes use of high

yielding varieties of crops and chemical fertilizers, which is more mechanized and has a more permanent form in terms of location. This interest results partly from an awareness that women have often been a forgotten group in studies of autonomous agricultural changes, but partly also from the fact that women have often been neglected or even deliberately ignored by policy-makers, planners and extension services within the framework of development projects or programmes (Boserup 1970: 53-4; Rogers 1980: 89; Muntamba 1982: 41; Newsweek March 9, 1992: 24-30).

In *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, Boserup argues that the introduction of agricultural mechanization and cash crops leads to the marginalization of women (Boserup 1970). The marginalization process culminates in a situation in which men monopolize the cultivation of cash crops and control the relevant agricultural and technical knowledge and the new farming implements, while women retire to the home where they concentrate on activities of a more domestic nature and/or devote themselves to the small-scale areas where food crops are cultivated using traditional methods. According to Boserup, the transition from subsistence agriculture to a more market-oriented type marks the transition from a female farming system to a male farming system (Boserup 1970: 35; Goody 1976: 32-7). Within shifting cultivation systems in regions of tribal tenure, women occupied a central position because they carried out the majority of the tasks. Under European colonial rule, however, settlers, administrators and technical advisers showed little sympathy for female farming systems. According to Boserup they can be held responsible, to a large extent, for the deterioration in the status of women in the agricultural sectors of developing countries:

'It was they who neglected the female agricultural labour force when they helped to introduce modern commercial agriculture to the overseas world and promoted the productivity of male labour. Their European acceptance that cultivation is naturally a job for men persuaded them to believe that men could become far better farmers than women' (Boserup 1970: 53-4).

Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the men and not the women who received training and credit facilities when new agricultural methods and techniques were introduced. Boserup further argues that women have only a secondary role to play within a modern agricultural system based upon the cultivation of cash and food crops with the help of the animal-drawn plough on privately-owned land. The loss of status to which she refers in this context results from the fact that the role of women is reduced to that of family aid (Boserup 1970: 57).

In *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, Boserup explores the interesting idea that population pressure is a major cause of change in agricultural technology, land use, land tenure and settlement form (Boserup 1965). Technological change and intensification, in other words the transition from shifting cultivation to hoe agriculture and as a next step plough agriculture, is seen by Boserup as the inevitable consequence of population growth, which is exogenously given (see Chapter 5). Her approach, as I mentioned earlier, is therefore a deterministic one in the sense that it implies that the plough will always be found wherever fallow periods are short or have ceased to exist (Pryor 1985: 730-1). An assessment of both of her works leads us to conclude, therefore, that

Boserup sees a negative correlation between, on the one hand, an increasing population density and, on the other, women's social status and economic independence. When population density in a certain region reaches a certain level, the plough becomes a necessity and, whether introduced by Europeans or not, these new productive resources and techniques tend to be monopolized by men.

Woman's Role in Economic Development has had a great influence upon later views and theories concerning the role of women in the development process. Boserup's contribution also received some critical response of course, especially from feminist and neo-Marxist writers. Beneria and Sen, for instance, consider Boserup's work to be one of the many variants of the modernization approach and to be based on a technological determinism:

'Though Boserup argues there is a negative correlation between the use of the plow and the extent of field work done by women, the basis of this correlation is never clarified. One is left to presume that technical variation exercises some powerful, if mysterious, impact on the division of labor by sex. The processes of modernization - in this case, the effects of plow cultivation on women's work - are rarely explained.' (Beneria and Sen 1981: 146).

Beneria and Sen argue that modernization is in fact not a neutral process, but one that obeys the dictates of capitalist accumulation and profit making. They consider the fact that the cultivation of cash crops came to dominate over subsistence cropping in many regions to be the product of the process of capital accumulation rather than of colonial rule as such. Therefore, women's loss of status results from the interweaving of class and gender relations. Beneria and Sen further argue that Boserup's work cannot be considered a feminist analysis of women's subordination. Since she focuses on the sphere of production outside the household and ignores the role of women in reproduction, her work fails to locate the basis of this subordination (Beneria and Sen 1981: 141-3). Domestic labour, according to them, performs a very important role in the functioning of the economic system since the goods and services it produces contribute to the reproduction of the labour force. Since it is women who perform these reproductive tasks, men are enabled either to become wage labourers or to engage in the cultivation of cash crops. This division between a domestic sphere and a productive sphere is, according to Beneria and Sen, in its turn grounded in patriarchal relations. It is the men who relegate women to the domestic sphere.

Many feminist and neo-Marxist writers have based their analysis of the changing social and economic position of women on Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Engels 1972).¹ According to Engels, in pre-capitalist or non-class societies different resources were owned communally by the tribe or the clan. Production only had a use value, since no surplus was produced for exchange. Engels defined the family in terms of its economic functions (production, consumption and property ownership). Since the group which consisted of husband, wife and children was not a productive unit and since it did not own property, the family did not exist in pre-capitalist societies:

'Instead of the family, the context of men's and women's life and labor was a larger group based on kinship or residence in a common territory. This was a communal property owning group, called the *gens* by Engels. Although individuals of both sexes owned tools and personal effects, on their death these passed to other members of the same sex in their gens, not necessarily to their own children. Decision-making, both economic and political, involved the equal participation of all members, both men and women. Both sexes were equal members of the group because both made crucial contributions to its economic life.' (Sacks 1975:214).

It was this absence of property which made the productive work of men and the household work of women of equal social significance, and both were therefore regarded as what Engels calls 'social adults'. With the development of valuable productive resources (initially the domestication of large animals as private property and later the investment of labour in land), however, the material basis was laid for the transformation of women from equal members of the community to subordinate wives. According to Engels, it was the men who became the owners of private property, thus enabling them to exchange surpluses, while women and children became dependents without property. From now on, man, being the owner of all private property, became the head of the household, while his wife worked for him, under his authority, in order to maintain and augment his property.

Sacks disagrees with Engels at this point and does not believe that male-held private property and production for exchange led to what she calls the domestication of women and their subordination. She argues that the explanation for the subordinate position of women derives not from property relations but from something outside the household which denies women the adult status they had enjoyed in pre-capitalist society. Sacks concludes that:

'Ruling classes tend to select men as social laborers partly because they are more mobile, but probably more significantly because they can be more intensively exploited than women, not having to nurse and rear children.' (Sacks 1975: 230).

According to Sacks, it is due to this division between the domestic sphere, to which the women were relegated, and the productive sphere, which was dominated by men, that the latter remained social adults. In other words, it is through their work that men remained social adults, whereas the work of women was not considered to be 'real' work since it had only use value and no exchange value.

Access to and control of resources

Quite a number of authors base their writings dealing with the changing social and economic position of women upon research carried out in Africa. Many of them, such as Boserup, focus upon the availability of, and access to, resources, such as animal traction, which are essential for the cultivation of cash crops and the utilization of new agricultural techniques (Rogers 1980; Whitehead 1981; Muntemba 1982; van der Lans 1985; Lele 1986; Davison 1988: 228-49). The conclusion reached in most of these writings is that women have either lost control over, or been denied access to, such

productive resources as knowledge, capital, labour and land during this transition to more modern agricultural techniques. In what follows, I outline the explanations advanced for this and the assumptions upon which they are based.

In several works it is asserted that women lack knowledge about new techniques and (cash) crops. For various reasons, the colonial governments in Africa completely neglected women as farmers, and new farming methods and cash crops were almost exclusively introduced to the male population (Boserup 1970: 53-6; Moore and Vaughan 1987: 532-6). Even today, women are often not visited by extension officers, who concentrate their efforts on the male farmers. As in colonial days, training programmes intended for women concentrate more on domestic training: hygiene, child care, nutrition and home economics (Rogers 1980: 87-91; FAO 1985: 74; Whitehead 1991; see also Chapter 4). It is thus hardly surprising that it is the men who assume control of the cultivation of new crops: not only do they receive the knowledge, but also they are usually the ones who come to possess agricultural tools, new seeds and other essential inputs within the framework of agricultural development projects. It is argued that if men devote themselves entirely to the cultivation of cash crops, women are often left with no alternative but to concentrate on housekeeping and the cultivation of food crops. Furthermore, in many situations women are expected to assist their menfolk, and, apart from ploughing, tasks such as sowing, weeding, harvesting and the further processing of the crop are left entirely to them (Moore and Vaughan 1987: 535-8; Newsweek March 9, 1992). The wife being thus reduced to an unpaid helper, and given her responsibilities in the domestic sphere, has little or no time left to undertake activities of her own. As a result, women often differ from men in that they do not have an income. This in turn prevents them from cultivating cash crops, since they are not able to purchase inputs, hire labour or invest in agricultural implements (Muntemba 1982: 31). In areas where food surpluses occur, it is sometimes possible for women to earn money by selling this surplus. Since women are usually responsible for servicing the family, however, this revenue frequently has to be spent on items such as clothing, soap, salt, school fees, etc., or saved as a reserve in case of future food shortages.

It is implicitly assumed in many women's studies, and explicitly stated in some publications, that in Africa men to a great extent control the labour of their wives or the fruits of this labour, irrespective of whether a society is patrilineal or matrilineal (Muntemba 1982: 31; Hirshon 1984: 1-22; Poewe 1981; Whitehead 1985: 27-64; Davison 1988: 1-32). In other words, it is not just that men indirectly drive their womenfolk into housekeeping and the cultivation of food crops or turn them into unremunerated helpers (Muntemba 1977), but in many cases they exercise a more direct compulsion, prohibiting women from taking part, independently, in the cultivation of cash crops (see also Whitehead 1991: 456).

Some authors argue that, in the pre-colonial era, women in both patrilineal and matrilineal African societies had rights to land, especially if the land belonged to their own family group or clan. With the arrival of colonial rule and the introduction of land registration and cash crops, women lost these rights in many cases. These traditional rights were often replaced by individual holdings in the hands of men, especially in areas where there was a threat of land shortage (Davison 1988: 1-32; Babalola and

Dennis 1988: 79-89; Goheen 1988: 90-105). Women were relegated to small parcels of land, often the most barren ones. Boserup made the following remark concerning women's rights to land:

'They may preserve a customary right to use the land belonging to their husbands for the growing of food for the family, together with the right to sell the surplus of such crops and use the proceeds freely. But even in such cases, the position of women has changed from that of an independent cultivator with her own farming rights, to a person who is farming land belonging to another person. Moreover this position may be no more than a transitional step to the stage where women are unpaid helpers in the production of crops belonging to their husbands' (Boserup 1970: 59-60).

To sum up: many writings which refer to the African situation sketch a picture of women who are without land or capital, who have lost partial or total control of their own labour and its products, and who have become extremely dependent on their husbands. It is obvious that a situation of this kind leaves little room for manoeuvre for those women who are interested in adopting modern agricultural techniques and who are eager to take part in the cultivation of cash crops. The only alternatives left for married women are, thus, obedience to the will of their husbands, divorce and a life of poverty, or the struggle for a certain degree of autonomy by taking part in sectors of the economy, such as trade, which are not (yet) dominated by men. This is a development which has been particularly prominent in West Africa.

The examination of the literature regarding the issue of women and agricultural and/or economic development reveals that different authors hold different factors responsible for the eventual subordination, domestication and marginalization of women. All authors, however, seem to agree that these factors and processes - be they population growth, colonial rule, migration, urban employment, the introduction of the plough, the penetration of capitalism, or the development of, or access to productive resources - have the marginalization of women as their final and inevitable outcome. Furthermore, it appears that most writings, especially those of a more general nature, rest upon the presupposition that men to a large extent control, and are therefore able to allocate, both the labour of women and the product of that labour. Another assumption running through much of the literature is that women, as a result of the heavy burden placed upon them by their domestic and social duties, cannot combine these activities with production for exchange; with, for instance, the cultivation of cash crops.

Only in recent years have authors such as Whitehead and Guyer helped to unmask the myths created by Boserup and others, myths that have exerted, and continue to exert, great influence upon the discourse and actions of policy makers (Guyer 1988; Whitehead 1991): the myth that sees sub-Saharan rural production as composed of 'female farming systems'; and the myth that there exists a universal 'modernization' process and that 'modernization' always relegates women to the untransformed subsistence sector, whereas all innovations are devoted to cash crops which are cultivated by men.

Whitehead, Kitching and Vaughan, for instance, show that women are not always relegated to the subsistence sector but that, in many regions, they are also producing for

the market. Moreover, Whitehead, Wright, Venema and Long show that women in many areas of sub-Saharan Africa have seized a large number of income-generating opportunities, that they have adopted new crops and can be found to use modern plough technology (Long 1968; Wright 1983; Venema 1986; Whitehead 1991).

However, even writers such as Whitehead (who refers to a number of micro studies; Pala 1980; Kitching 1980; Clark 1981) argue that when more land is taken under cultivation, when improved agronomic techniques are introduced and agriculture becomes more commercialized, women's independent farming frequently comes under pressure as there is an increasing demand for women to work on cash crops, often in their husband's fields, as unremunerated labourers (Whitehead 1991; 443, 460).

In this chapter I argue that although the postulates, the myths, I have discussed are to a certain extent grounded upon empirical research findings, they do not and cannot explain, as is often claimed, the situation in all regions of sub-Saharan Africa. In this chapter I show that the introduction of agricultural innovations such as the plough and (new) cash crops, the penetration of capitalism, colonial policy and the neglect of women by planners and extension workers do not necessarily have to give rise to a process whereby women become subordinated and marginalized and men obtain a monopoly over productive resources. I show that, in Nchimishi, many women are independent commercially-oriented farmers who, as they have their own cash crops to tend, do not divide their labour time only between their domestic responsibilities, subsistence production and working as unremunerated labourers in their husband's fields.

I also show that, if one wishes to obtain a better understanding of gender relations and the changing position of women, it is important to consider other factors and processes of change which characterize specific regions, such as patterns of migration and re-migration; changing settlement patterns; the land and labour requirements and other agro-technical and ecological characteristics and aspects of the crops cultivated; traditional forms of labour organization and changes with regard to the system of kinship and inheritance. I also show, however, that changes in gender relations and the social and economic position of women can only be understood if the various responses of women and men to these (often region-specific) factors and processes are analyzed. It becomes clear in this chapter that it is wrong to assume that only men take advantage of new developments, whereas women merely undergo these changes in a more or less passive way, that change is simply imposed upon them. Instead of making such generalizations, we should ask ourselves how women, how different individuals, groups or categories of women, respond to certain changes, which strategies they develop and what room for manoeuvre they create for themselves. In other words, instead of starting with an approach which contains strong deterministic elements we ought to analyze the ways in which women as well as men shape the outcomes of change.

Changing patterns of agriculture and gender relations in Nchimishi

The sexual division of labour under the cite me system

As explained in Chapter 3, under the *cite me* system of cultivation the emphasis was on the production of millet for household and local consumption. Production tasks within the household were organized according to a strict, culturally-determined, sexual division of labour. The felling of the trees, the clearing of the undergrowth and the construction of a fence around the garden were male tasks, whereas the women were responsible for the gathering and stacking of the branches, and for the harvesting of the millet crop.²⁾ Sowing, as Long observed, was often a joint effort: the man scattering the seeds and his wife following behind covering them with earth (Long 1968: 21). Each *cite me* garden was cut individually by each male member of the household, though occasionally collective work parties were organized. A woman was often assisted by her female matrikin, usually other members of the same household (i.e. her daughters, sisters or mother) when stacking the branches, but especially during the harvest of the crop (Long 1968: 21).

In the case of upland hoed gardens, the initial clearing of the bush or grasses was mostly done by the men, while the sowing, weeding and harvesting were undertaken by the wife, sometimes assisted by other women (Long 1968: 22). The initial clearing of *dambo* gardens was also undertaken by the husband, albeit that some women cultivated these gardens without any male assistance.

In most households, male labour was regarded as indispensable for the cultivation of most crops, and there existed an interdependence and interrelation between men's and women's work. In other words, male and female tasks were complementary. According to some respondents, the fact that men were responsible for the initial clearing, that men stood at the beginning of the cropping cycle, symbolized men's authority over women and women's dependence upon male labour. Notwithstanding this, the *cite me*, the upland, but even more so the *dambo* gardens were regarded, as one older woman put it, as 'the gardens of the woman'.

Colonial agricultural policy: the peasant farming schemes

As pointed out in Chapter 4, when the Colonial Government decided towards the late 1940's to introduce 'modern' farming methods at the so-called 'peasant farming schemes', all efforts in the sphere of education, extension and the provision of credit were directed towards the male population. Women only received training in domestic work, and lessons were given in cooking, knitting, child-care and hygiene (Serenje Tour Report No.13, 1956; No.2, 1958; No.11, 1961). Probably one of the reasons for this neglect was that the colonial authorities conceptualized the conjugally-based household as a stable unit in which the husband/father managed the resources on behalf of other members who were conceptualized as his dependants and who provided labour under his direction (see Whitehead 1991; 451-2). This attitude implies a serious disregard for

the traditional matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance and shows that colonial administrators and policy makers were not aware of the fact that, in the past, resources of husband and wife did not become merged (to form a conjugal fund or common conjugal property) after marriage.

It was only towards the end of the 1950's that the Agricultural Department came to the conclusion that 'the womenfolk' had to be included in agricultural education programmes as well. This change occurred only after the Department had found out that their efforts to introduce soil conservation and crop rotation methods had failed in all probability because they had overlooked the fact that women usually had the final say with regard to the location of gardens and the time for sowing the different crops. In practice, however, it was the men who continued to receive training and who were enabled to obtain credit for purchasing oxen and implements, whereas women as farmers, both within and outside the framework of the 'peasant farming schemes', continued to be completely neglected by the colonial authorities. I agree with Boserup that this was largely a result of the idea which existed among Europeans that agriculture was naturally a job for men (Boserup 1970: 53-7). The introduction of modern farming was seen as enabling men to earn a cash income without having to migrate to the mines of the Copperbelt. Furthermore, colonial administrators, especially at the national and provincial level, often lacked a detailed knowledge of the indigenous agricultural systems and the important role played by women. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that in the early years of plough agriculture it was the men who came to monopolize this new technology.

Even in 1958, when the Agricultural Department in Serenje District started to direct its attention towards the so-called 'individual farmers', women as farmers continued to be neglected. In all programmes, documents and reports, the distinction between men's work (which included farming) and women's work remained, and again women only received courses in domestic work (Serenje Tour Report No.2, 1958; No.8, 1958; No.11, 1961).

Traditional food crops and the plough

During the mid- to late 1950's, a small minority of the farming population in Nchimishi was using animal traction. Some 'individual farmers', following the instruction of the Department, were using the plough to cultivate millet and Lala maize on small fields. As I explained in Chapter 4, the fact that millet could be cultivated on fields and without ash was certainly an argument in favour of the new technology. Nevertheless, it has never proved to be a sufficient reason for the adoption of the plough by the majority of the farming population in the Nchimishi area, since villagers would not make such a large investment just to cultivate a food crop which had always been grown without the use of any financial resources. Furthermore, many women preferred to extend their mound gardens and replace millet as the most important staple by other crops (Lala maize and cassava) since their own experiments had revealed that the cultivation of millet on fields (*ama acres*) involved a lot of weeding.

The introduction of Turkish tobacco

In *Social Change and the Individual*, Long concludes that plough agriculture became increasingly popular after the introduction of Turkish tobacco in 1958 (Long 1968: 20). Long also shows, however, that the labour requirements for tobacco are extremely high as compared with those for other crops such as Lala maize. Moreover, some of the operations related to the cultivation of tobacco clashed with the labour requirements of several food crops: 'The seed-bed activities coincide with the ploughing and planting of grains like maize, millet and sorghum, and the picking and stringing process cuts across the harvesting period' (Long 1968: 25). The introduction of plough agriculture and Turkish tobacco, therefore, brought several changes in the organization of agricultural labour in Nchimishi. Under plough agriculture, the traditional sexual division of labour became less marked. According to Long, this was related to the greater need for cooperation among members of the household which ploughing demands and to the increased labour inputs associated with the production of cash crops such as Lala maize and Turkish tobacco (Long 1968: 22). During the 1960's, ploughing was generally considered to be a male task, but women would often assist their husbands since at least two persons are needed for ploughing, and no social stigma prevented women from holding the plough themselves. Long also found that other operations which take place after ploughing, such as planting, weeding and harvesting, were often undertaken jointly by husband and wife. The extremely high labour requirements and labour peaks related to the cultivation of tobacco made the rise of a new sexual division of labour unlikely, since a man often depended upon the labour of his wife and children during the different stages, (i.e. land preparation, planting, transplanting, the application of fertilizer, picking and stringing).

Although Long found that a small number of women did have their own tobacco gardens, at most farms the cultivation of tobacco was an activity which was dominated and controlled by its male residents, albeit that within many households wives and even children received a part of the profit from tobacco sales (Long 1968: 17-27). That men were in control of tobacco cultivation can be attributed to several factors. In the first place, all training and extension activities which related to the new crop were directed towards the men. Secondly, it was mainly the men who had access to capital and therefore were able to purchase farming implements, cattle and tobacco seedlings. These inputs were purchased either by taking up credit, to which men had much better access, or by using town savings. Men who had been involved in the Mulembo peasant farming scheme already owned oxen, a plough and an ox cart. Finally, several operations relating to the cultivation of tobacco clashed with the labour requirements of food crops. Since the cultivation of food crops was regarded as mainly the responsibility of the women, they were unable to devote all their time to the establishment of their own tobacco garden without jeopardizing the food situation of the household.

We can conclude from Long's material that, contrary to what is asserted by Boserup, the introduction of animal traction and cash crops did not reduce the proportional contribution of women to agricultural production, nor did it result in the relegation of women to the domestic sphere or the fields where merely food crops were cultivated

(Boserup 1970: 24-31). On the contrary, women not only remained responsible for the production of a variety of food crops, but were now also expected to assist their husbands with the cultivation of cash crops. Although one could argue in respect of tobacco that the woman became her husband's assistant, she was usually remunerated.

Hybrid maize

Towards the end of the 1960's, farmers who were interested in a more commercially-oriented form of agriculture started to turn their attention towards maize, and the trend became even more marked when producer prices rose considerably during the early 1970's. Farmers in Nchimishi stressed that Lala maize, and more especially hybrid maize (introduced in the late 1960's), had several advantages, other than a relatively high producer price, over tobacco: labour requirements are less; maize is a crop with which farmers, and women in particular, had a lot of experience since it was also cultivated in traditional *dambo* and upland gardens (see Chapter 3); maize can serve as a cash crop as well as a staple food crop, which means that its large-scale cultivation by plough does not endanger the food security of the household; and maize operations do not necessarily clash with the labour requirements of subsidiary food crops. This point was stressed in particular by women. The introduction of hybrid maize in principle offered them the opportunity to engage in the cultivation and sale of cash crops without neglecting their traditional tasks and responsibilities towards the household. Another advantage of maize often mentioned by respondents is that this crop, contrary to tobacco, assumed an important role within the local economy soon after its introduction. Whereas tobacco was sold at special depots from where it was transported to the Line of Rail, farmers started selling part of their hybrid maize crop locally (and mainly during the 'hunger months', late February, March and April), usually for a higher price than that fixed by the Zambian Government. During the early 1980's, returning female migrants introduced a new type of beer to Nchimishi: *katata*. This beer is brewed with hybrid maize and soon developed into an important additional source of income for women.

Notwithstanding that the introduction of hybrid maize opened up new opportunities for women, it was again the men who appropriated the new crop during the late 1960's and early 70's. As in the case of Turkish tobacco, it was mainly men (most of them returned miners and other migrants) rather than women who had the capital to buy animals, implements, and inputs such as seed and fertilizer. This situation began to change, however, towards the late 1970's and early 80's when many men and women started to return from the Copperbelt where virtually everyone's standard of living had started to drop as a result of the fall in the price of copper (see Chapter 4). These returned migrants, in contrast to those who had returned home in the 1940's and 50's, often did not have savings of any significance. Those who wished to become involved in plough agriculture and the sale of cash crops thus had to develop new strategies in order to raise capital (see Chapter 6). The first women to participate in the cultivation of hybrid maize were, almost without exception, migrants who had recently returned from town. In most cases, they were divorced women who saw the cultivation of cash

crops as a means of providing for a secure and better future.

Women and the cultivation of cash crops in Nchimishi

The first generation of female agricultural entrepreneurs

The next part of this chapter gives a detailed account of the establishment and growth of the farming enterprise of Agnes Musonda Kalaka, one of the first and most successful female farmers in Nchimishi. By presenting this case study, I aim to document the reasons Agnes Musonda Kalaka had for establishing her own farming enterprise, the material and social assets she possessed and the kind of strategies she used and developed to achieve her objectives. I analyze the career and life history of Agnes Musonda Kalaka, first of all, because her case shows clearly the motivations which impelled women belonging to what we might call the first generation of female farmers to establish their own farming enterprises. Furthermore, her case illustrates the fact that women in Chibale Chiefdom, despite a number of constraints, were and are able to develop successful farming enterprises geared to a large extent to the cultivation of cash crops. Another reason for presenting this case study is that Agnes Musonda Kalaka has always been considered by many other women as an innovator and a role model. It was often pointed out to me, by both women and men, that if I wished to understand the rise of female cash-crop farming in the area it was crucial to examine the role played in this process by Agnes Musonda Kalaka and some of the other pioneers. This means that her case is more than just an illustration of a change process, because Agnes Musonda Kalaka has unintentionally played an important role in bringing about and giving direction to this process. In addition to providing my own observations and analysis, I present Musonda Kalaka's views on her own career and enterprise, and also her views on some more general issues, such as the process of agrarian change in Nchimishi. I intend to highlight the role she has played in this process by, first, allowing other farmers, both male and female, to give their opinions about Musonda Kalaka and her farming enterprise and, second, by giving Musonda Kalaka the opportunity to compare herself and her enterprise with other women and other farms in the area.

The farm of Agnes Musonda Kalaka

Introduction

Agnes Musonda Kalaka was one of the most successful farmers in the Nchimishi area at the time of the restudy. With a production of nearly 500 bags of hybrid maize during the 1987/88 season, she was only surpassed by Kalunga Ackson who, together with his mother Agnes Changwe, sold 1,200 bags to the Nchimishi depot. Musonda Kalaka, who

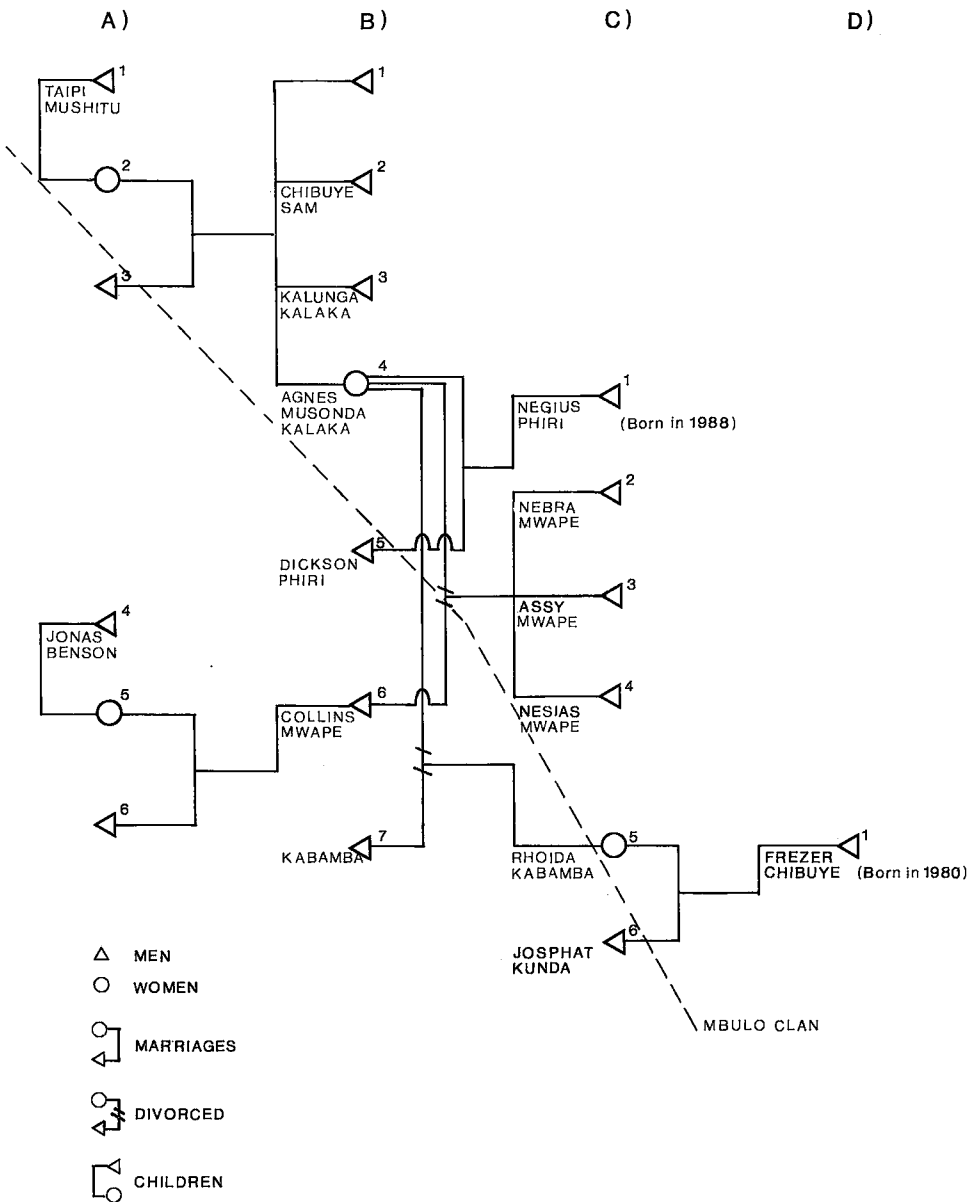
describes herself as being 'almost a commercial farmer', was born around 1951. She still remembers that when she was a little girl she used to go to the *nkutu* (the temporary grass encampments built close to the cutting areas) with her parents, brothers and sister to prepare the new *citene* garden. According to Musonda Kalaka (B4, see Genealogy 8.1), in those days her parents, like most other people in Nchimishi, were still 'backward', and only 'followed Lala tradition' and the directions of the chief or village headman. When she was sixteen, she accompanied her parents-in-law, who had visited Nchimishi to arrange a marriage for their son Kabamba (B7), to Kabwe. Around 1971 she gave birth to a daughter, who was named Rhoida Kabamba (C5). Musonda Kalaka's marriage with Kabamba lasted approximately seven years. Their relationship was characterized by numerous conflicts, and Musonda Kalaka accused Kabamba of neglecting her and her daughter.

In 1973 they decided to divorce, and Musonda Kalaka returned to her parents. Initially, she planned to stay with them in Nchimishi for just a couple of months before returning to Kabwe where she intended to resume the sale of home-grown vegetables at the market. However, Agnes Changwe, an older friend and the first woman in the area to cultivate hybrid maize for sale, convinced her to stay in Nchimishi. According to Agnes Changwe, it was becoming increasingly difficult to make a living in the urban areas, whereas living in Nchimishi had the advantage that one did not have to buy *mealie meal* (maize flour). Moreover, Agnes Changwe convincingly argued that farming could offer a woman the possibility of earning an independent income.

In 1975, Musonda Kalaka married her second husband, Collins Mwape (B6). Immediately after settling at her husband's farm, she decided to start cultivating her own *katobela* gardens with runner beans. The first season she produced five tins. In April 1976, she went to Kabwe to sell part of her first beans harvest, together with the beans she had bought on credit from some other farmers. In November 1976, Collins Mwape ploughed her a small field and provided her with some fertilizer and maize seed. In August 1977, Musonda Kalaka sold five bags of maize to the local depot. Although she accepted some assistance from her husband, Musonda Kalaka wished to become financially independent from Collins Mwape and to develop her own sources of income, because she had discovered that in Nchimishi a lot of men neglected their wives, keeping all the farming income for themselves. Moreover, while living in town, she argued, she had become accustomed to handling her own affairs, to making her own decisions and buying her own clothes. Musonda Kalaka:

'When I came back to Chibale a lot of women were still backward. But in town you have to buy everything. That's why women who have lived in town are encouraged to work hard and earn their own money. In town I learned that by farming, by making a garden and selling vegetables, I could buy the same nice dress as my friend. That's why as soon as I got married again I started selling beans in Kabwe and Kitwe. Just like business women in town, I wanted to have my own income. That's why I became a farmer. Another reason is that, upon my return, I found that although village women were doing most of the work in the maize fields, it was the men who decided how to spend the money. After receiving their maize cheques they were often not prepared to discuss with their wife how to spend money in a responsible way, for the benefit of the whole family.

Genealogy 8.1 Agnes Musonda Kalaka farm



Men often misused this money, indulging in drinking, not leaving enough to buy fertilizer for the next season. I heard a lot of women complaining about this. Women are more responsible because it is they who face most problems in the family.

- What do you mean?

Women have always taken care of the family. They have to find food and relish, or clothes for the children. That's why women know how to economize. Men only think about today, but women have to think about tomorrow and the next season as well.' (L)

Towards the end of the 1970's, Musonda Kalaka became interested in the faith of the Jehovah's Witnesses and became a regular visitor at the meetings held at the local Kingdom hall. The fact of her gradually becoming a Jehovah's Witness motivated Musonda Kalaka even more to work hard and remain independent from her husband who showed no interest in the faith. She wanted to be able to buy magazines, go to district conventions and buy nice clothes. She needed dresses and good shoes, not, as she argued, to look attractive to other men, but to look clean and smartly dressed when she had to go out preaching from door-to-door. Moreover, Musonda Kalaka, like most other Witnesses, was convinced that all Jehovah's Witnesses had to work hard in order to provide for the spiritual as well as the social and economic needs of the family (Long 1968: 209-18; see also Chapter 13). Musonda Kalaka was baptized in 1983. One consequence of becoming a Witness was that she lost a source of income. In the early 1980's, she had been one of the first women in Nchimishi to start brewing and selling *katata*. However, since Jehovah's Witnesses are advised not to sell beer since this might encourage drunkenness and violence, Musonda Kalaka stopped brewing *katata* after a few seasons. Although earnings from beer brewing had accounted for only a small proportion of her total yearly income (probably less than 5%), she tried, with some success, to create an alternative source of income by switching over to the making of *munkoyo* (a kind of soft drink).

Having sold beans on the Copperbelt for more than six seasons, Musonda Kalaka figured that she had enough capital to engage in the cultivation of hybrid maize without having to have recourse to her husband's assistance and financial resources. In 1982, she bought bags of fertilizer, hired a few workers and her husband's plough and oxen and started cultivating some of her husband's old fields which were lying fallow. She now insisted on paying her husband for the use of his plough and oxen since she feared that otherwise he might claim some of her harvest or income. In 1983, tensions between the couple started mounting, since it was becoming clear to everybody that Musonda Kalaka was developing into a more successful farmer than her husband. Collins Mwape started to feel embarrassed in front of other farmers and especially in front of his relatives who frequently asked him who in fact was running the farm. According to Musonda Kalaka:

'When I was living with my husband, I was working very hard in my own fields and, as early as the second year, I had overtaken him. He had three acres and I had six. So he became angry and said to me: "A woman cannot surpass her husband". To stop these conflicts I assisted my husband in his fields. At the same time, piece workers were working in my own fields. After finishing the work in his fields, I continued with my own work. Nevertheless, I continued to have a much higher yield and even other people heard about it. So he kept on complaining: "Why is your work finished so

quickly?" Then, the next season, I asked a few of the workers I hired to work in his fields and that's the reason my yield went down a little. But again I had a higher yield because I had worked harder. Then he started accusing me of *ukungula*, but I was only using one type of potion (*umut*): fertilizer.' (L)

In 1985, Musonda Kalaka, with her eldest daughter Rhoida (C5, see Genealogy 8.1) and youngest son Nebra Mwape (C2) (one year old), decided to leave her husband's farm. Collins Mwape kept their two other sons, Nesias Mwape (C4) (9 years of age) and Assy Mwape (C3) (7 years of age). After her divorce, she stayed two months at her brothers' farm, but according to Musonda Kalaka they did not have to support her financially since she had managed to save enough money at Collins Mwape's farm to 'lay a strong foundation' for her own independent farming enterprise. She managed to persuade Smart Kunda, a distant matrilineal kinsman and a Jehovah's Witness who belonged to the same congregation, to allow her to use some of his old fields and to sell her some empty farm buildings located on his land and next to his own farm. She settled at the new farm with her son, daughter and her son-in-law, Josphat Kunda (C6) (Rhoida Kabamba married Josphat Kunda in 1985). Her two other sons became frequent visitors. Soon after settling, she bought a pair of oxen, a plough and forty-eight bags of fertilizer. Her younger brother, Kalunga Kalaka (B3), who frequently stayed at the farm, trained the oxen, and the following year (August 1986) Musonda Kalaka harvested 194 bags of hybrid maize from her fields of which she sold 159, keeping the rest for home consumption and for making *munkoyo* (see also Table 8.1). Rhoida and her husband produced 20 bags. The same year, Musonda Kalaka bought an ox cart and another four head of cattle.

Musonda Kalaka on one occasion told me that all one needed to become a commercial farmer were a piece of land, a hoe and a tin of beans. Later she admitted that things were not that easy and that it had taken her quite a number of years and many tins of runner beans before she was able to purchase farming implements and take up the cultivation of hybrid maize. From later discussions I had with Musonda Kalaka it also appeared that to understand the establishment and further development of her farming enterprise it was necessary to look closely at several other productive resources and at the strategies developed and used by Musonda Kalaka to obtain them.

Musonda Kalaka was raised in Nchimishi and was taught by her mother in particular how to sow and harvest finger millet and Lala maize and how to cultivate a number of other traditional crops. While living in Kabwe, she had obtained some experience with the cultivation and sale of vegetables. Nevertheless, on her return to Nchimishi she lacked the knowledge needed to engage in the production and sale of hybrid maize and to become a commercial farmer. Immediately after her return from Kabwe, however, she tried in a very active way to obtain all the information she considered important. From her husband she learned, for instance, that cattle could be kept in better condition by feeding them with some extra maize stalks and by giving them some salt, in addition to letting them graze in the *dambo* areas. Later, she asked her brothers to teach her how to handle oxen and hold the plough.

Table 8.1: Income and expenditure for Agnes Musonda Kalaka:
(August 1986 - August 1987)

Income	K	K
Hybrid maize (sold in August 1986)		9,500
Profit from bean trade (est.)		1,200
Contract ploughing		400
Making <i>munkoyo</i>		<u>100</u>
Expenditure		
Household necessities	300	
Clothing + school fees	1,300	
Cassette recorder	1,700	
Gifts to kinsmen	500	
Fertilizer (bought in November 1986)	3,915	
Seed (bought in November 1986)	1,100	
Ox cart and plough spares	1,750	
Oxen	3,300	
Hired labour	1,850	
Total	15,715	11,200
Loan repayment		700
Money borrowed from other farmers		3,385

Access to resources: farming knowledge

Besides trying to learn from her husband and brothers, Musonda Kalaka also attempted to acquire information outside the confines of the farm and her group of close matrikin. When she realized that her marriage with Collins Mwape was not going to last, she made an even greater effort to learn, from farmers whom she considered to be experts in certain areas, the 'tricks' needed to become successful. She approached a number of male farmers, such as Kash Chipilingu (see Chapter 4), who had been directly or indirectly involved with the Mulembo peasant farming scheme and who had been using animal traction from the late 1940's or 50's onwards. She also sought the advice of

since they do not indulge in drinking. We have to take care of our children'. (L)

Although these women did not visit each other frequently, they assisted each other in different ways. At times they borrowed money from each other, and, since they were all involved in the bean trade, they also exchanged information about the towns and markets on the Copperbelt where beans fetched a good price. Sometimes they discussed topics directly related to the running of their farm: how they could motivate male piece workers to come to work for them; or whether buying cattle was a more secure way of investing capital than putting their money on deposit in a bank. To some extent, these three (unrelated) women exchanged information relating to new agricultural techniques or the cultivation of various crops, but they mainly exchanged views and information about possible new investments, or they discussed strategies to expand their farming enterprise further.

As can be concluded from the remarks made by Musonda Kalaka, she maintained relations and exchanged information with these farmers not only because they were women, all had the same attitude towards farming and were successful producers of beans and hybrid maize, but also because they all had similar backgrounds and social characteristics and as a result were facing similar problems. Bana Febby expressed this as follows: 'We feel happy having discussions together, and we feel attached to each other because in many ways we are alike.'(L)

When I examined the backgrounds of these three women, I discovered some striking resemblances. Bana Febby (born in 1934), like Musonda Kalaka, acquired some experience of trade through her involvement in the cultivation and selling of crops (groundnuts and sweet potatoes) at the market while she was living in town with her husband. During her visits to Chibale Chiefdom, she gradually arrived at the conclusion that there was probably a good future in cash-crop farming. Subsequently, she started saving money by selling more groundnuts and *munkoyo*. Her husband, however, did not wish to exchange life in town for life in the bush. Bana Febby³) therefore decided to leave him. She returned to Chibale and established her farm in 1980. Following the strategy of Musonda Kalaka, she tried to earn cash by cultivating runner beans and brewing beer. Since she had managed to set aside a substantial amount of capital during her years on the Copperbelt, she was able to buy her first oxen and take up the cultivation of hybrid maize in 1982. A year later, she bought her own plough and was taught how to handle a span of oxen.

Agnes Changwe (who is in her fifties) has a somewhat different background. She has never lived in town, and she has been able to set up her farming enterprise partly because she received a lot of financial assistance from her brothers, sons and daughters who had well paid urban jobs. Nevertheless, at the time of the restudy her farming enterprise to some extent resembled the farms of the other two women. First, Agnes, like the other women, owned cattle and was involved in plough cultivation. Second, she was not married (in 1986) and was head of a farm which was composed of some of her children and in-laws. Third, due to the size of her operations she, like her two colleagues, had to rely heavily upon hired labour during peak seasons to carry out such tasks as weeding, harvesting, the shelling of maize and the stumping of new fields.

Finally, Agnes was also involved in the bean trade.

Another similarity between these three women was that they all (in 1986) belonged to the local congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses, which, as Musonda Kalaka explained, made it much easier to trust each other and remain good friends. Their religious affiliation also explains why these women preferred not to apply for agricultural loans. Although their Bible does not forbid Witnesses to take up loans, they are advised to be very cautious. As one Witness put it: 'When you die without having repaid your loan, you have a case with God' (E).

We are now able to sum up the ways in which these women - who with a few others formed the first generation of female farmers in Nchimishi - gained access to the knowledge they needed to engage in farming and trade. Musonda Kalaka and her colleagues did not obtain their farming knowledge through formal programmes directly aimed at making women acquainted with new methods of farming. They managed to acquire knowledge through a number of more informal sources. Knowledge concerning ploughing was often obtained from male pioneers of the plough. Musonda Kalaka ran into conflict with her husband after she started selling hybrid maize, and she felt constrained from visiting married male colleagues. Notwithstanding these problems, there is no indication that male farmers in Nchimishi have tried to prevent the rise of female farming in the area, and there is no proof that men have tried to remain in control of certain new agricultural technologies or cash crops by withholding information. On the contrary, many female farmers, including these three women, mentioned that they had often been encouraged by male commercially-oriented farmers. Although men have played an important role in the transfer of agricultural knowledge to these three female farmers of the first generation, these women from the outset have attached great value to exchanging knowledge and information with each other. This is mainly due to the fact that they have a similar social and economic background, share the same religious affiliation and therefore face similar problems, but it is also due to the fact that they are pioneers in female farming and until recent years have not had other role models.

Capital: Beans, Beer and Credit

Musonda Kalaka returned to Nchimishi without much by way of savings, but through her activities in the cultivation of, and trade in, runner beans she managed within a relatively short period to raise enough capital to become a hybrid maize farmer. Women in Nchimishi have been selling small surpluses of runner beans to traders from the Copperbelt for a long time, but the case of Musonda Kalaka is different in the sense that, after discovering the retail price of beans in town and the profit some traders were making, she reckoned that the cultivation and sale of beans would be an ideal way to raise the capital needed to get involved in plough agriculture and the cultivation of hybrid maize, especially since bean cultivation and sale demanded little in the way of capital investments. Musonda Kalaka was the first farmer in Nchimishi to start cultivating runner beans on a relatively large scale in *katobela* gardens. To my knowledge, she was also the first to start buying up the harvests of other farmers with

the intention of selling these in town. When she started cultivating her own hybrid maize, Agnes Musonda Kalaka became one of the first independent female farmers, but her strategy of cultivating runner beans on a large scale and selling them was one that could be adopted by women and men to obtain capital without having to leave the rural areas. As I indicated in Chapter 6, until the 1970's cash-crop farming had been an activity mainly undertaken by retired miners or other returned migrants who had the financial resources to purchase cattle, seeds and farming implements. With the commercialization of beans, however, farming gradually became independent of urban capital and came to rely more and more on capital generated from agriculture.

Besides the advantages mentioned earlier, runner beans have other advantages which explain why this crop became the ideal cash crop in the eyes of many farmers within a relatively short period. First, beans can be stored without much difficulty. Second, due to their high wholesale and retail price on the Copperbelt, even two or three 90kg bags of beans can yield a significant profit. Moreover, beans, like hybrid maize, have two advantages which proved to be especially important to women: beans are a traditional crop with which they already had a lot of experience; and beans already formed quite an important part of the diet. This means that by cultivating beans women were able to obtain a cash income without necessarily neglecting their 'traditional' responsibility towards the household.

As soon as she had bought her first oxen and plough, the cultivation of hybrid maize became Musonda Kalaka's most important income-generating activity. Her maize production rose from 194 bags in 1986 to 270 bags in 1987 and to nearly 500 bags in 1988 (see also Table 8.2).⁴⁾ The maize production of Rhoida and Josphat rose from 20 bags in 1986 to 66 bags in 1988.

Table 8.2: Crops cultivated by Agnes Musonda Kalaka during the 1987-88 season

Lala maize	in katobela and mutipula
Runner beans	in katobela and mutipula
Finger millet	in ploughed fields
Hybrid maize	in ploughed fields
Sunflower	in ploughed fields
Soya beans	in ploughed fields
Cassava	in citaba
Sweet potatoes	in cisalika ca kandolo
Livingstone potatoes	in fibunde
Groundnuts	in ploughed and hoed fields
Cowpeas	as mabwela crop
Pumpkins	in mutipula

Nevertheless, the cultivation of runner beans remained an important activity of all farm members (in 1988, for instance, Rhoida and her husband sold eleven tins). Before 1987, the income from beans was mainly set aside and used to invest in capital goods, whereas after that year these earnings were used for various purposes and were spent on consumer durables, farm equipment or external farm labour.

The sale of beans usually starts in February and ends in April when the harvest of *mabwela* gardens take place. In 1987, Agnes Musonda Kalaka made three trips to the Copperbelt and Lusaka. On her first trip she made no profit. Despite the fact that she had gone to the Copperbelt a few weeks before the start of the bean season and found prices favourable, the sale proceeds of the single bag of beans she had brought proved to be insufficient to cover transport costs and other travel expenses. Her second trip (to Ndola) was profitable despite the fact that one of her five bags was stolen. On her third trip (to Lusaka), she took four bags, two of them containing her own harvest. The other two were obtained by exchanging with neighbouring farmers quantities of beans against clothes she had bought during her second trip to Ndola. Having sold her beans, she bought clothes for the men, women and children who had promised to come and work for her during the maize-harvesting season. She often bought clothes on subsequent trips to town as many people prefer to be paid in clothes or other goods rather than in cash. In 1988, Musonda Kalaka further expanded her beans operations. In February, she sold four bags in Ndola. She used part of these earnings to buy up more beans from farmers and to finance another trip to the Copperbelt. On her second trip in 1988, she took five bags which she sold in Ndola. During this trip, she met a few female traders from Kitwe who proved to be useful business contacts. She accommodated them when they came to Nchimishi to buy beans and helped them to find farmers willing to sell them their harvest. They reciprocated when she went to Kitwe. They also promised to inform her about current prices and to help her find an outlet for her beans. On her fourth trip, with the help of her new network of business friends, Musonda Kalaka managed to sell four bags of beans in Kitwe. She sold another three bags later in May, well after the end of the bean season, when prices on the Copperbelt had started rising. With part of the proceeds she bought a quantity of dried fish which she managed to sell to neighbouring farmers. In 1988, apart from hybrid maize and beans, Musonda Kalaka also cultivated sunflower and soya beans for sale. The income derived from the sale of these crops was relatively small however.

In September 1987, Musonda Kalaka owned one pair of oxen, one plough and one ox cart. In 1988, after five successful trips to the Copperbelt she was able to purchase another pair of oxen. Possessing her own animals and implements according to herself meant not only having to spend less money on hiring the implements, animals and labour of other farmers, but also being able to earn an additional income. Allowing her younger brother and son-in-law to work for other farmers, ploughing for them or transporting their maize to the depot or their beans to the Great North Road, also benefitted Musonda Kalaka as she received 50% of all earnings.

Until 1988, the making of *munkoyo* was another source of income for Agnes Musonda Kalaka and Rhoida. Unlike proceeds obtained from the sale of beans, the profit made from *munkoyo* was usually kept separate and used for making specific

purchases. After she was disfellowshipped as a member of the local congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses in 1987 (this issue will be discussed later in this chapter), Musonda Kalaka decided to resume the brewing of *katata*, since it was a much more profitable activity than the making of *munkoyo*. In 1988, Musonda Kalaka was the first farmer in the Nchimishi area to make an alcoholic beverage called 'wine'.⁵⁾

In the early years of her career as an independent farmer, Musonda Kalaka never considered applying for an agricultural loan from one of the parastatal institutions, and, although she had a bank account with the Standard Chartered Bank, she did not wish to take up a loan from her bank either. Like many other Jehovah's Witnesses, Musonda Kalaka was afraid that after one or two bad harvests she might not be able to repay her debts. Furthermore, she was convinced that by using her own capital she could, albeit in a more modest and gradual way, further develop her farm.

Towards the end of 1987, however, she changed her mind and applied for a loan from the farmers' cooperative of which she was a member. She did this having come to the conclusion that she needed external capital if she wished to expand her commercial undertakings further. In the first half of that year, she had faced difficulties paying her piece workers who had demanded a higher compensation for their work than she expected. She was, therefore, forced to borrow money from other farmers. In 1985 and 1986, she had already borrowed sums of K200 and K700 from a few friends like Agnes Changwe, but in 1987 she borrowed money from ten other farmers up to a total of K3,385. Instead of creating an even larger number of creditors she now wished to repay her debts to these farmers as soon as possible and in future to have one creditor only. Moreover, she now saw the advantages of dealing with a more impersonal entity rather than borrowing from friends or matrikin who could remind her about her outstanding debts. Musonda Kalaka expressed this as follows:

'It's better to get a loan from the Government, because it's not good to borrow money from many different persons. When you die, the person responsible for your funeral will ask all those present whether you had any debts. Can you imagine ten different people raising their hands?' (L)

Another reason Musonda Kalaka had for applying for a loan was that she, like all other farmers, expected a huge increase in the price of fertilizer and seed, but nevertheless wished to increase her acreage under hybrid maize. She also stated that after being disfellowshipped she felt somewhat less reticent about taking up a loan, and she maintained that probably at a certain point in every farming career obtaining a loan was a necessary strategy in order to continue expanding and to keep ahead of inflation (this view is confirmed by some of the conclusions reached in Chapter 6).

When I interviewed Musonda Kalaka after she had submitted her loan application to the farmers' cooperative, she explained that her application would probably not be approved. Everybody knew, she argued, that the person responsible for making a first selection among all applications attached a higher value to friendship and Party membership than farming expertise. Moreover, this man, who did not produce any maize for sale, was known to be very 'traditionally minded' and had often stated in public that he rejected the idea of women becoming commercial farmers. Musonda

Kalaka also feared that people within UNIP were not aware that she no longer belonged to the congregation and that they would treat her application like the applications of most Witnesses. Indeed, Musonda Kalaka's application was not approved, and as a result she had to borrow even more money and bags of fertilizer from friends and relatives. Luckily enough, she was able to buy a few bags of fertilizer at a low price from Party members who had been granted fertilizer loans despite the fact that they had never produced any crops for sale, nor had they any intention of doing so. In 1988, Musonda Kalaka's loan application was approved. She attributed this to the fact that the chairman of the farmers' cooperative was accused of theft and replaced by a new and more progressive chairman.

The farm's labour force: Working together on separate fields

At the farm as it existed between 1985 and March 1987, Musonda Kalaka (B4) was assisted by her daughter Rhoida (C5), her son-in-law, Josphat Kunda (C6), and her younger brother, Kalunga Kalaka (B3). Sometimes she was helped by her two sons, Nesias (C4) and Assy (C3) who most of the time stayed at the farm of their father, Collins Mwape (B6). Normally most of the ploughing as well as the transportation of maize, beans and firewood was done by Kalunga and Josphat. Kalunga was considered to be an expert in the training of young oxen. The two men were also responsible for maintaining farm equipment and carrying out construction works. Although Musonda Kalaka and Rhoida at times held the plough, Josphat tended to discourage them from doing so, since he considered it to be more of a man's job. Therefore, while the two men were ploughing, Musonda Kalaka spent much of her time working with and supervising the piece workers who had been hired to assist with planting.

All farm residents and Kalunga Kalaka were allowed to use the plough (after Musonda Kalaka's fields had been ploughed) and ox cart free of charge. Notwithstanding that the farm consisted, like most other farms in the area, of two units of production and consumption (one unit consisted of Musonda Kalaka and her youngest son Nebra who was born in 1985, the second unit consisted of Rhoida and her husband), the different members of the farm often worked together in each others' fields and gardens. Musonda Kalaka and Rhoida together with her husband cultivated their own fields with hybrid maize. Kalunga Kalaka also had his own fields with hybrid maize but these were not located at the farm. There existed no separation, however, with regard to *mutipula* gardens and millet fields. The cultivation of beans in Musonda Kalaka's own *katobela* gardens was an activity in which all members of the farm participated and for which they received a share of the harvest. Rhoida and Josphat also cultivated their own crop of beans in *katobela*. Both units thus had their own sources of income.

Food was prepared by both women at one fireplace, and either Musonda Kalaka or Rhoida and her husband provided cooking oil, salt, meat or some other kind of relish. The maize from which *nshima* was made usually came from Musonda Kalaka's barn. For his part, Josphat at times gave money to his wife or mother-in-law to pay for grinding the maize.

'We should not fear our in-laws'

Although traditionally a son-in-law is expected to perform a number of services for his parents-in-law, he is supposed to avoid any direct contact and interaction with his mother-in-law. A man is not supposed to sit and talk with his mother-in-law, nor should they work in each other's vicinity, especially when no other persons are present. Both Musonda Kalaka and Josphat Kunda argued, however, that they saw only disadvantages in adhering to such a Lala tradition. The fact that until 1987 (the year Musonda Kalaka was disfellowshipped) all adult farm residents were Jehovah's Witnesses made it easier for them to work efficiently and sit together in the *nsaka* to discuss farm matters, as Witnesses are not supposed to 'fear' man.

Musonda Kalaka also emphasized that it was possible nowadays to organize work at the farm efficiently because in Nchimishi, and even more so at the farms of Jehovah's Witnesses, a strict sexual division of labour no longer existed⁶ (see also Chapter 13).

Hiring labour: How to recruit 'shy men'

Despite the fact that Musonda Kalaka could count on the assistance of the other farm residents and her brother Kalunga, and despite the fact that existing labour could be used efficiently as Musonda Kalaka and Josphat did not feel constrained about working together in the same fields, the size of this farming enterprise required the use of external labour. During the ploughing and planting season, during the weeding and harvesting season (of both millet and hybrid maize) and also during the processing of the maize crop, Musonda Kalaka had to hire large numbers of workers in order to meet labour demands. Though frequently people came to the farm to look for work, Musonda Kalaka was often forced to follow a more active and direct approach with regard to external labour, which often meant visiting other farms in order to make arrangements with people willing to work on her farm. According to Musonda Kalaka, it has always been difficult for her to recruit enough workers because many women and men are too proud to ask for work and because others prefer to spend their time developing their own farm. (The Kashulwe case presented in Chapter 6 shows that Musonda Kalaka was not the only farmer who faced difficulties recruiting farm workers.⁷)

According to Musonda Kalaka, female farmers face more problems recruiting labour. This is not only because many men and women of the older generation find it difficult to work for, and take orders from, a younger person but also because many men find the idea of being employed by a woman hard to accept. Musonda Kalaka explained this as follows:

'It's very difficult for a man, especially when he is older, to work for a woman. Some are loath to ask me for work. They think: "I cannot work for a woman". So when I need a few men to stump new fields, I ask Kalunga to make contacts. Sometimes they ask him. When they come to me through Kalunga, they feel less reticent because it looks as if they are working for him. So Kalunga acts as a gate to my farm. If they can tell others they work for him, they feel better. Some are already used to the idea of working for me, but others feel very uneasy. Sometimes I see some men walking up and down that path and I know they are after work but they are too proud to ask.' (L)

At other farms also, I found that women used men as a conduit to recruit labour, thus circumventing the possible detrimental effects of the gender ideology existing among many, especially older, men.

Employing matrikin: 'Relatives are difficult to control'

Like Kashulwe Kayumba and other commercially oriented farmers, Agnes Musonda Kalaka saw several disadvantages in employing close or even more distant matrikin. Her remarks relating to this issue therefore show a remarkable resemblance to the comments made by Kashulwe and other farmers in Chapter 6:

'Often I have relatives (matrikin, H.S.) working for me, but also other farmers. The problem with relatives is that it is difficult to turn them down when they ask you for work. My relatives like to complain a lot and it's difficult to supervise them. When I ask them to work harder, one of them may answer: "I am your mother. Who are you to tell me to work harder?" When the work is finished, they often want to be paid more than those who do not belong to our clan. Relatives do not really want to work for you, they just want to get things free, as used to happen in the past.' (L)

Musonda Kalaka frequently employed non-matrikin. In August 1987, for example, I found Rhoida (who had employed several men and women a few weeks earlier to assist her and her husband with the harvesting of their own crop), three young men and two older women assisting Musonda Kalaka with the shelling of maize and putting the shelled maize into bags. A few weeks earlier, in July, I had counted ten men and women working at the farm, and on one particular morning there were as many as twenty-five (mostly non-matrikin) working there. While some of them intended to continue working for Musonda Kalaka for as long as they were needed, a few young men and women arrived in the early morning and planned to work just until they had earned the specific amount of Kwachas they wished to spend at a *sundowni* which was to be held later that day.

Searching for land and the disadvantages of using the old fields of other farmers

In 1985, soon after her divorce from Collins Mwape, Musonda Kalaka managed to gain access to land and a house through her contacts with Smart Kunda, a distant kinsman and a Jehovah's Witness who belonged to the same congregation. In February 1987, she vacated Smart Kunda's land and moved to her own farm which was previously owned by Taipi Mushitu (A1), her maternal uncle, who had passed away some months earlier. This farm, which had remained vacant on Taipi Mushitu's death, was located along the main road leading to Chibale and consisted of several old farm buildings, stumped fields and relatively large tracts of uncultivated land.

But even before this opportunity presented itself, Musonda Kalaka, being aware of the disadvantages of occupying the land of others (see also Chapters 5 and 12), had seriously considered the possibility of establishing her own farm. In 1986, she had requested and received her own farm licence from the chief (see also Chapter 12). This licence entitled her to settle on any unoccupied tract of land in Chibale Chiefdom,

provided she obtained the permission of the section chairman and neighbouring farmers. Musonda Kalaka wished to expand her farming enterprise, but this required having access to more land. At Smart Kunda's farm, however, there hardly existed any possibility of extending her fields without having to clear unused bush land. Musonda Kalaka decided against asking Smart Kunda's permission to stump tracts of unused land, since she not only expected him to turn down her request, but also feared this might affect the good understanding which existed between her and Kunda. Allowing her to clear unused land he controlled would undermine Kunda's rights to this land (see Chapter 12). In order to overcome her problem, she asked several other farmers living in the same section for permission to cultivate maize on fields which had either been abandoned or were lying fallow. Musonda Kalaka was well aware that this could not be a permanent solution, especially since some farmers soon started complaining. Some, for instance, stated in public that they feared that their farm would be 'taken over' by Musonda Kalaka as Smart Kunda's had been.

A meeting with the junior Chief Chibale

Although she acquired her own farm in February 1987, she intended to move from Kunda's farm gradually, and she wished to continue cultivating fields at his farm with hybrid maize for two or three more seasons. At the new farm, fields were rather small and a lot of stumping had to be done. However, due to certain events which she had expected to occur sooner or later, Musonda Kalaka was forced to leave, earlier than planned, the farm and fields she had occupied for two years. Towards the end of 1986, tensions arose between Musonda Kalaka and several of her distant matrikin and neighbours, including Smart Kunda. Rumours had began circulating that her success in farming could not be attributed only to her hard work, but that it was obvious that she had, as my assistant put it, 'other things working for her as well.' Despite the fact that nobody had openly accused her of practising sorcery, she became frightened by the rumours she heard via her friends and the other inhabitants of the farm. She told me, for instance, that she had plans to purchase some galvanized iron sheets in order to replace the grass roof as she feared that otherwise certain 'enemies' might set fire to her house while she was asleep. In November 1986, she bought a radio-cassette and intended, apart from listening to music, to record, whenever possible, all conversations during which others, directly or indirectly, tried to accuse or threaten her. With this kind of evidence, she argued, it would be much easier to defend her case before Chief Chibale, or in court. What follows next is part of a conversation which was recorded by Musonda Kalaka in January 1987. This conversation took place at what she still described as 'her farm' in the presence of the junior Chief Chibale, who was touring the Nchimishi area. Musonda Kalaka had requested the junior Chief Chibale to visit her as she intended to clear her name by unmasking in public the person who had started spreading rumours about her. She also wanted Smart Kunda to explain in front of others why he had asked her a few weeks earlier to leave his farm. Moreover, she wished to find out whether the accusations made by others had influenced his decision to drive her out. Besides Musonda Kalaka, Smart Kunda and the junior Chief, the other persons

present at this meeting were: one of Chief Chibale's messengers, Musonda Kalaka's older sister, Mr. Phiri, a diviner who lived at a nearby farm, and about ten other farmers. The reproduction of this discussion is followed by a short analysis in which I assess the significance of this case for understanding the problems faced by Musonda Kalaka in gaining access to land. I start with the answer of Musonda Kalaka's older sister after she had been asked by the junior Chief Chibale to explain to those present what she knew about the accusations made against her sister:

'Yes, I have heard my sister being accused of transferring other people's crops. It was that day at Mr. Phiri's place that I heard him talking about it.

The junior Chief:

'Who is Mr. Phiri here? It's you? Ah, you witch doctors are very tricky. (Speaking to his messenger): It is better that you ask the people here about what happened.'

The messenger:

'I would like to call upon Mr. Phiri and ask him about this *ukungula* (crop transfer, see also Chapters 6 and 7, H.S.). What were your findings in this case?'

Mr. Phiri:

'I did not see the image of Musonda Kalaka (mirror-gazing was probably used by Mr. Phiri as one of his divination techniques, H.S.). If I had seen her image, I would have told her.'

The messenger:

'But before our discussions when you talked about this woman I heard you use these words: *ukupataula* (jumping) and *ukulima* (working). Why did you use these words? Did you mean to say having different fields at different places or did you refer to *ukungula*?'

Mr. Phiri:

'I meant working in different fields. I did not mean *ukungula*. All I wanted to say is that Musonda Kalaka has fields in different places, she uses the land of different farmers in this section. I went to see Smart Kunda and told him that he should give her enough land, because others are complaining, saying she is using fields everywhere. Next season, people want their fields returned to them. I told him that this woman should have enough land so she can stay in one place.'

The junior Chief:

'Mr. Phiri, Mrs. Musonda Kalaka, I have no judges here with me, so we cannot judge this case. Therefore, we shall meet again in Kapeshi on Thursday. We should all be there again. But what I can say now is that spreading rumours and gossiping about others is always bad. There is hatred around this place. If you surpass someone in farming, others start hating you and accusing you of being a sorcerer. Then people start saying: "He has *ilomba*" (according to my research assistant this is a magic snake which can be used to transfer the crops of other farmers, H.S.). But at this moment there is nothing more I can say. But in Kapeshi we shall find out why you, Mr. Smart, who allowed Mrs. Musonda Kalaka to stay, asked her to leave your place, and we shall see whether you pulled some tricks. You haven't spoken openly with Mrs. Musonda Kalaka and that's why she refused to accept your words when you asked her to leave your farm. You should have spoken openly with her.'

Smart Kunda:

'But that was difficult you know, Chief.'

The junior Chief:

'Nevertheless it's better to say things in a more direct way. It's better to tell someone the truth. If you keep a secret, it means you are also involved in the case.'

Smart Kunda:

'But it's difficult to say such things directly.'

The junior Chief:

'You, Mr. Smart, should have asked Mrs. Musonda Kalaka: "Is what I hear people saying about you

correct?" Then she could have asked you where you heard these accusations. Witchcraft will kill those who always fear to talk openly about it. The same goes for you, Mr. Smart. You should say things in a more direct way. When I receive people, I tell them what I think. It's not like listening to the wireless where you cannot say anything back. When you heard rumours about Musonda Kalaka, by not informing her you contributed to spreading these rumours. You told us that you heard these rumours from the section chairman, and the section chairman tells us he heard things from Mr. Phiri. So rumours about her are just circulating among people, and no one knows what is really going on and what is the truth. Everybody heard it from someone else, but I know there is somebody who is creating hatred against Mrs. Musonda Kalaka. (Addressing himself now to a few women present) Did you hear somebody accusing someone of witchcraft?

One of the women:

'Yes, I heard something, but it was not about witchcraft. I was present when Mr. Phiri said to Mr. Smart: "That place where you are allowing Musonda Kalaka to stay is very small. It would be better if you gave her more land." But I never heard anything about witchcraft.'

The junior Chief:

'And you, Mrs. Musonda Kalaka. How did you come to hear these accusations against you?'

Musonda Kalaka:

'Let me now explain how I heard the story. I found out about it on a Sunday evening, when Mr. Smart Kunda, Mr. Phiri and Mr. Peter (a neighbouring farmer, H.S.) came to my place. Smart Kunda said to me: "We have come to talk to you, woman, about this land. We have seen that you are cultivating a lot and that you have fields at different places. So we have come to ask you if you can start looking for your own farm and stump your own fields and leave this place". I was quiet for a moment because I had to think. Then I asked Mr. Smart: "What's really on your mind? What's your real reason for telling me that I have to move from your place?" Then he answered: "There is nothing, it's only that you are cultivating a lot. You plough here and you plough there, that's the only reason". Then I said: "Okay, I have to accept your words". Then they left. On Thursday I called Mr. Smart and I said to him: "Okay, I understand what you want from me, but what should I do with my fields and my maize?" He answered: "Look, I am not the one who is forcing you out, other people want you to leave." So I asked him who wanted me to leave and why? Then Smart Kunda told me to ask Mr. Phiri since apparently he knew more about this case. So I went to Mr. Phiri, together with Mrs. Temboi (a friend, H.S.) and asked him what was going on. But he refused to give an answer. So another day I went back to Smart Kunda and I said to him: "Here I am again, and I ask you to tell me exactly why people want to drive me away". Then Smart's wife said to her husband: "I already told you, you are a Jehovah's Witness so you should not tell lies and stories to people." Then we went together to Mr. Phiri, and I told him I wanted to hear the whole story, but again Mr. Phiri refused to tell me anything. Then at last Smart Kunda said: "I will tell you what Mr. Phiri has been telling me and other people. When we were sitting in the *nsaka* with Mrs. Temboi and Mrs. Sirus, he told us that you were transferring other people's crops". This is how I came to understand why Smart wanted me to leave his farm, because others had been telling him that the person he was allowing to stay on his farm was transferring crops. But, instead of telling me, Smart Kunda at first refused to say anything. When I finally realized what was really happening I felt very bad, because I am not transferring other people's crops. I only use fertilizer and I only plough fields. At first I did not know what to do against these accusations. Then I realized that the chief was touring this area and I thought it was better to call him, (in a sarcastic tone, H.S.) so that he could come and take all my magic from the house and put it in the open so that people can have a share and use it in their own fields. That's why I came to you, Chief.'

The junior Chief:

'Mrs. Musonda, have you said what you wanted to say?'

Musonda Kalaka:

'Yes.'

The junior Chief:

'From this whole conversation it appears that everything points in the direction of Mr. Phiri. That is why I say: "You witch doctors only bring bad things to us."

Mr. Phiri (in a low voice):

'Should I refuse to give it then, when people come to me to seek advice?'

The junior Chief:

'Mr. Smart, can you tell us whether Mrs. Musonda Kalaka has told us the truth?'

Smart Kunda:

'Of what she has told us some things are true, others are not. Mrs. Musonda Kalaka wants us to believe that I just came to her place and told her with a harsh voice that she had to move. No, I tried to explain things in a humble way to her because evicting someone is not a thing you just do like that. She creates the impression that I spoke with a harsh voice, but that's not true.'

The junior Chief:

'Well, the conclusion remains the same and everything still points in the direction of Mr. Phiri. He is the one who started accusing Mrs. Musonda of witchcraft. As you have heard Mrs. Musonda, it is Mr. Phiri who hates you. Because Mr. Smart is a Jehovah's Witness, he found it impossible to continue hiding the truth. So you all see that these discussions we always have in our *nsakas* can also bring us bad things. Mr. Phiri, by saying that there was *ilomba lya ukungula* you made matters worse for yourself, now you will end up paying a lot of cattle to the accused, (as a joke, H.S.) and I am going to share these animals with her.'

Mr. Phiri (in a low voice):

'I won't be convicted.'

The junior Chief:

'I am here to solve these kinds of cases, even when sorcerers are involved. We should do away with witchcraft because it has got nothing to do with agriculture or development. When I was working in Kabwe for NAMBOARD (National Agricultural Marketing Board), I was signing for farmers not for sorcerers. You see, Mr. Phiri, you created hatred and rumours but you did not expect it would end like this. A case like this comes like a tooth in the mouth, it grows but it does not know what it is going to grind. And, if care is not taken, it can break. Hatred was created against Mrs. Musonda Kalaka, and all this just because she is a woman and she works hard and because some men are jealous of being surpassed by a woman.'

These remarks of the Chief met with much approval, especially from the women who attended the meeting.

One of the women:

'Yes, she only uses her own power. That is why she produces a lot of maize.'

Smart Kunda:

'I also work at my farm. When you have fertilizer you can produce a lot of maize, but when you have only two or three acres (Smart Kunda sold 37 bags to the Nchimishi depot in August 1986, H.S.) you cannot compare yourself with someone who has ten acres.' (L)

Analysis

The discussion presented here may seem to deal only with accusations of sorcery, but I agree with Musonda Kalaka and some other farmers with whom I later evaluated this case that the conflict and the accusations have to be placed in a context of gender relations, jealousy among matrikin and farmers, and access to land. According to Agnes Musonda Kalaka, the junior Chief was right to conclude that some male farmers had

difficulty accepting the idea that a young woman who did not even have her own farm had become the most successful farmer in Chenda section within a few years, more successful than farmers like Mr. Phiri who considered themselves to belong to the local group of established farmers. Musonda Kalaka rationalized this as follows:

'A lot of people hate me because I produce a lot of maize and beans, even more bags than farmers who started working with oxen a long time ago. They say: "A woman can't do this". People are jealous, they look at me and the beautiful clothes I wear. Only some farmers encourage me, like Kash Chipilingu and some other commercial farmers. But those farmers who do not produce a lot of maize are especially jealous. A lot of hatred also comes from my own relatives, from the Mbulo clan. Just as in the case of Cain and Abel: they were brothers but they started hating each other. Often people who are close to you develop this hatred. A lot of people cannot live with the idea that others are ahead of them. That's why they want to bring you back in line, they want everybody to be the same.'

(L)

Some farmers probably could not believe that Musonda Kalaka could become so successful in a relatively short period without practising some kind of sorcery. It is also likely that some others, who had allowed Musonda Kalaka to use some of their old fields, indeed feared that Musonda would take over 'the name of the farm' since she was growing maize on land they were unable to cultivate themselves due to the fact that they lacked capital to purchase sufficient inputs.

Whatever the reason for the acrimony towards Musonda Kalaka, the attack on her was aimed at taking away from her the only resource she did not have full control over: land. Mr. Phiri and other farmers put pressure on Smart Kunda to either grant Musonda Kalaka a large tract of unused land, or drive 'his daughter' from his farm. According to some respondents, these farmers knew very well that Smart Kunda was aware that he would suffer a loss of status and humiliate himself in front of his neighbours, friends and relatives by allowing Musonda Kalaka to clear tracts of unused land. Already the word had gone round for some time that Musonda Kalaka had 'taken over the name of the farm' and was using land Smart Kunda, one of the early adopters of the plough, was unable to bring to development and cultivate (in this context, see the last remark made above by Smart Kunda). Moreover, giving Musonda Kalaka permission to increase her acreage with maize by stumping bush land would seriously undermine Smart Kunda's control over this land. One of the present-day principles of land tenure is that the person who has cleared and cultivated a particular tract of land is considered to have established full rights to its use until they abandon it completely. Even when s/he has given another individual permission to cultivate an old acre, a farmer can always successfully claim this land and drive away its occupier on the grounds that s/he has cleared the land and therefore has prior rights over it.⁸⁾

As I mentioned earlier, quite a few male and female farmers who live in the more densely populated areas along the main road cultivate fields (*ama acres*) which 'belong' to other farmers and can therefore be considered as tenants, who always risk being driven out. Musonda Kalaka's position with regard to the land she occupied was also quite insecure. Even before the conflicts I described took place, Musonda Kalaka was aware that establishing her own farm and obtaining full control over sufficient land

would probably require moving to one of the more isolated and less densely populated areas of Chibale Chiefdom (see also Chapter 5). On several occasions, however, Musonda Kalaka made it clear to me that she preferred to establish her farm near the road, not only because she, being a business woman, needed to transport her beans to the Great North Road and had to stay in touch with the markets of the Copperbelt, but also because she, like many other women in Nchimishi, considered life in these isolated areas to be more difficult for a woman, especially if she had to take care of small children (I discuss this issue in more detail later in this chapter). Not surprisingly, therefore, Musonda Kalaka considered herself to be extremely lucky to be able to take over the farm of her deceased maternal uncle (mother's brother). Although some other farmers had shown interest in the farm after Taipi Mushitu's death, Musonda Kalaka had a strong case since she, unlike these other farmers, was considered to be a rightful heir being the maternal niece of the deceased. The only disadvantage she saw in the new farm was that it is located next to the farm of the Section Chairman of Milulu Section, her ex-husband, Collins Mwape.

Agnes Musonda Kalaka's marriage with Dickson Phiri

During some of the conversations I had with Musonda Kalaka before March 1987, she has said that she intended to remarry if she could find a man who would respect her and whom she could love. Another reason for wanting to remarry was that she felt threatened by her neighbours and her ex-husband. Collins Mwape (B6), arguing that she had been able to establish the 'foundation' of her enterprise while living on his farm, with his consent and support, and that he had taken care for his ex-wife and her daughter Rhoida (C5) for many years, demanded that she either remarry him or compensate him by giving him four cows and K200. Although she gave him two cows and K400, Collins Mwape and some of his close matrikin kept on pressing her to fulfil her remaining 'obligations'. Jonas Benson (A4) in particular, who in the past had helped his sister's son, Collins, to set himself up as a farmer by providing him with a plough and oxen, now expected to receive a share of the payments which were to be made by Musonda Kalaka. Surprisingly, some of Musonda Kalaka's matrikin and other people belonging to the *Mbulu* clan had taken sides with Collins and his relatives during the discussions which took place between the two extended families (such a meeting where two families or clans try to settle disputes is called an *akabungwe kalupwa*) because, as they later explained to Musonda Kalaka, they wished to prevent Collins Mwape or other members of his clan from practising sorcery against them. According to Jonas Benson and Musonda Kalaka, however, her relatives only wanted to weaken her farming enterprise. As Jonas Benson put it: 'Her own clan wants to bring her down because she is a woman and a good farmer' (E). In other words, a gender-based conflict, which can be traced back to the attitude held by a number of men towards female farmers and the difficulty these men have accepting that they have been surpassed by a woman, was translated into what was regarded as a more common and manageable issue involving matrilineal kin rights and economic interests.

Apart from wanting a buffer against interpersonal conflict, Agnes Musonda Kalaka

thought that her remarriage would protect her economic interests as others probably would stop being jealous and fostering hatred towards her. The fact that she was a wealthy woman and a successful female farmer would be more acceptable to other men and women if they had the impression that she was less independent and working under the authority of a husband. Finding a suitable partner turned out to be very difficult however. Agnes Musonda Kalaka:

'Yes, I want to marry. If I can find a man whom I can love, I can marry him, no problem. The only problem is that a lot of men here fear to marry a rich woman. They don't like a rich wife, a wife who is in business and away all the time. If you are a rich woman and you marry a poor man, he may not like his inferior position and he may even try to prevent you from developing the farm. That's how people here are. A man fears that if he marries a rich woman, she will start boasting and even drive him away when he makes a small mistake. Here a man prefers to marry someone who is a bit less wealthy than he is, because when he marries a rich wife even if he works hard and becomes a good farmer his wife can always say: "You developed under my property".' (L)

Early in 1987, Musonda Kalaka married Dickson Phiri (who is not related to Mr. Phiri the diviner mentioned earlier) whom she had met when she had gone out preaching from door-to-door with Smart Kunda. Dickson Phiri (B5) was born in Northern Rhodesia in 1928, a few years after his parents had left Nyasaland.⁹

During one of the interviews I had with Dickson Phiri and Agnes Musonda Kalaka, the latter explained that marrying a non-local man had certain advantages. First and foremost, when one marries a non-local, relatives of the husband are unable to interfere in the marriage and business. Moreover, a non-Lala, a stranger, therefore, without the support of his matrikin and friends, is less likely to have the 'power' to prevent his wife from engaging in farming and trade. Marriage with a local man can also lead to a situation in which the husband feels tempted, or is forced by his matrikin, to have his relatives share in the wealth of his wife. Furthermore, marrying a local man often means becoming enmeshed in long standing conflicts between persons belonging to the two different clans.

Musonda Kalaka was certainly not the only commercially-oriented farmer who preferred to marry an outsider. I found that Kashulwe Kayumba (see Chapter 6) and a few others had similar and other reasons for marrying a non-Lala, or a Lala from a different chiefdom.

At first, Dickson Phiri seemed to be the ideal husband. In August 1987, Musonda Kalaka described her relationship with Dickson Phiri as follows:

'My husband is also a Jehovah's Witness, and he is a little old. He is quiet, has the manners of an old man, and he doesn't mind taking care of the children when I am gone. We made an agreement before we got married. I told him that I am a business woman and always on the move. But he said he was not going to prevent me from doing business. But a young man does not want his wife to move around a lot. They become very jealous when you do. If you wear very nice dresses he thinks you want to commit adultery. But I shall reduce my travel somewhat, because when you are married that's what you do. You have to spend some time with your husband. People were asking him when I was in Serenje last week: "Where's your wife?" You see, people are already gossiping. They only want to see the two of us together.' (L)

Although she intended to stay regularly at her husband's farm and assist him in any way possible to set himself up as a commercial farmer, Musonda Kalaka had the strong wish to remain economically independent. She considered that the best way for her to remain independent would be to continue living apart from her husband. This would also ensure that in the event of divorce she would still have a farm of her own. They agreed that Dickson would not settle at his wife's new farm but would continue to live with his brother at their farm which was located at a considerable distance from the main road.

Musonda Kalaka emphasised, however, that now they were married and 'belonged to the same house' (*nanda*), they were both going to decide on the spending of the income obtained from her trade in beans. Her income from maize, however, would remain her personal income. According to Musonda Kalaka, there was nothing strange about the arrangements she had made with her new husband. After all, due to the large-scale migration of men to the Copperbelt in the past, it had become quite an accepted thing for a husband and wife to live at different locations and to be economically independent.

Soon after getting married, Musonda Kalaka was disfellowshipped as a member of the local congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses on the ground that she had remarried Dickson Phiri before having officially divorced Collins Mwape. Although she was allowed by the congregation to divorce Collins Mwape as he had committed adultery, Collins had refused to go to the local court with her since he still considered Agnes Musonda Kalaka to be his wife. Moreover, she had married a man who in the past had been disfellowshipped as he had divorced his previous wives without a good reason.¹⁰ Although Musonda Kalaka still considered herself to be a Witness and continued attending the meetings at the Kingdom Hall, she also discovered that not being involved any more in different congregation activities had its advantages. During the rainy season in particular, participation in these activities had often prevented her from working in her fields. Moreover, she hoped that she would now stand a better chance of getting an agricultural loan.

After a year of marriage, there was hardly any contact between Agnes Musonda Kalaka and Dickson Phiri, and both were even wondering whether the marriage still existed. Musonda Kalaka continued concentrating on her own enterprise, while Dickson and his brother had not managed to cultivate any hybrid maize. Dickson said that he felt neglected by his wife and lonely and that he was asking himself what he was still doing in Chibale Chieftdom. A few months later, Dickson Phiri left Nchimishi and returned to the Copperbelt. The conflicts with Collins Mwape and his matrikin; the remark made by Agnes Musonda Kalaka with regard to the fact that many men feel inhibited about marrying a richer wife; the advantages she saw in marrying an outsider; and the marriage arrangements she made with Dickson Phiri are all illustrative of the fact that, in Nchimishi, gender is still a critical element in any examination of norms and values surrounding social and economic status. In following chapters I show that many married women use several other strategies to create space for themselves and their projects and use various other strategies to defend their economic interests against the possible claims made by the husband, his close matrikin, or her own group of close matrikin.

Commentary and analysis: Agnes Musonda Kalaka and the changed position of women in Nchimishi

Musonda Kalaka and a small number of other women make up the first generation of female farmers in Nchimishi. It is not my intention in presenting the Musonda Kalaka case to provide a description of the average farming enterprise or the average female farmer in Nchimishi (assuming such an average female farmer exists). As I mentioned earlier, one of the reasons for studying the career and enterprise of Musonda Kalaka is that she and the other female farmers of the first generation have played an important part in changing the role of women in agriculture and in transforming the relationship between husband and wife, between men and women in general.

In order to illustrate the influence this first generation of female farmers has had upon processes of agricultural, social and economic change, I include the analysis and statements of different respondents. During my stay in Nchimishi, Musonda Kalaka and her farming enterprise were regular topics of conversation at beer parties or funerals. During these discussions, apart from evaluating particular persons, farms or actions, participants frequently made statements of a more general nature. Discussions concerning a particular enterprise or the actions of particular farmers were often preceded or followed by discussions or statements regarding processes of agricultural, social or economic change. Some discussions, for instance, centred around issues such as why men in recent years seem to have lost much of the authority and power they once had vis-a-vis their wives, whether ideally a husband and wife should each have their own fields and income or should work together, and whether or not a wife should first assist her husband with his cash crop before working in her own fields. During such discussions, it was often argued that without women such as Musonda Kalaka, Bana Febby, Agnes Changwe and a few other female farming pioneers, major changes would probably not have occurred in the role of women in agriculture and in the balance of power between husband and wife. Musonda Kalaka was right when she said that at beer parties and other gatherings many male farmers of the older generation tended to criticize her behaviour and to express feelings of envy and hatred. She was also correct when she said that she and her colleagues were seen as role models by many young women as well as men in the area. The words of Hubert Yumba, a farmer and one of my key informants, express the two opposing views which were often heard in Nchimishi with regard to female farmers. When asked how people in general react to the fact that Musonda Kalaka has become one of the largest farmers in the area, Hubert Yumba answered:

'As you may have heard, people often have discussions about farming here, especially at beer parties. Musonda Kalaka is a very progressive farmer with new ideas. She has surprised a lot of men because she has become a very wealthy person. When people talk about her, you often see two different groups. Those who are a little civilized admire her because they want to be like her. These are the people who can contact her and ask her for advice. Others are jealous, especially the old who are traditionally minded. They don't like to see a woman like her coming from town with new ideas, working without the guidance of a man. These people are jealous and say that one day she will die being like that. They ask: "How can a woman be in that position?"' (L)

Some important observations were made by Kaulenti Chisenga regarding the role played by women like Musonda Kalaka in bringing about changes in the social and economic position of other women in Nchimishi when I asked him to characterize Agnes Musonda Kalaka and a few other farmers and to compare them with other male and female farmers:

'Well, Musonda Kalaka, she is a farmer and a business woman. She produces beans, and this year she has produced over 250 bags of maize, and she uses oxen to plough her fields. That's why she is a farmer. But she is also a business woman. For many years now she has been buying beans from other farmers and selling them in town. In town she buys things like clothes, which she sells here. In this way, through business, she also gets money. That's why she is a townswoman.

- What do you mean, townswoman?

Well, in some ways she respects Lala customs. For example, when she meets an old man or woman she shows respect, but she is also a townswoman because she wants to be independent and follow her own ideas. She wants to make her own decisions and have her own money. She behaves very much like a woman who lives in town. She likes to cook her meat and vegetables with Saladi (cooking oil, H.S.) and she likes to wear beautiful dresses.

- What about many other women. Are they different?

In some ways yes, not many women of her age live alone like Musonda Kalaka. But in some ways a lot of women have become like her. Nowadays, many women want to be independent too. That's why you can find a woman sitting with her husband and saying: "Look, my husband, you can make your fields here, but I want to make my own fields over there". And another woman can say: "There is nowhere on this farm to make my own fields, so I will move to that other place and start my own farm", as Musonda Kalaka did when she was married to this Mr. Phiri. So, being a husband, what can you do? What you can see here nowadays is that women make their own plans and rules instead of just following their husband. That is how changes take place in this area. You see, it's a town mentality, it's not something from our past, from the time of the villages, from our traditions. In the past, rules were made by the chief, the village headman and the husband, and a woman just followed these rules. That's our tradition, but in town and on their farms people have learned to make their own rules and now women want to be independent and have their own money. Nowadays, people do not follow the traditions blindly. In the past, there were only Lala traditions and rules, and people here didn't know anything else. They didn't know about the Bible and about the existence of governments. But today some follow the rules from the Bible, and those who belong to UNIP follow the rules of the Party. Others continue following our Lala customs. So you see, because of these different systems and rules today people have become very different from each other. Some are rich, some are Jehovah's Witnesses and some are politicians or drinkers. Now, jealousy is an important thing if you want to see how things are changing. When someone is jealous, it means he wants what some other people already have. So people start copying each other. Someone can think: "If I become a politician too, I can also make good contacts with Mr. so and so, and he can help me with my farm". Another person can think: "If I save money and make a shopping list like the Jehovah's Witnesses instead of just buying whatever I see in the shops, I can become more wealthy". The same applies to women. Today, women are getting on well in farming because they have started following women like Musonda Kalaka and that wife of Tepu Mumbulu, who were the first women to start farming in this area.

- Can you explain?

Yes, it's just as I explained before, that time there near my garden in the *dambo*, when we talked about traditions and changes. When you follow a path through the bush, you follow in the footsteps of those who were there before you. But as you are walking you are not only following others, but you yourself are also making and keeping that path, because by walking you step on grasses which could make the path disappear, or you can use your axe to cut some small branches or trees. Now some day a person can think: "Why do I always follow this path? Maybe if I cut through these bushes here, I can make a shortcut". So this person makes a new path. Now the next person, when he arrives

at this junction, he can choose: "Shall I follow the old path or the new one?" If people only start following the new path, the old one will slowly disappear. But if some follow the old path you will have more roads in that area. The same with traditions, if you follow a tradition you are also keeping that tradition. In the past, women followed their husbands. When *citeme* were being made, the man was always in front cutting the branches and the wife followed. When people here learned about the plough, at first only men like Kash Chipilingu and George started ploughing, and women only followed their husbands, assisting them. But women like Musonda Kalaka have shown that a woman can also become a good farmer. They made a new path and they also showed that there are a lot of ways for women to make money, to make a foundation for their farms, like selling beans or brewing beer. So other women started thinking: "Ah, if I follow their example, I can also buy some nice *citenge* and be like them". Because now we are living in the time of money and business, and everyone wants to make plans for the future and buy and sell things to become rich. That's how debates arose. In the past, things were more clear, but today there are a lot of discussions between husbands and wives, because there are different ways to run a farm and a lot of women want to have their own money.' (E)

Processes of agricultural, social and economic change and differentiation which have taken place and continue to take place in Nchimishi are generally explained as having been caused by developments and processes taking place at the regional and national level: processes and factors such as the high urban demand for migrant labour which existed until the early 1970's; the present economic crisis in Zambia which has led to higher consumer prices and the return of a considerable number of migrants; the introduction by these returned migrants of new forms of behaviour, new attitudes, norms and values; the introduction of agricultural innovations such as the plough, fertilizer and hybrid maize; other forms of government intervention, such as the establishment of a political infrastructure, a farmers' cooperative and credit institutions; the urban demand for cash crops; processes of commoditization; and the introduction of certain religious ideologies.

Kaulenti Chisenga's analysis, however, reflects the point of view I encountered among most Nchimishi residents that not only have these what we may call exogenous factors and processes given rise to certain processes of agrarian, social and economic change in the area, but that these changes can also be seen as to some extent resulting from certain processes and changes which have occurred at local level, processes such as the fragmentation and disappearance of the villages in favour of the farm as the new residential unit. But what is more, specific developments or processes of change such as the changing position of women in agriculture and the changing relationship between husband and wife, men and women, are seen as the result not only of the interaction between exogenous and local factors and processes, but also of the decisions and actions of particular individual actors: actors who were the first to discover and make use of the new opportunities these factors and processes presented; individuals who opted for a new course of action which meant a break with the past, who managed to overcome different constraints and the considerable opposition mounted against their undertakings, and who through their behaviour challenged certain norms and values, and embodied or represented new values and goals. It is interesting to note in this respect that many respondents, both male and female, made reference to the decisions and behaviour of particular individuals, such as Kash Chipilingu and Musonda Kalaka, to explain not only

the adoption and dissemination of the plough and the cultivation of cash crops but also the rise of female cash-crop farming in Nchimishi. At the same time, however, these developments were said to have their roots in the urban areas because it was mainly returned migrants who took advantage of new opportunities, who had the courage to make new paths and who became successful farmers as a result. A young farmer, Frank Mumbulu, expressed this as follows:

'The farmers who are doing well are those who have spent some time in the urban areas. Those who have stayed here all their lives often have no proper ideas on farming.

- Why?

Those who have known the hard life, that is financial hardship, have become the good farmers, because they live with the idea that without money you cannot get on properly. Plus, they have experienced the urban economic crisis, and they know how to economize. Now when they come back home they know how to make good plans, because even here you need money for a lot of things.

- What about women who have become farmers?

Ah, women are funny creatures, some can be just like a man when it comes to new ideas. When you look at a lot of the ladies around her, the ones who are getting on properly with farming are often those who have witnessed urban life. These ladies who returned from the urban areas, they have a different attitude. They know that life means working hard and trying to achieve something. That's what they have learned in town. But those old characters who have always remained here, they lack this kind of education. They were only following these traditions, automatically, just making small gardens near the *dambo* every season. They do not have plans. But these middle-aged ladies from town have pumped in some modern ideas into this place, Chibale, because they were more developed and did not fear to try out new things, even in farming. That's why they have become the high examples of those who remained here. You see, for example in a conversation, a woman, a farmer who stayed in the urban areas, says to her friend: "Ah, this year after I harvest my maize I'll buy animals because I find it difficult to get my fields ploughed". Then her friend can say: "Ah, but how did you manage to get funds to go into business", and so on. Then she can answer: "I was already a business lady, even in town. Now when I came back I tried *munkoyo*, beans and other things, and then I switched over to farming". This friend who has never lived in urban areas now starts walking home with the idea: "Yes, if at least I could save money to buy a few bags of fertilizer and prepare one acre, maybe in the future I can reach the stage my friend is at. Ah, I have been wasting too much of my time in my husband's fields. He gets a lot of money, but I do not get an equal share". You see, this is how ladies who have been to town have been the examples of those who never left this place.'

(E)

Some changes which have occurred in Nchimishi are associated with particular individuals not only because they were innovative and they were the first to take advantage of new opportunities, but also because they created new opportunities themselves. The rise of female cash-crop farming can be viewed in the same light as the diffusion of animal traction and the plough and the important role played in this process by a limited number of farmers (see Chapter 4). Musonda Kalaka certainly made use of existing opportunities when she established her enterprise. However, her wish to become a successful farmer and her intention to remain independent of her husbands and in control of her own resources made her disrupt the existing pattern whereby men were in control of the cultivation of cash crops. Musonda Kalaka and the other pioneering women unintentionally introduced a new way of looking at the relationship between women and cash-crop farming. Moreover, Musonda Kalaka, by

being the first to cultivate runner beans on a relatively large scale, also introduced a new strategy which enabled both women and men to obtain the capital they needed to become commercially-oriented farmers without having to migrate to the Copperbelt. Although a lot of women in Nchimishi found themselves in a somewhat different position in the sense that they were married (in 1988, 55 % of all adult women in our sample were married, while 45 % were single, divorced or widowed), or did not have a town background (in 1988, 43 % of all adult women and 29 % of all adult men in our sample had never lived in the urban areas), many women gradually became aware of the fact that despite these differences they too could acquire the capital they needed to engage in the cultivation of hybrid maize for the market through the cultivation and commercialization of runner beans. The cultivation of runner beans proved to be a perfect strategy for women to become financially more independent of their husband without endangering the food situation of the household (it should be noted that only a minority of the adult women in Nchimishi became engaged in the long distance bean trade). Another reason why women started following the example set by this first generation of female farmers is that these farmers demonstrated the value of having an independent income, an income which enabled them to make further investments in their enterprise but also enabled them to purchase various consumer goods for themselves and their children.

In the early and mid-1980's, a lot of women began to question the position they held in cash-crop farming, and the perception of the woman acting merely as the paid or unpaid assistant of her husband gradually changed. According to Kaulenti Chisenga and many other respondents, it was these new insights and value dilemmas which led to the kind of discussions to which Hubert Yumba referred. These discussions did not only take place at beer parties or at other gatherings however. At quite a number of farms also, discussions and negotiations between spouses started taking place: discussions concerning the wish of many women to have their own income or to become independent farmers, and negotiations concerning access to different resources including their own labour.

I found that in the early years of female farming, and even at the time of the restudy, many male farmers of the older generation had difficulty accepting the fact that a few single women had become such successful farmers. Musonda Kalaka was not the only female farmer who had to overcome numerous problems and to face a lot of opposition. Sometimes, attempts were made to prevent these women from gaining access to basic resources such as land and labour, and, during many conversations I had with Musonda Kalaka, jealousy, sorcery and hatred were key words. I also discovered, however, that men who tried to prevent their wives from engaging in the cultivation of cash crops in most cases did not succeed in doing so. In many other cases, the wife's wish to cultivate her own beans and/or hybrid maize for sale and to establish her own enterprise did not meet any resistance and did not result in tensions and conflicts between the spouses, because many men were quick to see the advantages of their wives having their own fields and cash income. I found that many younger men even encouraged and assisted their wives to develop their own sources of income (see also some of the remarks made by Kashulwe Kayumba in Chapter 6). One farmer explained

this attitude as follows: 'Quite a few men think along the same lines as I do. I want my wife to have her own income. In that way she can buy whatever she wants, and I do not have to pay for all her clothes.' (L)

Indeed, the economic separation of the spouses was often to the advantage of husbands as well, not only because their wives now had their own housekeeping money enabling them to buy goods which benefitted the whole family or household, such as pots, cooking oil, salt, soap and washing powder, but also because income-earning wives were often expected to pay for a large part of the expenses incurred on behalf of their children. In Chapter 9, I shall explain in more detail the other reasons both wife and husband may have for setting up their own separate farming enterprises.

The actions of the first female farmers were also very revealing for other women in Nchimishi in the sense that Musonda Kalaka and her 'colleagues' showed that under more permanent forms of agriculture, such as plough or hoe cultivation, women's dependence upon male labour was in fact less than under traditional Lala agriculture. In 'the days of *citemene*', women had been more dependent upon male labour since a new *citeme* garden had to be cut each year, whereas an acre can be used for many successive seasons. What is more, under plough or hoe cultivation a woman is less dependent upon the labour of particular males: her own husband, her adult sons or her relatives. Her involvement in the cultivation of cash crops means that in many cases a woman is able to hire other men to clear and stump the land for her. If this proves to be a problem due to a lack of financial resources, it is, in the Nchimishi context, not at all impossible to ask a neighbouring farmer or a relative for permission to use some old fields. Women's awareness that they do not necessarily depend upon male labour was strengthened when some women even started stumping and clearing their own fields, or at least assisted in this process. Although the stumping and clearing of land is still considered by many women and men to be a male task, the fact that a healthy woman is able to carry out this work has certainly played a role in convincing both sexes that nowadays women do not necessarily need the help of a man to establish and run a farming enterprise.

The second generation of female cash-crop farmers

Within a few years, starting from the early 1980's, a majority of the women in Nchimishi have secured for themselves a personal and more or less regular cash income, which at the time of the restudy was mainly derived from the sale of runner beans, hybrid maize or both. In 1985, adult women in Nchimishi who cultivated their own fields with hybrid maize accounted for an estimated 19.1% of the total production of hybrid maize (4,628 bags) in the Nchimishi area. By 1988, their share had risen to 34.3% of a total production of 14,532. Adult men who cultivated their own fields with hybrid maize in 1988 accounted for 24.8% of the total production sold. The same year, 19.3% of all adult women cultivated their own hybrid maize for the market, compared with 16.9% of all adult men. Thirty-nine percent of all hybrid maize was cultivated by

married couples who cultivated common fields (see also Table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Hybrid maize marketed by adult men and women in 1988
(percentages in brackets)

BAGS OF HYBRID MAIZE MARKETED	ADULT MALES (MARRIED AND UNMARRIED) CULTIVATING THEIR OWN FIELDS WITH HYBRID MAIZE	ADULT FEMALES (MARRIED AND UNMARRIED) CULTIVATING THEIR OWN FIELDS WITH HYBRID MAIZE	MARRIED PERSONS CULTIVATING HYBRID MAIZE TOGETHER WITH SPOUSE ON COMMON FIELDS		TOTAL
			MALES	FEMALES	
1-10	6 (27.3)	4 (19)	6 (27.3) (13.6)	6 (27.3) (13.6)	22 (99.9)
11-30	8 (36.4)	12 (44.5)	14 (29.1) (31.8)	14 (29.1) (31.8)	48 (100)
31-60	2 (9.1)	8 (29.6)	11 (34.4) (25)	11 (34.4) (25)	32 (100)
61-150	5 (22.7)	1 (3.7)	12 (40) (27.3)	12 (40) (27.3)	30 (100)
150+	1 (4.5)	2 (7.4)	1 (20) (2.3)	1 (20) (2.3)	5 (100)
TOTAL	22 (100)	27 (100)	44 (100)	44 (100)	137

In 1988, adult women who cultivated their own personal *katobela* or *mabwela* fields with beans (40% of all adult women) were responsible for 37.2% of the total production of 2850 tins in the area. Men cultivating their own *katobela* or *mabwela* (33% of all adult men) were responsible for 21.7% of the total beans production sold.

If we only look at the 87 women in the survey sample who were older than 24 years of age in December 1988, the survey shows that 57 (65.5%) of these women were engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize and that 52 (59.7%) of them, alone or together with their husband, sold more than 10 bags. Out of these 57 women, 30 (34.5% of all 87 women older than 24 years of age and 52.6% of all 57 women older than 24 years of age who were engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize) cultivated their own fields with hybrid maize, whereas 27 (47.4%) cultivated the crop together with their husband on common fields.

Thirty women in the survey sample who were older than 24 years of age, were either single, divorced or widowed. Sixteen (53.3%) of them cultivated and sold their own hybrid maize.

Of all 57 women older than 24 years of age who were married, 41 (71.9%) were engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize. Of these 41 women, 14 (34.1%) cultivated their own personal fields with hybrid maize (see also Appendix 4).

In 1988 there was no significant difference between men and women as regarding

the technology they used to prepare their maize fields. However, as only 7.5% of all adult women owned a plough (compared to 24.4% of all adult men) and only 9.3% of them owned trained oxen (compared to 19.2% of all adult men), proportionally more women hired teams for ploughing or relied upon the assistance of their husband, children, parents or close matrikin. The fact that proportionally less women in Nchimishi own oxen and ploughs should not come as a surprise since, as I indicated earlier, the men were introduced to plough agriculture during the late 1940's, whereas female farming only took off during the late 1970's and the early 1980's. Today, many ploughs are owned by elderly men who purchased them in the 1950's or 1960's.

Although women cultivating their own fields with hybrid maize have become responsible within a relatively short period for more than one third of the total hybrid maize output of the area, and although some women, such as Musonda Kalaka and Bana Febby, ranked among the biggest producers of hybrid maize and runner beans in 1988, it must be noted that women cannot be treated as a homogeneous category and that there exists a very marked pattern of differentiation among the female population of Nchimishi with regard to agricultural production and cash income (see also Appendix 4). Seven percent of all adult women in Nchimishi cultivated their own fields with maize and beans but did not sell part of their harvest during the 1985/86, the 1986/87 and the 1987/88 seasons. This category mainly consisted of, first, women who spent a lot of their time working in the fields of their husbands; second, young women who had not yet started cultivating crops for sale; third, women, often farm or household heads, who considered themselves to be too old to become cash-crop cultivators; fourth, women who for various reasons were not interested in becoming cash-crop cultivators; fifth, women who for various reasons had no access to resources such as land and labour (in some cases even the labour of these women and the fruits of that labour were controlled by their husbands); sixth, women who as a result of a bad health did not have the energy to spend much time on agriculture. I also found that quite a few elderly female farm or household heads, and younger divorced female farm or household heads who had a lot of small children, were caught in a kind of 'poverty trap' in the sense that during the planting season they were forced to go out and work for other farmers in order to earn some cash or to obtain food, salt, soap or clothes and therefore did not have the time to prepare large enough gardens or fields of their own.

Although 80.7% of all adult women in Nchimishi and 65.5% of all women older than 24 years of age did not cultivate their own fields with hybrid maize, many of these women cultivated runner beans for sale in personal *katobela* and *mabwela* gardens. This category mainly consisted of younger and middle-aged women (both married women and female household and farm heads) who had not yet secured enough capital to engage in the production of hybrid maize, and of women who worked with their husband on his hybrid maize crop.

Of all adult women in the survey sample who cultivated and sold their own crop of hybrid maize, 18% used only a hoe to prepare their fields or gardens. Most younger women, however, considered the cultivation of hybrid maize by means of hoeing to be merely a temporary, transitional phase in the further development of their farming enterprise. They saw the use of this more labour intensive but less expensive method

of cultivating hybrid maize as a reliable strategy to procure the capital needed to extend their fields, purchase greater quantities of inputs and to hire, or at a later stage even buy, oxen, a plough or an ox cart.

Eighty-two percent of all adult women in the survey sample who cultivated their own hybrid maize made use of an ox-drawn plough to prepare their fields. Differentiation was marked within this group also. Whereas some women produced 10 bags or less, others sold over 100 bags during the 1987/88 season. Looking at both men and women we can conclude that ox and plough owners tend to produce more bags of hybrid maize than women and men who have to borrow or hire the oxen and farm equipment of others.

Like Musonda Kalaka, a large majority of the women as well as a majority of the men continue cultivating hoed gardens after they have switched over to the plough, not only because *katobela* gardens produce the bulk of the bean crop, but also because these gardens have the advantage that their preparation can take place before the start of ploughing season.

Notes:

1. My discussion of Engels' work is based partly upon the writings of Sacks (Sacks 1975) and to a lesser extent upon Leacock (Leacock 1972).
2. Whitehead, in this context, makes the distinction between sex sequential (i.e. crops produced by men and women working in sequence) and sex segregated (separate crops for each gender) patterns of relations between men's and women's tasks (Whitehead 1985).
3. When asked about the sources of her agricultural knowledge acquired over the years, Bana Febby mentioned the contacts she had managed to develop after 1980 with some of the more successful local maize growers. The names she mentioned in this context were often the same as those given by Agnes Musonda Kalaka. She also emphasized, however, that before Zambian independence she had learned a few 'modern' farming techniques (how to use fertilizer, for instance) after joining a so-called 'domestic club' in Kunda Lumanshya (the part of Chibale Chiefdom where Bana Febby was born and raised). At this club, where women received lessons in cooking and knitting, the teacher, Mrs. Musowe (a Lozi by tribe), decided that all members should assist in the cultivation of a few communal gardens and fields in order to continue financing the various activities of their club. Ironically, the intention was not to teach women new methods of agriculture because, according to Bana Febby, at that time nobody, including herself, was aware of the fact that women could become successful cash-crop producers.
4. During the 1987-88 season, Musonda Kalaka used 70 bags of basal dressing and 70 bags of top dressing to cultivate approximately 9.7 hectares of hybrid maize. During the 1986-87 season, she bought 54 bags of fertilizer to cultivate 5.3 hectares.
5. Agnes Musonda Kalaka:
 'When I was in town a couple of months ago, for the first time I saw people drinking this wine. But it was the daughter of the late Mr. Pati, who lives at Mulilima, who taught me how to make it. I am the first to make wine here in Nchimishi and a lot of people come to buy it from me. Some like it more than *katata* because it has a strong taste. To many people, especially to those who do not travel a lot, wine is a new thing they never tasted before. But most people like it. Selling wine is a good business and even more profitable than brewing *katata*. If you know how to give your wine a good and strong taste, you can earn as much as K800 each time you make it. There is not much work involved in making wine, the only problem is getting enough sugar and yeast. It's easy to get tea leaves.
 - Tea leaves?
 Yes, you also need tea leaves and water.' (L)
6. According to Musonda Kalaka:
 'Jehovah's Witnesses do not segregate when it comes to work. A man may sweep the floor and fetch water and a woman may do the ploughing. The Bible tells us that Adam was created first, so he was able to do everything: the cooking, the washing and what have you. Woman was created to assist her husband, but this does not mean that the work she does cannot be done by a man. If they have the power both man and woman can do all the different jobs on the farm.' (L)
7. During an interview centring on the labour issue, Musonda Kalaka made the following observation:
 'If I ask people to come and work for money I get a lot of younger boys, but if I promise to give clothes I get a lot of older people as well. Women prefer to work for clothes for their children, but they also work for other things such as cooking oil, soap or salt. But younger men prefer to work for money, money that they can spend on beer. It also depends on the kind of work for which you need people. Brick making or house building is men's work, but, when you need people to help you with harvesting or weeding, you get men and women. Yes, it's difficult to get enough people to work for me. Nowadays people want to develop their own farms. That's why I often get young men or women who need capital to start their own farm, or who want to learn from me. But I also get older people, especially women who do not sell any maize to the depot. These women are poor and have enough time to work for me. Sometimes they even want to work for food. The disadvantage of employing older people is that it's very difficult to supervise them.' (L)

Dickson Phiri, the man whom Musonda Kalaka married in March 1987 (Musonda Kalaka's marriage

with Dickson Phiri will be discussed later), added the following remark:

'You see, my wife thinks psychologically. She found it very difficult to supervise old people, especially men, because older people have two reasons for working for her. They work for money or clothes because they have to, but they are also traditionally minded, or you could say they still have this colonial thinking. They want to find out how my wife started her business, how she runs her farm and whether she uses magic. They are jealous. They think: "A woman, a young woman, she should not be above us. Instead of us working for her, she should be working for us". But young people have only one thing on their mind: they work for money and they want to start their own farm but older people have two thoughts.' (E)

8. A somewhat different situation emerges, however, when a farmer allows another person to clear a piece of the unused bush land s/he controls and which is considered to form part of her or his farm. In such a case it appears much more difficult for the individual who originally controlled the land to force out the new occupier. By clearing the land, by investing 'power' in it (be it in the form of one's own labour or capital to hire labour), a person is at the same time establishing rights over it. Rights which have precedence over the rights of the original occupant (see also Chapters 5 and 12).
9. According to Dickson Phiri, he lacked roots and had no real home since he travelled a lot with his parents during his youth and subsequently had worked himself in what was then Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. He was baptized as a Jehovah's Witness in 1958. He had spent most of his life in urban areas, but having divorced his third wife in 1985, Dickson decided a year later to leave the urban areas and go to Nchimishi (the home of his first wife) where he took up residence at the farm of his brother who, following Dickson's advice, had settled in Nchimishi a couple of years earlier in order to set up a farming enterprise which the two brothers intended to run jointly. Dickson and his brother intended to become commercial farmers, but according to Dickson:
'In the beginning we want to do things slowly, so that people get used to us. We are strangers here. If we develop our farm in a gradual way, people will start respecting instead of hating us. And it will give us a chance to get to know our neighbours. But I want to become a serious farmer, not producing 20 or 30 bags. No, real farming means producing at least 500 to 1,000 bags of maize.' (E)
Dickson thought he stood a good chance of becoming a successful farmer employing a number of permanent workers because he had followed several courses in personnel management in order to become a foreman while working in South Africa.
10. Among the Jehovah's Witnesses, adultery is the only ground for divorce.

Chapter 9

Agricultural change and the household

Introduction

We saw in Chapter 8 that a great number of women in Nchimishi have become cash-crop producers following the example of Agnes Musonda Kalaka and a few other women. In what follows next, I examine the various motivating factors which impelled women to follow the example of this first generation of female farmers. In other words, I try to discover why so many women in the area started cultivating their own cash crops and why many attempted to become financially independent of their husbands. I also try to show why (how) women who have continued (have taken up) the cultivation of hybrid maize with their husband on common fields managed to become full participants in decisions regarding the disposal of income. Subsequently I describe the various ways in which production and consumption are organized at the level of the conjugal family. Finally, I show that the importance of conjugal ties cannot be comprehended unless these ties are placed in the context of networks of kin and affines. Therefore, I assess the interrelationship between conjugal separations in the sphere of production and consumption on the one hand, and the relationship between the spouses, between parents and their children, and between husband and wife and their respective matrikin on the other.

In the last part of this chapter I return once more to Boserup's *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, presenting the responses of several informants to particular passages read to them from Boserup's book.

Separations within the household

As I explained in Chapter 8, from the 1960's to the mid-1970's when first tobacco and then maize was the main cash crop, the husband usually received and controlled any income derived from agriculture, albeit that in some instances the wife received a share. Within most households, however, the husband was expected to take account of the needs of other members of the household and to discuss with his wife her financial requirements in relation to her household responsibilities. I was told that frequently the distribution of income within the family caused intense dispute, tension and conflict as

husband and wife often disagreed on the disposal of household income, on whether it should be re-invested in the farming enterprise or used to purchase various household and consumer goods. Wives often accused their husbands of not taking good care of them and their children. The struggles and negotiations often centred not only on wives wishing to establish control over the spending of household income derived from agriculture, but also on issues such as the sexual designation of tasks, the labour input of the wife to cash cropping and her (culturally-derived) responsibility for the children. In other words, many of these struggles were about the construction of conjugal relations, and sets of rights and obligations between household members (see also Whitehead 1991; 453).

Towards the late 1970's and early 1980's, a period in which cash-crop farming underwent tremendous development, tensions within households started to occur more frequently. The increased household income from agriculture and the success of the first generation of independent female farmers resulted in an increasing number of women in Nchimishi questioning and discussing with their husbands, and with other men and women, their position and role within the household and the farming enterprise. The success of Agnes Musonda Kalaka (see Chapter 8) and other women in producing their own cash crop, and the demonstrable advantages of women running their own enterprises and having their own income, gradually made many other women aware that they neither wished nor had to remain merely their husband's (paid or unpaid) assistant.

If we wish to understand why it has become more a rule than an exception for women to cultivate their own cash crops and/or have their own income, we should examine the causes that have given rise to various agricultural and/or economic separations between husband and wife. In what follows I show that not all causes of separation necessarily have their roots in tensions and conflicts between spouses, but that in some cases a separation, for instance the maintaining of separate fields, may be the strategic answer of a conjugal family to pressures and demands originating outside the boundaries of the conjugal family and farm.

1) Separate fields and incomes

The following text, which forms part of a conversation I had with Kaulenti Chisenga, discusses some of the reasons why husbands and wives may maintain separate fields and have separate incomes. Kaulenti Chisenga:

"There are different reasons why a man and his wife can decide to have separate fields and to keep their income separately. For example, the relatives (matrikin, H.S.) of both husband and wife often come along to ask for money. Now, if the wife gives a lot of money to her relatives, this can lead to separate incomes. Suppose on a farm they have a garden and the wife wants to use the vegetables to feed her children, but her husband wants to sell them. Then they can decide to make separate gardens. Or suppose the wife wants to invest the money they get from maize in the farm, but she finds out her husband is spending a lot of this money in Serenje on beer and women. That wife can now decide to start brewing beer and save money so the next season she can buy some bags of fertilizer and hire oxen. Then you will have separate fields and separate incomes on this farm. This also happens when a woman asks her husband to buy things for the kitchen, like pots. If the husband says: "No, you can still use that one with the hole", she starts thinking because she sees that he is buying

nice things for himself. This is how you get separations. Women are more responsible when it comes to money because they take care of the children. Men think of themselves, that's why women are better in business. Now if the wife is working with her husband in their field, but the husband is lazy and says all the time: "My wife, can we rest now?", or: "Can you go to the farm to cook?" Then she can think: "I am wasting my time". So she starts growing beans or brewing beer and after some time she will be independent of him. This is what happened with Musonda Kalaka. Also because Mwape Kabiki (Collins Mwape, H.S.) wanted to marry a lot of women. Polygamy also causes a lot of conflicts and separations on the farm. (E)

As these remarks show, separations are often the result of conflicts of interest and tensions that occur within the conjugal family, within the confines of the farm. Separations may follow from the fact that husband and wife have different ideas regarding resource sharing, investment and consumption, or because one of the spouses is more ambitious than the other. Women may also decide to cultivate their own cash crops because they have been unable to establish any control over the household income, because they simply refuse to remain the paid or unpaid helper of their husband and wish to have access to the returns to labour, or because their husband does not take any responsibility for the welfare of their children and refuses to spend 'enough' money on them. Conflicts can also arise in the event of either husband or wife (or both) wishing to pay more attention to their respective close matrikin. I came across a few cases where wives who lived at the farm of their husband and some of his brothers had decided to start cultivating their own cash crops in order to provide for a more secure future for themselves and their children, as their husband had made it quite clear that after his death his property would be divided among his brothers with whom he had worked for many years.

The initiative to establish separate gardens and/or fields does not always come from the woman's side. I recorded a few cases where men who had married a richer wife or had married into a wealthy family wished to stay economically independent in order to make sure that others, their own matrikin and the matrikin of their wife in particular, could not accuse them of being fed and clothed by their wife and of their achievements being due to the fact that they had access to their wife's capital and her oxen or farming implements, or the implements of their parents-in-law.

The statements made by Kaulenti Chisenga also show that not all separations can be attributed to tensions or the lack of solidarity between husband and wife. It is worth noting that the maintenance of separate maize fields and separate incomes is regarded as an effective strategy both within families that are characterized by strong bonds of solidarity and within families characterized by the lack of such bonds. As I mentioned earlier, many men see advantages in their wives having their own personal income enabling them to purchase goods that benefit the whole family.

The external pressures and coercions exerted on the household or conjugal family that lead to the establishment separate fields or gardens and the economic separations between man and wife have to be considered in relation to the matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance. Within matrilineal societies such as the Lala, kinship is traced through the female line. According to Poewe, a critical feature of such a society is that:

'...."womb" relationships are stronger and more important in integrating members of the society than "affinal" relationships. The husband-wife tie is secondary to those of one's lineage mates who can demonstrate origin from the same womb. Therefore the conjugal family is not a separate jural identity. It is embedded in the wife's matrilineage or in the matrilineal extended family which was formerly corporate vis a vis production and residence' (Poewe 1978: 208).

The fact that under the traditional Lala system of kinship and inheritance the conjugal family is divided by clan lines has several consequences. First, children belong to the clan of their mother, and in the event of divorce the children of a couple stay with the mother. Second, property should remain within the same clan, and a man's children are, therefore, not his heirs. Sons within a conjugal family inherit from their brothers and mother's brothers, and daughters inherit from their sisters and mother. Third, the relationship between a maternal uncle and his nephews is considered to be more important than that between a father and his children, and until recently children were often raised by one of their maternal uncles. It is a person's duty to help his mother's brother who in turn is responsible for his nephew's socialization and education.

During the last decades, however, important changes have occurred in relation to kinship and inheritance. The diffusion of new practices, new norms and values surrounding matters of inheritance and kinship have seriously affected the reproduction of the traditional matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance, the reproduction of what we may describe as the customary forms of behaviour and 'traditional' norms and values. In the last decades, we see that gradually the bond between a father and his children has become stronger, at the expense of the relationship between these children and their maternal uncles, who, in most cases, prefer to work and build a farming enterprise with their own children. Even in the 1960's, farmers who worked with their wife and children were tending to try to leave their property to the members of the conjugal family rather than matrikin (Long 1968: 193-4). During the last twenty-five years, this trend has become even more marked.¹⁾ Nowadays, the general opinion in Nchimishi is that the development of stable and successful farming enterprises has only occurred because goods have become more individualized during the last decades and because practices related to the inheritance of goods have changed to a certain extent. It was often argued by respondents that it is more difficult for a man to develop his farm and produce cash crops on a relatively large scale if he cannot count on the labour of his wife and children. A man's wife and children, however, consider not only (agricultural) production, but also the consumption side and often refuse to assist their husband or father in building up his assets if they foresee that after his death all his property will be confiscated and taken by his brothers, his sisters' sons and/or his maternal uncles. The following remarks made by Frank Mumbulu (26 years of age in 1988), a young farmer who spent most of his life in the urban areas before settling in Nchimishi towards the mid-1980's, and the comments of Musonda Chunga (39 years of age in 1988; see also Chapter 6) are a good illustration not only of the ideas and opinions that are current among men and women regarding issues of inheritance and kinship, but also of the continuing changes with regard to the inheritance of property. These remarks also show, however, that despite certain changes, and despite the fact that nowadays many farmers will state openly that they reject the traditional system, the

opinions and actions of close matrikin and other clan members, as well as the norms and values which form part of the old system, continue to have an impact upon the life, the strategies and the actions of individuals and conjugal families. It is obvious that the traditional system has not (yet) been replaced by a new one, and the fact that both a man's matrikin and his wife and children may claim to have an interest in his property frequently leads to controversies and conflicts. The comments of Frank Mumbulu and Musonda Chunga also show that the interests of both husband and wife may, in particular cases, be best served by the maintenance of separate fields. In such cases, the separation of fields and incomes should be seen as a strategy devised to escape from future claims of the husband's matrilineal kinsmen, and to avoid what both husband and wife regard as the negative consequences of kin relations. Frank Mumbulu:

'You see, these extended families of ours have brought a lot of confusion. Simply because they belong to the same clan you can see a deceased person's relatives rushing all the way from Kabwe to claim their brother's property. But did they assist their late brother when he was sick? Did they work with him to get this property? No. That is the big problem we face here: your relatives refuse to assist you because they are also concentrating upon their own business and they are also working with their own children. But, when their brother dies, they claim the things they never worked for. But this matrilineal tradition of ours, to put relatives first and children last, is coming to an end.

- Why?

Because it's abnormal. Nowadays, everyone is thinking about property; the children and the relatives. This leads to a lot of conflicts. But many people have come to realize that we are not on the right channel when we always ignore our daughters and sons. And this change has come about locally, without any laws.

- Can you explain that?

Ah, you see what happens; suppose a man has an older brother. Now this brother dies. What do you think happens when this man, together with his younger brothers, grabs all his late brother's property? His children start thinking: "If that father of ours also dies, it shall now be his younger brothers who will come to take our father's property, leaving us with nothing". You see, these younger brothers will say to these children: "Your father also followed this system, and since he received the gun of our older brother these things should now remain within our clan". Because these children have seen that their father and his brothers follow these Lala traditions, they will become distant with him or even hate him. Do you think these children will work with their father to develop his farm? No chance! Only when a father makes it very clear that he does not want to follow these traditions, only when he leaves the property of his older brother to that older brother's children, will his own children assist him. So you see, it would be too easy just to say this matrilineal system has come to a sudden end. What takes place often depends on what people within a certain clan or family think, or what happened when one of their relatives (matrikin, H.S.) died. But nowadays, within a lot of these extended families (a group of [uterine] brothers, H.S.) the children come first. Now looking at wives: in this modern world, it's normal to demarcate fields, women having their own fields. Men who reason have come to understand that if they intend to develop their farm they cannot count on the assistance of their nephews (sisters' sons, H.S.). They realize that they depend upon their own wife and their own blood; their own children. Okay, we live here under this matrilineal system. But many couples have found a way to overcome this problem of matriliney, by pumping in some funds to a woman to enable her to maintain her own fields for the good of the children and herself. Because if the husband dies that capital she received after selling maize will remain with them, the children and the wife. So now you can find here some clever men investing money in their wives. This is very important, because it seems in this way that the matrilineal system is fully intact but in fact things are changing. Although things will be called matrilineal, it will be patrilineal full time, in the sense that if I invest a lot of money in my wife I know I will still enjoy this money while I am alive, because

she knows she started from my pocket, my relatives will receive less when I die, and the lot will remain with my wife and children. This matrilineal system is what is preventing this chiefdom from developing even faster, because children and wives refuse to work with their father, their husband, if they know that everything they worked for will be grabbed by his relatives (matrikin, H.S.) after his death. Then they are back at square one and development goes down. Now, if in the beginning money can be invested in women who are the original souls of these children when you consider matriliney, automatically when the father dies the children will have experienced development through the fields of their mother and the capital of their father. Relatives will only remain with a few old trousers and the gun which belongs to the clan. The rest will belong to the wife and children. You see, these modern ladies consider death. They can complain to their husband. Like last time I heard a man saying at a beer party: "Ala, I had no intention of going for beers. Now the problems I am having at home! My wife is complaining over what my brothers did to my late brother when he died. She was complaining bitterly, saying that even if I die they will come and grab our property from her." You see such problems, such complaints bring about separations between a husband and wife.' (E)

Musonda Chunga:

'Last year my wife asked for a plot to grow her own maize. So with my tractor I ploughed it for her, and this year she had 421 bags of maize.

- Why did she want to have her own fields?

I do not know exactly why and I did not bother to find out, all I do know is that a lot of Zambian women have got that fear that when their husband dies property will be taken by his relatives (matrikin, H.S.), while she and the children remain with nothing. I think my wife has got that traditional fear as well, but she won't tell me. That's rather strange because she knows I had a will made and that I intend to leave everything to her and my children.' (E)

From the remarks made by Frank Mumbulu and Musonda Chunga it can be concluded that both men and women may reject the claims made by a man's matrilineal kin, but at the same time realize that after a man's death it may be difficult to prevent his matrikin from collecting what they consider to be their property on the basis of the norms which surround matrilineal ideology. In these cases both husband and wife, even if they only wish to increase the prosperity of their conjugal family, have an interest in maintaining separate fields. Women and men each having their own fields and a personal income, in other words a kind of individualism in the sphere of production as well as consumption, had become a widespread and accepted phenomenon in the 1980's. Moreover, even if he wanted to, it has become difficult, if not impossible, for a man to turn his wife into his paid or unpaid assistant against her will and to prevent her from setting up her own enterprise. Many men, however, fear they will be surpassed by their wives in farming. Like Collins Mwape, the ex-husband of Agnes Musonda Kalaka, many men in Nchimishi find it difficult being married to a more ambitious and successful wife. I found that a number of younger men decide to invest capital in their wife's commercial undertakings in an attempt to remain somewhat in control of the situation in the event of their wife becoming a more successful farmer. One young farmer expressed this as follows:

'I want to marry a woman who hasn't even started farming, who has no capital. I want her to start farming using my capital, my foundation. That's better because when she goes beyond me I won't

feel embarrassed, because people will say: "It's with the help of her husband that she has become a big farmer". Even her relatives will know that.' (L)

But, as we can see from the remarks made by Frank Mumbulu, investing in one's wife's enterprise can serve other purposes as well. According to numerous respondents, matrikin of women who had started farming with capital they received from their husband tended to interfere less with the enterprise of their 'sister' or 'daughter', knowing that they risked coming into conflict with her husband. Nevertheless, the provision of capital by husbands should mainly be considered as a strategy enabling men to exert some control over their wife's commercial enterprises. Frank Mumbulu:

'Suppose I have ten acres and my wife has five acres. Whether I can have a say in the spending of the money she gets from her fields will depend upon the source of that capital she uses in these fields. If she saves money by selling beans or brewing *munkoyo*, if she comes up with her own capital, buys fertilizer and later some farming implements, ah, then I will have no say over all the money she gets from her fields. In that case, I have no right to decide upon that money. Being the husband, I can just give her some advice. But if I start the foundation, say I get a loan, and from that loan I start farming, then when I say: "Look, woman, what we shall do here. I am giving you a part of this money, so you can do whatever you want. You can buy whatever you want". Suppose then, my wife, being a modern lady, starts thinking: "Ah, lucky me, I was thinking about a source of capital to have my own fields as well. Now with this money I can buy some bags of fertilizer". Automatically, my wife will now need the labour of my daughters and sons. If she wins their labour, automatically that money she gets, I can also decide on it. Because she is using the labour of my blood and because she started working from my pocket. That will also make it more difficult for her to divorce me since she knows that she will have to leave a lot of her things behind.' (E)

Some younger farmers stated that before getting married they intended to lay a strong 'foundation' for their enterprise, firstly because, according to them, young women often preferred to marry wealthy and hard working men, but also because this enabled them to invest some capital in their wives' fields. For the same reason, many young men in Nchimishi preferred to marry a girl from a poor family with no easy access to the plough and without any financial resources of her own. Again others stated that they intended to marry, or had in fact married, a woman from outside Nchimishi or even outside Chibale Chiefdom in order to gain a certain degree of control over their (future) wife, and to prevent their wife from developing a farming enterprise with the assistance and farming implements of her parents, or siblings.

Separate cash-crop cultivation by husband and wife has ceased to be an exception in Nchimishi and within 27.8% of all households(*)²⁾ selling hybrid maize, either the husband and wife each had their own ploughed or hoed fields where they cultivated this crop, or only one of the spouses cultivated hybrid maize.³⁾ From the mid-1980's onwards, there has been an increase in the number of cases where each spouse (or one of the spouses) cultivates hybrid maize on separate fields in order to earn a personal cash income and to become an independent farmer. In 1988, this was the case in 22.2% of all households(*) cultivating and selling hybrid maize (see also Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1).

Table 9.1: Cultivation of hybrid maize by married men and women and their control over cash income derived from the sale of hybrid maize (percentages in brackets)

CULTIVATION OF HYBRID MAIZE CONTROL OVER HYBRID MAIZE INCOME	HUSBAND CULTIVATES HIS OWN PERSONAL FIELDS WITH HYBRID MAIZE	WIFE CULTIVATES HER OWN FIELDS WITH HYBRID MAIZE	HUSBAND AND WIFE CULTIVATE HYBRID MAIZE TOGETHER ON COMMON FIELDS	TOTAL
HUSBAND CONTROLS INCOME	8 (50)	0 (0)	8 (50)	16 (100)
WIFE CONTROLS INCOME	0	7 (100)	0	7 (100)
BOTH, HUSBAND AND WIFE, DECIDE OVER SPENDING OF INCOME	5 (7.4)	4 (6.0)	58 (86.6)	67 (100)
MAIZE INCOME IS DIVIDED BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE			18 (100)	18 (100)
OTHER ARRANGEMENT WITH REGARD TO MAIZE INCOME	0	0	4 (100)	4 (100)
TOTAL	13	11	88	112 (100)

2) Separate fields and family income

As remarks made by Frank Mumbulu show, maintaining separate fields and gardens does not necessarily mean that incomes are kept separate as well. I came across several cases where the main purpose of the spatial separation of fields was to give their respective matrikin the impression that husband and wife were each running their own enterprise and were using their own resources. The outside world was ignorant of the fact that, after the harvest, resources were merged. The husband and wife then jointly decided how best to use resources for the benefit of the family as a whole. According to Kaulenti Chisenga:

'A husband and wife can also decide together to make separate fields in order to create an impression. For example, the relatives of the wife like to help their sister to plough her fields, but not if she shares one big field with her husband. And if the relatives of the wife are very poor, they can only beg from their sister's field, and not from her husband's field. In that case, more remains for the (conjugal, H.S.) family, but in both cases they (husband and wife, H.S.) can decide to share the income. If you are rich and your relatives are poor, they will come and beg. A man may look poor to his family but he may be rich, that's a wise man. All your relatives, if you are rich, try to bring you down. (E)

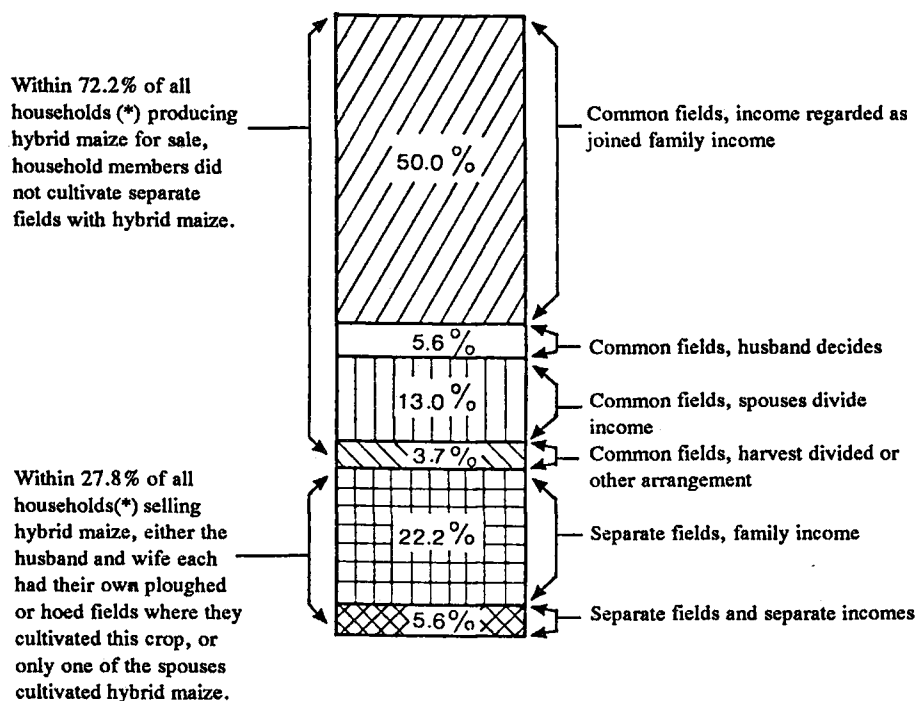


Figure 9.1: Maize cultivation and control over maize income within 54 households
 (* see note 2)

As can be deduced from the words of Frank Mumbulu in the previous section, the decision to maintain separate fields with cash crops can be of benefit to all members of the conjugal family. It can be advantageous for the wife and children since they do not risk losing all the fruits of their labour. For the man, this strategy can be beneficial when the alternative is that his wife and children not only decide to maintain their own fields but also refuse to allow him share in their proceeds. For a man who has lost access to the labour of his wife and children in the cultivation of cash crops, giving (secretly) moral and financial support to his wife and children can mean at least securing access to a part of the fruits of their labour.

The reasons for maintaining separate fields, while at the same time pooling incomes and deciding together on expenditure (an arrangement which existed within 5.6 % of all households^(*) cultivating hybrid maize for sale), were not only found outside the boundary of the conjugal family. Sometimes the relationship between spouses was characterized by a certain degree of distrust and recurring tensions or conflicts. By working separately before pooling incomes, some couples I interviewed argued, both husband and wife are able to check whether the other spouse is actually working hard enough and is thus willing to fulfil his or her duties vis-a-vis the other members of the conjugal family or household. On a number of farms, the separation hybrid maize fields is seen as a first step towards an economic separation or even a divorce. Maintaining separate fields, some men and women argued, makes it easier to bring about a complete economic separation in the event of serious conflicts with regard to spending. Other couples stated that the only reason each had to cultivate their own fields was their conviction that this enabled them to cultivate a larger area, as both spouses were motivated by a competitive spirit to work extra hard.

It would be wrong to suggest that only economic interests play a role in the decision of a couple to cultivate separate fields. Among a considerable number of families, and among the families of Jehovah's Witnesses in particular (see also Chapter 13), separations are based upon feelings of solidarity, upon the conviction that the conjugal family is the cornerstone of society and upon the conviction that a man's children ('his blood') should inherit his property since they are more important to him than the children of his sister, or even than his brothers. In these cases, separations are seen as useful strategies to safeguard the conjugal family from outside menaces and intimidations.

3) Common fields and separate incomes

Among 72.2% of all households^(*) producing hybrid maize for sale, household members did not cultivate separate fields with hybrid maize (see also Figure 9.1). Within 13% of all households^(*) producing hybrid maize for sale, husband and wife cultivated common maize fields, albeit that after the harvest and the sale of their crop the cash was divided between husband and wife and frequently also among other members of the household who had provided assistance. In many cases, the income was shared equally between husband and wife. Within other households^(*), however, the allocation of proceeds was considered to be the responsibility of the husband as head

of the household. I also came across a few cases where the wife was responsible for the allocation of funds.

The category consisting of households(*) producing hybrid maize on common fields but with separate income and expenditure was largely made up of: first, households where husband and wife for various reasons felt comfortable with such an arrangement and neither of them intended to set up their own farming enterprise; second, households where the husband, the wife, or both did have the intention of setting up an independent farming enterprise but as yet did not have the resources (money and/or land) needed to develop and maintain separate fields; finally, households with a large number of young children. I found that within these latter households it was often considered to be unwise and impractical for husband and wife to maintain separate fields as household and agricultural duties demanded good coordination and close cooperation between the two spouses. It should be noted that within many of these households(*) some members (in most cases husband and wife) did cultivate their own separate *katobela* gardens where they grew runner beans and Lala maize.

4) *Common fields and family income*

Within 56.6% of all households(*) producing hybrid maize for sale, members not only preferred to work together, but regarded the sale proceeds of maize as joint family income which was not divided between husband and wife, or any other members of the household. Within this category of households(*) either both spouses (this being the most common) or the husband⁴⁾ decided how to spend the household income: how much, for instance, was to be invested in the farm and how much could be used to purchase various consumer durables and household goods. The influence of the pioneering female farmers is also felt within this category of households. As mentioned earlier, until the 1970's men generally controlled hybrid-maize income, whereas nowadays a wife is often an equal partner as far as the spending of the income is concerned. The wife's negotiating power is enhanced because of the option which now exists for her to become an independent farmer.

A majority of the households comprised of Jehovah's Witnesses (with both spouses belonging to the congregation) were found within this category. Among married Jehovah's Witnesses, decisions regarding consumption and production are the result of deliberations between husband and wife, albeit that in the event of disagreement or even conflict the husband, as head of the household, usually has the last word (for more details, see Chapter 13). Other households(*) which, like those of most Witnesses, were characterized by strong feelings and bonds of solidarity between members could often be classified in this category. Like the Jehovah's Witnesses, persons belonging to these households(*) tended to stress the importance of relationships between members and the working and living together of husband, wife and children. At the same time, these persons often strongly condemned and rejected traditional matrilineal norms concerning inheritance.⁵⁾ As pointed out, I also include in this category, the households(*) [5.6% of all households(*) selling hybrid maize] whose members did work together and where revenues from farming were labelled as being 'the family income', but where in fact

most decisions regarding production and consumption were taken by one of the spouses. Since within these families or households(*) one person was to a large degree in control of the enterprise, it is questionable whether we can speak here of a joint enterprise. Within some of these households(*), the wife could indeed be regarded as the paid or unpaid helper of her husband. In other cases, however, the wife was largely in control of the farming enterprise and also had a bigger say over the spending of the farm income. These cases were often comprised of farms or families where the man was either too old, or for some other reasons not capable of being responsible for the (co-) management and further development of the farm.

Young negotiators

The previous section focused upon the relationship between husband and wife. I also mentioned, however, that present and future interests of the children can play an important role in the decisions that are made by both parents. We have seen that the teenage children of the household should not be considered as merely docile labourers, but as actors who have their own interests and goals and to a certain degree make their own decisions and therefore play an active part in shaping the way in which the household, agricultural production and consumption are organized. If a father wants his children to assist him with the further development of his enterprise, if he wishes them to take care of him in his old age, he usually has to provide his children with some assurances that they will not remain empty handed after his death. If, on the other hand, it is their mother and not their father who turns out to be a good and ambitious farmer, children often feel inclined to assist her, especially since after her death, due to the fact that mother and children belong to the same lineage, it is very likely that they will inherit. In cases of divorce the older children often decide for themselves whether they will remain with their father or with their mother.

Teenage children not only negotiate with their parents over issues concerning their own labour, but also play an active role in giving shape to the separation and cooperation between the members of the household and/or farm. At many farms, teenage boys and girls wish to have, and in fact often do have, their own sources of income. Not only do children often demand payment for their services from their parents, but I also came across cases where children were cultivating small fields and gardens with beans, vegetables and even hybrid maize. Others raised chickens which at times were sold to neighbouring farmers, relatives and even to their own parents. Many children in Nchimishi occasionally work for other farmers and assist them with ploughing. In return for their labour, some children ask their parents, relatives or other farmers to plough a small field where they cultivate hybrid maize. Many parents in fact encouraged their children to maintain their own gardens or fields (see, for instance, the Kashulwe case in Chapter 6). It was often argued by young respondents that nowadays many teenagers are not satisfied with food and clothing but wish to buy things such as beer or *munkoyo*, cigarettes, nice trousers or dresses, shoes and sometimes even radios or walkmans. Having the opportunity to earn their own cash income, many children have no good excuse to ask their parents for these things.

Apart from the cooperation between husband, wife and children, I also found forms of cooperation and separation between other inhabitants of the farm, for instance, the cooperation between a mother her adult son and his wife, or the cooperation between brothers. Due to a lack of space, however, I cannot discuss these forms of cooperation in detail. Moreover, in 1988 approximately 37.5% of all farms in Nchimishi were composed of a single conjugal family or household(*) and 50% of all farms were composed of a single three-generation extended family (in most cases consisting of a married couple, their married or unmarried children and/or grand-children, as well as the spouses of their married children and grand-children). Only 10.9% of all farms were based upon a sibling group (in most cases consisting of a married couple, their children and his or her classificatory siblings and their spouses and children). Although, on these farms various forms of cooperation between siblings existed, in most cases adult siblings, alone or with their spouse, managed an independent farming enterprise.

Separations: some last remarks

So far I have made the distinction between separations in the sphere of production and consumption, and I have mainly spoken about separate or common fields where hybrid maize is cultivated. Within a large number of households(*), separations between husband and wife also involved, or only involved, the cultivation of hoed gardens, such as the *katobela*, where cash crops are cultivated. If they are cultivated by individual household members, the income derived from these *katobela* and other gardens (where such cash crops as Irish potatoes, sunflower, groundnuts or vegetables are grown) is almost without exception considered to be the personal income of the cultivator. As I indicated earlier, these hoed gardens have developed into an important source of income in the last decade for many women and men in Nchimishi, enabling them to take up the cultivation of hybrid maize at a later stage. The cultivation of vegetables such as tomatoes, rape, cabbage and onions in hoed *dambo* gardens was almost entirely undertaken by men.

I do not want to suggest that farms or households where these kinds of separations can be found are characterized by some kind of extreme form of individualism and that individual household members only act out of self interest. This individualism exists only in relation to financial issues and cash-crop farming. Not only do both husband and wife at most farms spend money on their children, other dependants and each other, but separations mostly involve only the production of cash crops and/or the spending of farm income, and not the consumption of food crops such as millet, sorghum, Lala maize, sweet potatoes, cassava, and pumpkins. After the harvest, food crops, unlike cash crops, are not placed in individual stores but in family or household(*) barns or shelters. Food crops are processed and further prepared by the women and consumed by all members of the nuclear family or household(*). The production of food crops (and here I refer to food crops which are not usually sold) which is still 'governed' by a traditional division of labour by gender on many farms is mainly the responsibility of women. In Chapter 10, however, I show that this traditional division of labour is taken less for granted than it used to be.

Another and rather rare form of separation between husband and wife involved not only a separation with regard to production and consumption, but also a spatial separation in the sense that husband and wife were in fact each living on their respective farms. Earlier I described one of these cases when discussing the farm, career and marriages of Agnes Musonda Kalaka. In other cases, it mostly involved older persons who had remarried after the death of their spouse. In the cases I encountered, the economic interests of both parties played an important role in their decision to maintain separate farms. In a few cases, the husband and wife did not wish to give up their own farm, fearing that if the marriage did not last they would have no place to which to return since (in view of the increasing shortage of arable land in Nchimishi) the old farm by that time would probably be occupied by others. One woman I met saw no point in moving to the farm of her new husband who lived nearby. Over the years, she had established a rather successful farming enterprise and she preferred to remain independent. Moreover, she did not see any advantage in going to the trouble and cost of stumping new fields on her new husband's farm. Another woman explained to me that she had decided to remain on her own farm because she intended to preserve the land and the farm buildings for her children who would return home from the Copperbelt and Lusaka in the near future.

Matriliny, the nuclear family and cash-crop farming

In much of the literature discussing matrilineal systems of kinship and inheritance it is argued (see, for instance, Poewe 1978 and 1981) that in the African context women belonging to matrilineal societies support the matrilineal ideology and system of kinship and inheritance since it offers them more security, mainly because under this system women are supposed to have better and more secure access to such basic resources as land and labour. It would, however, be wrong to assert that women in Nchimishi are uncritical adherents and defenders of the traditional matrilineal ideology. On the contrary, in many cases the separations between husband and wife should be seen as strategies to escape from what they both consider to be the detrimental effects of the system. The school teacher, Peter Sibangani, expressed this as follows:

'Women have seen that in some cases when a man dies his matrikin come and take everything, leaving the wife with nothing. Now some women are very clever. They are aware of this, and they are now demanding rights too. Gone are the days when the husband controlled the fields and cashed the maize cheques and spent the money as he pleased, in Serenje in the Moonlight Bar. Women now want to have their own money, no matter what their husband says. That's why they now have their own fields. You see, women fear their husband's matrikin, but to provide for their future, some women had to stand up against their husband.'(E)

Some of the separations I discussed in preceding pages result from the fact that a certain aspect of the matrilineal system, namely the inheritance of property of husbands by their matrikin, are incompatible with the wish of women to secure a future for themselves

and their children after the death of their husband. It is, therefore, this aspect of the matrilineal system which is nowadays repudiated by a majority of the women and men in Nchimishi. However, most women and men also tend to reject the demands made by their own (less wealthy) matrikin and disapprove of their interference in household and farm affairs. The tendency to restrict contacts even with close matrikin and to turn down their requests for assistance was explained by many respondents as being the logical reaction of individuals to the fact that especially in times of need, and contrary to what used to be the case in the past, matrilineal kinsmen are often very reluctant to provide any assistance themselves. In this context, one woman compared matrikin with hyenas who were never to be seen but then suddenly appeared on the scene after a death. Agnes Musonda Kalaka (see Chapter 8) made it quite clear that she preferred to hire non-matrikin since close kinsmen often expect or even demand preferential treatment and higher pay. Musonda Kalaka's opinion on this matter was shared by many other female and male farmers. In the case of married couples, meddling in farm affairs by matrikin often motivates husband and wife to take initiatives and to develop certain strategies to prevent and counteract this interference. As explained earlier, in some cases the answer is found in separations, whereas in other cases husband and wife decide to come into closer cooperation.

Peter Sibangani indicated that women are sometimes forced to act against other traditional norms, for instance, their traditional obligation to respect the authority of the husband as head of the household, in order to escape from what they consider to be the negative effects of the matrilineal system. In most cases, however, it is easier for a woman to negotiate with her husband or even stand up to him, than to try to convince his close matrikin not to meddle with household and farm affairs or not to lay claim to the assets of their 'brother'. The same issue was brought up by Frank Mumbulu when he explained that women try to bring about changes in their own situation, try to improve their living conditions, without having to act, at least not openly, against certain norms of matrilineal ideology, without having to come into conflict with their husband's matrilineal kin, before or after his death. Men, by (sometimes secretly) investing money in their wife's commercial undertakings, and women, by accepting this help and maintaining separate fields, indeed, as Frank pointed out, formally leave the matrilineal system intact. By introducing these strategies and establishing new forms of cooperation and separation, however, they show not only that they attribute little value to some of the principles and relationships which lie at the heart of matrilineal ideology, but also that they wish to give new content to the relationships within the nuclear family, despite the fact that one or more members belong to a different matri-clan. This re-alignment is required not only because (as some neo-Marxist scholars would probably argue) these relationships have to be adapted to the new economic interests of its members, but also because, as in the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses, these relationships have to be brought into line with certain (religious) convictions and values which emphasize the importance of the nuclear family.

These new forms of cooperation and separation I have described give women more control over family income and provide more opportunities for them to engage in the cultivation of cash crops, to obtain their own source of income, and to secure their own

future and that of their children. For women who belong to the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses, certain forms of separation or cooperation enable them to live more in accordance with the Bible. For men, the acceptance and introduction of certain new forms of separation and cooperation can mean that they are able to count more on the assistance of their children and wife, that they obtain a greater degree of control over their wife's enterprise and its proceeds, or that they are able to show the value they attribute to the relationship with their wife and children.

Not only Frank Mumbulu but also a considerable number of other respondents, and especially those who like Frank had spent several years on the Copperbelt or in Lusaka, were well aware of the existence of alternative systems of inheritance and kinship. The concepts of matriliney and patriliney are used in local discourse. Moreover, many respondents were aware of the fact that the strategies which are being developed and used by farmers not only are instrumental in the pursuit of new goals and values, in bringing about change in their own living conditions, but also can be seen as expressions of change and at the same time as the instruments which are bringing about a process of social and economic change in large parts of Chibale Chiefdom, a process of change which at the time of the restudy had resulted in a wide variety of ideas and practices in relation both to the inheritance of property and to the organization of production and consumption at the level of the nuclear family, the household and farm. According to some respondents, these developments would lead to further economic and social differentiation and the coexistence of different practices, beliefs and values. Others, however, were convinced that after this period of rapid change a new kind of Lala culture, new traditions, would emerge. Musonda Chunga:

'In the past, as others must have told you, people were guided by tradition. But I think we are undergoing what you might call a cultural revolution, and it will take us some time before we get some certainty again, before new rules and customs will appear. So you will see different things taking place at different farms, until we reach the time when things will be sure again, then we will have a new culture.' (E)

I would like to stress that in Nchimishi matrilineal ideology is certainly not perceived as a lost tradition, as something from the past. Together with sorcery, issues related to clan, kinship and inheritance are held responsible for many conflicts occurring in the area. Most respondents with whom I discussed this matter provided more or less the same explanation for the fact that matrilineal inheritance practices seemed to persist in spite of the fact that nowadays many men stated in public that they wished their children and wife to inherit their assets. Indeed, matters concerning inheritance not only give rise to tensions and conflicts, but are also frequently a topic of discussion at beer parties, funerals, visits and other gatherings. During these gatherings, I noted that many men, especially those belonging to the younger generation, expressed their desire to leave property to their children and wife, often making reference to relatively new norms and values which stress the importance of the bond between the members of the nuclear family, norms and values which, according to some respondents, can be traced back to the Copperbelt and the contacts migrants established with Europeans and with other ethnic groups from Southern Africa. According to others, these values and norms were

propagated and disseminated by the first Jehovah's Witnesses.⁶ Some respondents argued that these new norms and values formed part of the ideology of 'Humanism' and were introduced by UNIP and the Zambian Government (Kaunda 1967 and 1974).

According to many men and women, these new values and norms in relation to inheritance of property have also come about as a result of the spreading of the cash economy and of cash crop farming. When a considerable number of men became interested in cash crop farming in the 1950's and 60's, matrilineal ideology proved to be an impediment. Long shows in his chapter on the dynamics of farm management that close cooperation between matrilineal kinsmen often resulted in tensions and conflicts concerning the use of, and access to, scarce resources and modern farming technologies (Long 1968: 39-79). Some respondents explained the rise of new values and norms by reference to the changed pattern of residence. Changes in the pattern of residence, that is the fission of most villages whose core consisted of a group of matrikin (Long 1968: 90-3), and the establishment of farms, 63.2% of which in 1963 were based on the nuclear, polygynous or three-generation extended families (Long 1968: 94), can be interpreted according to Long as being an attempt by individual men to gain a greater degree of control over different resources. By establishing their own farm, these men hoped to become more independent of their matrikin (see also Long 1968: 39-79). On his own farm, however, a man could no longer count on the assistance of his close matrikin - his brothers, sisters and sisters' sons - who in most cases preferred to concentrate all efforts upon the development of their own enterprise and the cultivation of their own cash crops. Moreover, a man's sisters' sons also feared that by assisting their maternal uncle they would run into conflict with his sons and wife. As a result, male farmers have gradually come to depend more upon the assistance of the other members of the nuclear family, and many men have come to realize that they cannot expect their wife and children to help them develop their farms without offering them some kind of remuneration and security for their future. Although many male farmers nowadays feel that their wife and children should be rewarded for the important part they play in the development of the farm, in reality land and other assets (see Chapter 12) often still find their way to the matrikin of the deceased. The plausible explanation which was offered for this discrepancy between these publicly-stated norms and values on the one hand, and actual practice on the other is that even if a man intends to leave his assets to his wife and children, their disposal after his death depends upon the attitude, decisions and actions of his close matrikin and his brothers in particular. There are, however, different strategies open to a man who wishes to make sure that after his death his possessions remain with those with whom he has been living and working. For example, even during his life time he can hand over goods and cattle to his wife and offspring. As Long shows (Long 1968: 123-4, 196) this strategy, this form of 'anticipatory inheritance', was already used by farmers in the early 1960's.

As many men and women emphasized, every death creates a situation in which the convictions and principles of the individuals involved are put to a test. Although a man might have always expressed his preference for leaving property and land to his children, after the death of his brother he may feel tempted to make an exception and claim his late brother's assets, even trying to justify his behaviour by reference to the

same norms and values which he had rejected in other contexts and labelled as 'useless' traditions from the past. I found that the decision of a woman to maintain separate fields or to work with her husband was, therefore, based not only upon the opinions of, and the assurances given by, her husband or upon other factors such as his age or health, but also upon her evaluation of the history of her husband's clan and group of close matrikin in handling matters concerning the inheritance of property and land; her evaluation of how, for instance, her husband and his younger brothers had responded to the death of their (older) brother, and whether or not in that situation he had used traditional norms as a strategic resource. In this context, some women even argued that some clans were more 'traditional' than others in matters concerning inheritance. A man's wife and his group of matrikin have conflicting interests, and it should not come as a surprise that not many women in Nchimishi regard the matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance as offering them security under present economic conditions. When we look at the Jehovah's Witnesses - who emphasize the bond between the members of the nuclear family and who tend to relate property to the individual and the nuclear family instead of to the lineage or clan (see *True Peace and Security. How Can You Find It?*, 1968: 165-8) - we can conclude that the matrilineal system of inheritance tends to threaten the economic position and the security of the female Witnesses, because it is up to the matrikin of her husband to decide whether or not they are going to respect the wish of their brother or kinsman to leave his property to his wife and children. I found that a wife and children tended to feel secure about their chances of inheriting from their husband and father only in cases where a man's brothers also belonged to the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses.

In her discussion of matrilineal ideology in Luapula Province, Zambia, Poewe states that matriliney is associated with 'women who are jural persons - in control of power, authority, and economic resources.' (Poewe 1981: 33). During the process of further integration into the industrial market system, however, conflicts started to occur gradually between the matri-clan and the nuclear family. These conflicts, according to Poewe, can be seen as the result of 'a central structural contradiction inherent in matriliney, namely the contradiction between relations of production which are individualistic in nature and distribution processes which involve social relationships that are communalistic in character.' (Poewe 1981: 32). This contradiction, Poewe argues, in its turn results from matrilineal inheritance practices which ensure that wealth accrues to the lineage only. Poewe continues by stating that 'When Luapula men have completed the transition to nuclear families, a process which they initiated despite women's resistance, they will have defeated the female sex.' (Poewe 1981: 33). What Poewe means by this defeat of the female sex is that women will have lost access to, and control over, such resources as land and labour. Of course, these statements are made in relation to the situation in Luapula. Notwithstanding her findings, on considering the circumstances in Nchimishi at the time of the restudy, we have to conclude that men have certainly not defeated the female sex. As I mentioned earlier and discuss in more detail in the next part of this chapter, the gradually changing practices related to inheritance, the diminishing importance of relations among matrikin and the establishment of farms often consisting of only one nuclear family did not result in

women losing their access to different resources. An estimated 87.5% of the farms consisted of a single nuclear family or three-generation extended family at the time of the restudy (see also Appendix 2), but these farms were certainly not characterized by male-controlled production and consumption. In Nchimishi large numbers of women have not allowed their husbands to take control of the different productive resources and to take all important decisions regarding production and consumption. Contrary to what appears to be the case in Luapula according to Poewe, most women in Nchimishi are not supporters and defenders of the matrilineal system. By restricting contact with those matrilineal kinsmen who only attempted to take advantage of them, or who were not able or refused to contribute to the development of the farming enterprise, many women in Nchimishi have played an important role in reshaping matriliney. Furthermore, by establishing their own farming enterprises and becoming economically independent of their husbands, women have prevented the latter from gaining complete control and authority over the nuclear family. So, in the case of Nchimishi (with the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses and others who indeed managed to establish stable nuclear families) rather than speak of a transition from matrilineal descent groups to nuclear families, we must speak of a transition from a community where the clan and the group of matrikin formed the main focus of authority, common interests, security and feelings of solidarity, to a community which is to some extent characterized by a strong individualism and which lacks strong (ascribed) bonds of solidarity. This is a community where, of course, different individuals interact, work together and help each other in times of need, but where at the same time persons do not automatically have partners, find assistance, because of their ascribed position, because they belong to the same nuclear family and live at the same farm, or because they belong to the same clan or group of matrikin. Instead, we are faced with a community where forms of cooperation and mutual assistance can be seen as the result of discussions, negotiations (negotiations during which individuals may refer equally to norms surrounding matrilineal ideology as to norms and values which stress the central role of the nuclear family) and agreements between individuals. After some time, however, individuals who have decided to work together may come to the conclusion that they each have different and opposed interests and therefore may decide to end their cooperation. In colonial and pre-colonial times, as among the Bemba (see Richards 1940), marriages among the Lala appear to have been very unstable, but at least after a divorce man and woman could fall back upon their respective matrikin. It does not seem that in Nchimishi the nuclear family has (yet) replaced the groups of matrikin in respect of bonds of solidarity as appears to be the case in Luapula. Many respondents described present day marriages as no longer being an arranged contract between two clans or lineages, but a contract between two individuals. Although these changes have resulted in a greater degree of freedom and room for manoeuvre for many individuals, it was also stressed by many respondents that the relative security and feelings of belonging which had characterized life previously had been replaced by a lack of security and feelings of doubt. However, this interpretation of the past may be idealized in retrospect. It was also emphasized that, as a result, the search of each individual for security, the wish to become a successful farmer and to be able to purchase various consumer goods, the relationships

between farmers, between members of the same lineage, between husband and wife and between parents and children had to some extent become monetized.

It would be wrong to conceptualize, as many colonial planners and policy makers have done in the past (see Chapters 4 and 8), the nuclear family, the household or farm in Chibale Chieftdom - and, as Whitehead shows, in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole - as an unproblematic unit, as an economic enterprise in which the members share the same interests, work together, and as having joint resources managed by the husband/father on behalf of the other members (Whitehead 1991: 451-7). The 'content' of relations, the forms of separation and cooperation, between the members of the nuclear family, household or farm are not culturally determined but constructed. They are the outcome of disputes and negotiations between members and can therefore change over time. I have also shown, however, that the character of social and economic relations between the members of nuclear families and households, that struggles and negotiations between husbands and wives and their outcome cannot be seen in isolation from wider networks of matrikin, from the traditional division of tasks by gender (as I indicated earlier, it is their traditional responsibility for their children which made many women decide to become economically independent of their husband) and from the traditional system of kinship and inheritance.

Matriliny, gender and agricultural change

A second conclusion often reached in the literature discussing the relationship between matriliney and agricultural or economic change is that matrilineal systems of kinship and inheritance are incompatible with cash-crop farming and plough agriculture since under these systems the nuclear family is divided on clan lines. The establishment and further development of stable farming enterprises are prevented by the different interests, commitments and loyalties of the two different clans (Poewe 1978: 205-19; 353-67). Since all wealth accrues to the lineage, it is argued, sons and wives who join with their father and husband in investing in cattle and modern farming implements are working against their own interests since they will not inherit the products of their labour. Lancaster, for instance, comes to the conclusion that matriliney tends to fade and is gradually replaced by patriliney when the subsistence sector becomes subject to more intensified labour and capital inputs as for instance happens with the introduction of plough agriculture. He further argues that matriliney fades 'with the regulation of daily economic and political life through institutions lying beyond the domestic sphere and therefore beyond the reach of most mothers (i.e., most tribal women).' (Lancaster 1976: 551).

There are several assumptions underlying these conclusions. First, it is assumed that the only viable form of farming enterprise is one consisting of at least all members of the nuclear family, in other words that the nuclear family is the smallest unit of agricultural production. The Nchimishi case has shown that this is not necessarily the case. The second assumption is that it is the men who become the owners of all

productive property such as oxen, farming equipment and fertilizers and that wives become housekeepers and dependent upon their husband (see also Lancaster 1976: 554). As I have shown also, this assumption is not supported by developments in Nchimishi. Moreover, neither these two assumptions nor the above-mentioned statements and quotations which address the relationship between matriliney and the rise of plough agriculture and cash-crop farming seem to be borne out by the Nchimishi case. In the previous section I argued that women played an important role in reshaping matriliney in Nchimishi by restricting contacts with matrikin. On the other hand, however, I found that women, that independent female farmers both married and divorced, although they strongly rejected certain aspects of matriliney, at the same time tended to emphasize certain other aspects and tended to adhere to certain norms surrounding matrilineal ideology. I found, for instance, that women who wished to gain the support and labour of their offspring tended to do this by emphasizing the fact that their children were born from their womb, possess their blood, belong to their lineage and clan. As I mentioned earlier, teenage and adult children frequently play an important role in helping their mother to establish her own farming enterprise because children can assist their mother in different kinds of farm work, but also because women are sometimes supported financially by their adult children who are living and working in the urban areas.

Traditionally, marriage among the Lala is uxori-local for the first few years, and the husband is expected to work for his parents-in-law. But although he is part of their household, he has no rights at all to the fruits of his own labour, and he receives his food from the kitchen of his mother-in-law. Only later, when the young couple have children, are they allowed to establish their own separate household and have their own cooking place (Long 1968: 20-1). After a son-in-law has fulfilled his duties to his wife's parents, he is allowed to leave with her and their children. In former days, this usually meant that he returned to the village of his own matrilineal kinsmen in order to fulfil his responsibilities to them. During the 1960's, however, a man often tried to establish his own settlement or farm after working for his in-laws.

What has been said for children to some extent also applies to sons-in-law. Sons-in-law often play an important role within the farming enterprise of their mother-in-law, especially in the case of divorced women who, for instance, live with one or more adult daughters (see, for example, the case of Agnes Musonda Kalaka in Chapter 8), but equally for married women with no sons living on the farm. I found that some female farmers attempted to prevent their daughters and sons-in-law from leaving the farm and establishing their own enterprise not only by granting them access to means of production such as land, oxen, the plough or the ox cart, but also by calling on 'traditional' norms which emphasize uxori-locality and the obligations a son-in-law has towards his wife's parents.⁷ Some women even pointed out that under present conditions sons-in-law have become even more 'useful' to a mother-in-law since in the past, when agriculture as well as domestic work were characterized by a strict sexual division of labour, the bride service of sons-in-law had frequently been especially to the benefit of the father-in-law. Nowadays, however, a son-in-law can be asked to carry out a wide variety of tasks for his mother-in-law, including activities related to the cultivation of cash crops.

When I stated that women in Nchimishi rejected certain aspects of matriliney I did not mean to include all women in the area. I found that not all women tried to restrict contact with siblings and other matrikin. Some, who were often regarded by others as traditionally minded, could be characterized as defenders of matrilineal ideology. The same can also be said of women who actually did receive a lot of assistance from their matrikin. For example, I encountered a few younger women who had just taken up farming and who were assisted in many ways by their brothers and older sisters. Among relatively poor female-headed households and farms I also found many strong supporters of matriliney. Some of these farms were composed of an older woman, her daughter and several young grandchildren. Other farms were made up of just a mother - who was either divorced or married to a polygynous husband who travelled between the farms of his wives - and her young children. The women who headed up these households and farms were often not able to generate a cash income or were caught in a kind of poverty trap in the sense that they even were forced to go out and work for other farmers (these were often farmers belonging to the group of matrikin of these women) in order to obtain enough food to meet consumption demands (see also Appendix 4), which in turn prevented them from cultivating enough food for the next season. These women - who often had no one other than their own matrikin to whom they could turn for assistance - frequently emphasized the importance of good relationships between those who were 'born from the same womb'. Some female respondents maintained that they received assistance (both financial and material, e.g. help provided during the ploughing and harvesting season) from their male or female matrikin. Many others, however, complained bitterly that they were completely neglected by even their close matrikin.

I found that married or divorced women who were running their own farming enterprise often favoured a narrower version of matriliney, as they were convinced that emphasizing only certain aspects of the ideology and only certain relationships (those with children and sons-in-law) would help them to develop their farm further. I would like to stress, however, that successful female farmers did not always seek to restrict contact with all their matrikin. Agnes Musonda Kalaka (see Chapter 8), for instance, maintained good contacts with her brothers and was often helped by her younger brother, Kalunga Kalaka. She only tried to limit contact with those members of her group of matrikin who were not prepared to assist her, or whom she suspected of being after her wealth and who tried to cause damage to her enterprise out of jealousy.

The conclusion we can draw on the basis of what has been said so far is that cash-crop farming and plough agriculture seem to be incompatible with certain aspects of matriliney, whereas other aspects of matriliney, particular norms, values or relationships can even be instrumental in the development of a commercially-oriented type of farming which makes use of modern technologies. But this is probably so only in those situations, in those areas where women have access to productive resources such as land, labour (including their own) and new technologies and crops and where they have (created) enough room for manoeuvre to make their own decisions with regard to matters concerning production and consumption. Again we may conclude that women (as well as men) in Nchimishi often treat matrilineal ideology and its related norms as a kind of strategic resource used in various ways and in different contexts to further

personal or collective interests and objectives.

The statement by Lancaster concerning women's access to the public sphere relates to a topic which I address later. Suffice it to say here that women in Nchimishi are certainly not confined to the domestic sphere, for they certainly also have access to arenas and institutions pertaining to the public sphere, albeit that the organizations we find in the area are still largely controlled by men.

Female farming and changing inheritance practices

The fact that in Nchimishi the cooperation and, therefore, the bond between a father and his children is gradually becoming stronger could have important consequences in the near future for women who wish to remain or become independent female farmers.⁹ With the rise of cash-crop farming and the establishment of farms based on the nuclear family, the labour of his children has become more important to a man. But as I indicated earlier, a man cannot count automatically on the support of his teenage or adult children and his wife who often demand compensation and certain guarantees in return for their labour. A male farmer who has no one else but his children and wife to assist him and no one else to take care of him when he gets old thus has good reasons to make sure that his children do not harbour the impression that they are working for their father's brothers or the children of his sisters.

The fact that an increasing number of male farmers have succeeded in recent years in transferring at least part of their assets to their children by using various strategies has resulted in children nowadays, as compared with their counterparts in the 1950's and 1960's, often being less reluctant to help their father build up his farming enterprise. In cases where parents each run their own farming enterprise or have the intention of setting up their own enterprise, the willingness of children to assist both their parents in spite of the fact that their father belongs to a different clan has led to a situation in which both parents, if they wish to secure the labour of their children, have to negotiate and come to agreements with them and with each other. If the matrilineal system of inheritance is going to be replaced in the near future by the inheritance of property by the wife and children, this may have important repercussions for the position of women as independent farmers. I tend to agree with the analysis of respondents who stated that it could become more difficult for women to start their own farming enterprise, or to divorce their husbands, if they can no longer take the labour of their teenage or adult children for granted, and if they cannot be sure that after a divorce their children will not decide to remain with their father. Mrs. Kasubika Mandabe (approximately 48 years of age in 1986) explained this as follows:

'When I was young, women did not work by themselves. They just followed the husband, he was always working in front. But now women realize they can become farmers themselves and do not need the help of a husband. Now we live in the time of money, and women want to buy their own dresses. When a woman divorces, she is followed by her children who can help her if they are old

enough. But she can also live alone and receive money from her children who work in the mine.

- But I have seen that some children remain with the father.

Yes, that's true. Sometimes the father can ask his children to stay with him, or the children can think: "Our mother is very poor, we will suffer if we follow her". But then, other children may think: "We should remain with our mother, she cannot suffer like that". It all depends on how people think. Sometimes children can see that their father's new wife does not want to take care of them. When children are very young, they often go with the mother, but older children often decide for themselves.' (L)

It was often mentioned by men and women that, with the changing practices related to inheritance, children in the near future will only be prepared to help or leave with their mother if she is either wealthy or a very ambitious farmer, and their father is poor and lacking any initiative. Several respondents were convinced that further changes in inheritance practices may eventually lead to a drop both in the percentage of women deciding to set up their own farming enterprise and in the divorce rate. Pursuing this line of thought, one could even argue that such developments might result in the creation of more stable nuclear families, where women lack the labour force to develop and maintain their own fields with hybrid maize, thus have fewer opportunities to become economically independent, and as a result end up being more dependent upon their husband and his cash income. In this way, the process whereby women become more subordinated should not be seen as the result of the ability of men to control their wife's labour or the fruits of this labour, but as the outcome of the new alliance between a man and his children. Many respondents did not agree with this analysis, however, and pointed out that notwithstanding that the labour of her older children could indeed be of great importance to a woman, especially in the early stages of the development of her enterprise, enough examples exist in the area of women who have established a farm without the help of others, and who have managed to hire labour or get assistance from close matrikin or friends.

Women and men responding to the Boserup thesis

Agricultural and technological change often stands at the basis of processes of economic and social change. By comparing Boserup's ideas with the developments which have taken place in Nchimishi during the last decades, however, I have tried to show that agricultural and technological change does not have to determine the course of these other change processes. Chapter 8 and this chapter show that, in Nchimishi, changes in agricultural technology have led to important social and economic changes. The Nchimishi case also shows, however, that it is not correct to formulate a kind of conditional law which states that if {A} cash crops and/or more sophisticated and efficient methods and techniques of agriculture are introduced, then {B} the effect will always be that women become marginalized while men monopolize the use of new crops, equipment and methods. I think that Boserup and many other authors, by making such generalisations, by creating such myths, do not take into account that there may

be many other exogenous processes and factors⁹⁾ - such as the existence or emergence of markets for certain crops, urban demand for labour, the neglect of women as farmers by government planners and policy makers, and the kinds of agricultural innovations and the technical and ecological characteristics of the cash or cash/food crops introduced by government agencies - which influence and give direction to processes of both agrarian and social and economic change. It is, therefore, important to consider these factors and processes if we wish to understand particular changes in farm and farm management practices, in the organization of farm labour, the social and economic position of women and the relations and power struggle between husband and wife.

Secondly, Boserup's approach leaves no room for 'internal' processes and responses. She apparently neglects the fact that each group, community or population may respond differently to a particular set of exogenous factors and processes, to, for instance, the introduction of the plough and a particular cash crop. These different reactions result from the fact that these groups or communities are each faced with various endogenous factors and processes such as (changing) ecological and material conditions and from the fact that each group or community shares a unique common lifeworld which may find expression in certain (changing) agricultural practices; in a specific ideology regulating questions regarding kinship and inheritance; in ideas and customs surrounding the relationship between matrikin, husband and wife, parents and children; in a particular pattern of residence and migration; in an increasing involvement in the market economy; in ideas regarding women's role in agriculture; in a particular sexual division of labour; in particular shared values, norms, objectives; etc., etc. When, for instance, we consider the introduction of the plough by an external agency, we must be aware that, as Kalb points out, agricultural technology and methods are not neutral with respect to existing cultures and values (Kalb 1982; 346). Technologies and methods, the way in which they are received by a community, and the social and economic changes to which they lead, cannot be seen in abstraction from the cultural context which bestows meaning on them.

Thirdly, Boserup apparently ignores the fact that individuals or groups - as a result of the specific situation in which they find themselves (a situation made up of, and affected by, exogenous and endogenous factors and processes, by macro- as well as microsocial phenomena and by cultural as well as material elements and resources), their interpretation of this situation, the ideas and values they hold and the objectives they have - may (intentionally or unintentionally, consciously or unconsciously) create what Kaulenti described as 'a new path through the bush'. This new form of behaviour, this innovation (be it a new income-generating activity, a new method for clearing land, or a new form of cooperation), in its turn may come to form part of the lifeworld of other individuals, and some of them may for various reasons start following the example set by early adopters and innovators such as, for example, Kash Chipilingu and Agnes Musonda Kalaka. In other words, I think that Boserup ignored the fact that social and economic change are the result of a set of individual actions and that, as Boudon argues, regularities of the type if A {technological change} then B {marginalization of women} can only be the result of the aggregation of microscopic actions, that is of individual actions (Boudon 1986). Boudon correctly argues that since these regularities are the

effects of aggregation they can only be valid in limited areas since individuals may not only find themselves in different situations but also respond quite differently to the same situation, the same set of circumstances. After the introduction of animal traction and the plough, fertilizer and hybrid maize, the population in Nchimishi was, so to say, forced to respond somehow to these innovations. Although this response did result in major social and economic changes, it did not lead to the marginalization of women.

The powerlessness and passivity of women and the inability of actors to respond in different ways to the introduction of new agricultural technologies and cash crops, two typifications which characterize Boserup's *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, were also strongly rejected by all male and female respondents who reacted to the different passages read out from this work on numerous occasions. The following two passages are among those I used frequently during discussions with farmers:

'The sex roles in farming can briefly be described as follows: in very sparsely populated regions where shifting cultivation is used, men do little farm work, the women doing most. In somewhat more densely populated regions, where the agricultural system is that of extensive plough cultivation, women do little farm work and men do much more.' (Boserup 1970: 35).

'In all developing countries -and in most industrialized countries- women perform the simple manual tasks in agriculture while the more efficient types of equipment, operated by animal or mechanical power, are used primarily by the men. Often, men apply modern scientific methods in the cultivation of cash crops, while their wives continue to cultivate food crops by traditional methods. Thus, in the course of agricultural development, men's labour productivity tends to increase while women's remains more or less static. The corollary of the relative decline in women's labour productivity is a decline in their relative status within agriculture, and, as a further result, women will want either to abandon cultivation and retire to domestic life, or to leave for the town.' (Boserup 1970: 53).

It will come as no surprise that the reactions of all men and women to these passages corresponded closely to the following statements made by two farmers, namely Mrs. Yumba and her adult son, Hubert Yumba. Hubert:

'Ah, but maybe she writes about other tribes. But as you have seen, here the wife is not left at home in the kitchen or in *mutipula*. The wife, she wants her share, she is also after money. Money has changed everything here. That is why she doesn't want to become dependent on her husband. If she has an open mind, she can become a good farmer. Women have become more powerful these days, they now do the same jobs as men. They educated themselves, that's why you can see women ploughing. But if a woman thinks ploughing is too tiring for her she can hire others to do the work for her. In that way, her farm can be as busy as that of her husband.' (L)

Mrs. Yumba:

'When I was young, most of the work was done by women, but nowadays a man, he is still a *sulutani* (the head of a village or farm) but he is a halfway *sulutani* now, because his wife is independent. She sells her own maize, so she has her own money. Therefore, she cannot respect her husband because of his money. Women now consider themselves to be men.' (L)

On another occasion, Hubert Yumba made the following remarks about the first passage I quoted from Boserup. Hubert:

'It is true that when people were still cutting *citeme* women were more involved. The making of *myunda* was done by women, as well as millet harvesting. Also transporting the millet to the village was done by women. Pounding and grinding? Also the job of a woman. Cooking? Done by women. So most of the work was done by women, but they could only do this work after a man had cut the *ichonde*. But when we talk about modern farming, I can say this area is different from what is written in this book, because both men and women are involved in farming. Here you find competition everywhere between men and women, and the woman is not left at home. That is why women do much more work than men, because after work in the fields they can rest only a few hours before they have to start collecting firewood and start cooking. Women are also involved in maize production and they do all the jobs men are doing, some are even ploughing. They are not left at the house. If a woman is lazy she is not going to have nice clothes. She (Boserup, H.S.) also says that when people start growing crops for money, a woman becomes the helper of her husband. Ah no, most women here do not want to become helpers, they have their own fields of maize here, or their own *katobela*.' (L)

The following reaction to some the passages read from Boserup's work was also typical of many of the responses obtained. Bana Febby:

'I don't think this is the case in Zambia. Zambia has changed. Years ago only the men were producing (for the market, H.S.), but now also women are producing, because they do not want to be dependent upon their husband. It's a new thing, women want to have their own income. But in the past women were only growing food crops. But men are better at farming than women because they are stronger. They can do a lot of things by themselves and do not have to hire others.

- Does the fact that she has to hire others make it more difficult for a woman to start farming?⁴⁰

No, it's not difficult. She can brew beer and save money to buy fertilizer. But some women are lazy and do not mind being dependent upon their husband. That's why there are still more men who are good farmers. Fertilizer has made it possible for a woman to take up farming, but she has problems when it comes to stumping. A man has the power to do this work by himself but a woman sometimes has to hire others. That's why women have to save more money.

- But don't you think women find themselves in a better position because they are responsible when it comes to handling money?

Yes, women know how to save money because they know the problems of the house.' (L)

The final reaction to Boserup's work I wish to quote was made by Peter Sibangani, the teacher from the Nchimishi primary school:

'In the past, a woman was regarded as an extension of the husband. Whatever she produced was controlled by the husband. But now we can see a very significant change. Not only are divorced women succeeding as farmers, but even married women have their own fields and sell maize in their own name. Women really have their rights now and many are going into farming seriously. I think it's because of the modern economy and because of interactions with other tribes. It's because of the modern economy people have changed over from traditional agriculture to modern agriculture, to cash crops. Everybody wants to have money, people have become materialists. That's why women are moving into trade and farming. If a woman has the money to buy fertilizer, she can make her own fields, and no man can prevent her from doing that. If he objects she divorces him. You see we men have lost power. It's a change in thinking, a change of attitude, which has been brought by the churches, the Watchtowers, and politics. Moreover, many have lived in town where they have mixed with people from other places in Zambia. Because of this education, women now feel they should be independent and have their own fields. Some were even encouraged by their brothers and sisters from town who sent money to their sister, so she could start farming. People have become materialists, they want money to buy goods. Also women want to buy things in their own name, that's why they take

up farming.

- But what will happen when land gets scarce, will women be pushed off the land and out of cash crop farming?

Right now many women are getting control of land here. They ask for land on their husband's farm, but if he refuses she may even divorce him and start her own farm. Some women, after getting married, continue growing maize on their parents' farm. And because of this matrilineal system, many couples on their return from town settle at the farm of the relatives of the wife.' (E)

Having said all this, I do not wish to imply that Boserup's *Woman's Role in Economic Development* is not an extremely important work. Her book has played a major role in creating an awareness among economists, social scientists, policy makers (see also Whitehead 1991: 430-1) and project personnel, that women play an important role as farmers under systems of shifting or hoe agriculture and that their position may change drastically when plough agriculture and/or cash-crop farming are introduced. Boserup was one of the first to see and explore this important relationship between gender and agro-technological change. By doing this, she has given great impetus to the study of such issues as women's role within the household and within the farming enterprise; the changing relations between the spouses under processes of commoditization and agricultural change; the organization of farm labour; and the struggle between the sexes. It is wrong, however, to treat *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, as many authors do, as though it contained a universal law which explains every situation, every course of events. It is better to regard the Boserup thesis as a kind of Weberian ideal type, as a construct which does not necessarily refer to any or every real situation but which can be used as a heuristic device for the comparison of the ideal type and a particular 'case' (Weber 1949: 101; Abrams 1982: 76-82). When used in this way, Boserup's work, which for obvious reasons has come under great criticism, will continue helping to guide research on a path leading to a more precise understanding of the changing social and economic position of women in sub-Saharan Africa. I would like to add that during my fieldwork Boserup's work not only helped me to formulate and reformulate some of my research themes, but made me and the people with whom I discussed parts of her work more sensitive to particular factors, processes and responses that explain why the Nchimishi case deviates from the Boserup scenario.

Summary and conclusions

When the village was still the most common form of settlement, the village headman derived his social status from the size of his following, the number of people residing in his village (Long 1968: 134-5). According to Lancaster, in the central African matrilineal belt, ties through women were the most valuable if not the only things men could control before the diffusion of the plough and cash-crop farming, given their culture, history and world view (Lancaster 1976: 545-52). In Nchimishi, social status in the community ceased to be measured in terms of the size of a following after certain social and economic changes had taken place, viz. the introduction and diffusion of

plough agriculture and cash crops, the introduction of new religious ideologies, the disappearance of the villages and the establishment of farms often consisting of a single nuclear family. Instead, performance in commercially-oriented farming, evaluated in terms of the number of bags or tins of maize produced or the number of cattle owned, came to be regarded as the new measure of success and social status. The shift from village to farm symbolizes in the eyes of many farmers the transition from a way of life in which the clan, and matrilineal descent groups, played an important role to a life style which to a large extent is 'controlled by money' and which is shaped by a strong desire to remain independent and to become a successful farmer.

With the establishment of farms (whether they consisted of a single nuclear family or not), the household remained an important unit of production, but Long shows that the greater need for cooperation within the household which ploughing demanded and the increased labour input associated with commercial production led to the partial dissolution of the sexual division of labour which had existed in the villages under the *citeme* system. In the early years after its introduction, plough agriculture and cash-crop farming were largely in the hands of men. It was the men who were recruited by the mining companies and who thus obtained the capital needed to hire labour, to purchase cattle, farm equipment, fertilizer and seed. It was also the men who received credit and who were taught the new agricultural methods and techniques. In respect of consumption one can only conclude that it was again the men who in these early years were largely in control of the farm income and who decided on its disposal. In the 1950's and 60's, the social and financial position of women and children within the family and farming enterprise was, therefore, rather insecure and certainly not enviable; and additionally so because despite their assistance and efforts, a man's assets often remained within his own clan after his death.

As I have indicated, the first female commercially-oriented farmers have played an important role in changing both the economic and social position of women in Nchimishi and the relations between the members of the nuclear family and their matrilineal kinsmen. Women such as Agnes Musonda Kalaka not only demonstrated the advantages of being financially independent and the possibility of women becoming wealthy and successful farmers without the assistance of a husband, but also developed various strategies of use to other women to generate their own capital and develop their own commercial undertakings. The cultivation of traditional crops such as beans and maize proved to be ideal for women, since these activities enabled them to become involved in the sale of cash crops without neglecting their domestic responsibilities, their reproductive tasks (see Beneria and Sen 1981: 146). That over the years many women in Nchimishi have followed the example set by the first generation of female farmers clearly shows that it is incorrect to assume that the men will automatically control the cultivation and sale of cash crops. Rather, it is of crucial importance to consider the agro-technical nature of the crops involved (such as land and labour demands and the knowledge and capital inputs required to cultivate them), the demand for these crops in regional or national markets, whether they are traditionally cultivated by both women and men, and whether they merely serve as a cash crop or have the potential of becoming staple food crops.

I agree with Guyer when she writes that the assumption that men control the labour and incomes of their wives is incorrect (Guyer 1981: 100). In Nchimishi, most women cannot be described as being the unpaid helper of their husband, nor are they restricted to domestic work or subsistence food-crop production. The Nchimishi case also shows that, contrary to what Engels argued, the development of valuable productive resources (the domestication of large animals as private property and later the investment of labour in land) does not necessarily have to result in a situation in which men become the owners of all private property while the women, from being equal members of the community, become subordinate wives working under the authority of their husband in order to maintain and augment his property. This chapter has shown that animal traction and cash-crop farming have played an important role in the longer run in raising the status of women. In the past, it was the men who were in the position to establish a village and create a following, but women can now achieve a high status as well, with performance in farming being the new measure of success and status.

A certain strain has been put on relations between husband and wife by the wish of many women to become involved in the cultivation and sale of runner beans and hybrid maize in order to create better living conditions and a more secure future for themselves and their children. The fairly clear-cut division of agricultural tasks between the sexes which had characterized household production under the *citeme* system has been replaced by a less clear situation often characterized by a kind of power struggle, by negotiations and different alliances and forms of cooperation and separation between both spouses, between parents and children. Negotiations usually revolve around issues concerning agricultural production and access to resources such as land, the labour of the other members of the nuclear family and around matters regarding consumption and the spending of incomes.

The plough, cash-crop farming and the wish of many women (and children) to become independent farmers has not only put pressure within these households upon the relations between its members, but in many cases also led to tensions and even conflicts between members of the household and the matrilineal kinsmen of husband and wife. In this chapter I have tried to show that neither the changing relationships between men and women in Nchimishi nor the changing position of women in agriculture can be understood by reference only to the norms and values which make up matriliney and by treating them as though they fully determine certain behaviour of individual actors or groups of matrikin. I have also tried to show that, if we are to understand the complexity and interrelatedness of such processes as the changing patterns of agriculture, changing practices with regard to inheritance and kinship, and the changing social and economic position of women and men, it is important to look at the different interpretations, evaluations, opinions and behaviour of individual actors who give shape to these processes. By providing the accounts of different respondents, I have tried to show that actors, who are sometimes aware of alternative systems of kinship and inheritance, may take an active stance towards ideologies such as matriliney and patriliney, using certain parts of these ideologies as strategic resources and devise other strategies to escape from what they consider to be the constraining elements of the ideology.

The alliances and forms of cooperation within many households and nuclear families in Nchimishi are often the result of negotiations between individuals who first of all consider their own interests in the sphere of production as well as consumption. In quite a number of cases, marriage can indeed be regarded as a kind of contract which enables man and woman to beget children and which ensures the man will be taken care of. Therefore, divorced women who have passed the menopause and who have adult children often associate marriage with a lot of extra work and see no point in getting remarried (Poewe arrives at a similar conclusion with regard to Luapula; Poewe 1978: 208-11). I also found, however, that divorced women who ran a successful farm saw remarriage as a strategy to protect their farming enterprise and business interests from outside interference. The case of Agnes Musonda Kalaka shows not only that it can be difficult for a wealthy woman to find a new partner, but that a marriage which is made subordinate to the business interests of both partners may not last long.

The break up of villages and the establishment of farms have not been caused by the plough and cash-crop farming alone. These changes in agriculture together with the persistence of matrilineal inheritance practices, the unwillingness of men to share their cash income with their wives and the unwillingness of women to leave the cultivation of cash crops entirely to their husbands have also prevented the nuclear family, or the household, from becoming the only units of agricultural production and consumption. The lack of feelings of mutual solidarity among members of a nuclear family can be attributed to the same factors as those responsible for the individualism in production and consumption encountered on many farms.

Notes:

1. According to Peter Sibangani, one of the school teachers at the local primary school and not a Lala by tribe, values regarding the nuclear and extended family are indeed changing in Nchimishi. Peter Sibangani:
'Because of interaction with other tribes, things are changing in this area. A lot of people, when they were living in town, had contacts with people belonging to patrilineal tribes, and they saw it's good to leave things for the children. Those men who stayed in town with their wife and children became aware that these children are more important than the children of their sister living back in Chibale or in another city. These migrants brought these new ideas to this place. Then others, who never lived in town, started thinking: "Why is he doing that? Why is he leaving his things to his wife and children? Why is he telling his relatives that his cows belong to his wife and children?". Now others start doing the same thing; leaving property to the children and the wife. Some farmers even say they have no cattle since they have given them to their wife and children. As you can see, the family unit is becoming more important than the extended family, because everyone now realizes that you can only count on the assistance of wife and children. A man who knows his wife and children have been good to him, and have taken care of him, cannot leave them suffering. Values are changing because of travelling and living in town and the mixing of cultures. In fact, in town a man was often living with his wife and children without his extended family (matrikin, H.S.). As you know old customs die hard and so on, but those who want to leave their property to their children are fighting battle they can win.'
(E)
2. When in this chapter I add (*) to the term household, I only refer to those households [63.1% of the total number of households in the survey sample] consisting of one married couple and/or their unmarried children, unmarried grand-children and sometimes other unmarried dependents, all eating from the same kitchen.
3. Within the 7 households(*) [12.9% of all households(*) in the survey sample that sold hybrid maize in 1988] husband and wife each cultivated their own fields with hybrid maize, within 4 households(*) [7.4% of all households(*) in the survey sample that sold maize in 1988] only the husband cultivated and sold hybrid maize and within 4 households(*) [7.4%] only the wife was involved in the cultivation of this crop.
4. The two households I visited where the wife took most decisions with regard to the spending of the maize income were not included in the survey sample.
5. I also encountered a few cases, however, where a couple decided to join forces after working separately for a number of years, in order to prevent matrilineal kin from either side from interfering in their respective enterprises. This seems to be contradictory to earlier remarks, but, according to Jonas Benson Mwape and his wife, their decision to stop maintaining separate fields and start working together again has proved to be the most effective strategy to escape from the claims and demands made by their respective close matrikin. Jonas Benson Mwape:
'On this farm, my wife and I each used to have our own fields. But after some years we decided to work together as a team again, because separations are not very good. In the past, we each had our own fields and our own money, our own property I can say. But because of this, our relatives started begging and asking me and my wife for a lot of things. But now she can say to her relatives: "These things also belong to my husband, you cannot take them". Now we both work for the children, they will inherit our property.
- But I found that at other farms people decided to make separate fields and to have separate incomes because of their relatives!
'Yes, that's true, but in our case we found that it has become more difficult for our relatives to beg us for things now that we are working together. And I think my relatives will find it more difficult to take my things after I die, since they know that we have been working together as a family, that we combined the capital we had. Now when I die, our children can say this property belonged to both our parents, our mother as well. Many people here now want to leave things to their children and everyone

uses his own tactics.' (L)

6. Jehovah's Witnesses have always emphasized the importance of the nuclear family and the living together of husband, wife and children. Long shows how Witnesses used their religious ethic in the early 1960's to explain and justify avoiding close relationships with matrilineal kin who did not belong to the congregation or who showed no interest in the faith (Long 1968). Jehovah's Witnesses not only relate property to the individual instead of to the matrilineal clan (see also *True Peace and Security. How Can You find it?*, 1968: 165-8), but also, on the basis of their religious ideology, reject matrilineal inheritance practices. Most Witnesses in Nchimishi are of the opinion that after the death of one of the parents, assets should remain within the nuclear family.
7. Most couples, over the shorter or longer run, want to establish their own farms. The 1988 survey shows that 68% of all couples living at the farm of matrikin, parents or children of either husband or wife, had plans to establish their own farm in the not-too-distant future. Quite a few of these couples consisted of recently returned migrants who were on the lookout for their own farm (land).
8. The closer bond between a father and his children is also reflected in the fact that at many farms both father and mother are now jointly responsible for the formal education of the children, which means paying their school fees and buying school-uniforms, pencils, etc. Also, when a mother dies, it has become common practice for the children to be taken care of by their father, not only because he wishes to do so, but also because the sisters or brothers of his deceased wife often refuse to accept this responsibility.
9. In other words, factors and processes that, so to say, enter the community from the outside.
10. This interview with Bana Febby was carried out by my wife, Marleen.

Chapter 10

Female farmers: their access to productive resources and their involvement in the cultivation of food crops

Introduction

The changing position of women in agriculture and the opportunity women have to produce crops for sale and earn an income cannot be explained without considering women's rights and access to productive resources. In Chapter 8, I showed the various strategies developed and used by Agnes Musonda Kalaka and a few other women belonging to the first generation of female farmers to obtain access to the various productive resources. In the first part of this chapter, I describe in more general terms the rights and access of women to resources such as knowledge, land, capital and labour. I also discuss the strategies which women who wish to become independent farmers use to secure access to, and remain in control of, these resources. It should be noted that in Nchimishi having access to land, labour, capital and farming knowledge is generally regarded as being of crucial importance to a person who intends to produce crops for the market and who wishes to improve his material living conditions.

In the second part of this chapter I show that women's active participation in cash-crop farming is affecting the traditional sexual division of labour with regard to the cultivation of food crops.

Female farmers and their access to knowledge and information

Women usually acquire the knowledge related to the cultivation of traditional crops such as runner beans, Lala maize, and Livingstone potatoes in traditional gardens, such as the *cibunde* and *mutipula*, from other women, from, for example, their grandmothers, mothers, or sisters. As already mentioned, it has become an accepted phenomenon in a relatively short time that men and women each cultivate their own fields with cash crops. I found that men usually do not wish to monopolize the knowledge they possess concerning ploughing and the cultivation of such cash crops as hybrid maize and sunflower, and there is a good deal of exchange of information between the sexes as far as cash-crop farming is concerned. This exchange may take place between husband and wife, but women also acquire knowledge from men and women outside the confines of

the household or farm. A young woman may acquire knowledge concerning the cultivation and processing of hybrid maize from, for instance, her parents, her grandparents, an older brother, a friend or a female farmer for whom she is working. Some women even seek the advice of the Agricultural Assistant based in Kofi Kunda. A few women I interviewed had learned to plant hybrid maize, plough their fields and apply fertilizer from male farmers (in most cases relatives) they had hired to prepare their fields. Women and men also exchange knowledge and information regarding farming and trade when visiting friends or relatives, when collecting fertilizer and seed from the depot, or when they meet others at funerals, beer parties, at political or religious meetings. Like Agnes Musonda Kalaka, some female farmers pay regular visits to (male and female) farmers whom they consider to be experts in a particular field, in order to obtain specific advice and information. A few female farmers stated that, since they felt they could not approach men directly, they tried to obtain the information they needed by investigating the fields of others and by doing so reconstruct the cultivation methods these farmers had used. Some female farmers maintained that they had acquired specific farming knowledge and experience by carrying out certain experiments in their fields. A number of female farmers who had recently returned from a prolonged stay on the Copperbelt said that while living in town they had obtained a lot of knowledge and experience through cultivating a number of crops, including hybrid maize and runner beans, in small fields located either near their house or in the rural districts just outside town.

I found that women often prefer to exchange knowledge - especially knowledge and information related to planning, budgeting and trade - with other women and, in particular, with women who find themselves in a somewhat similar position and who have similar ideas and objectives with regard to farming. Agnes Musonda Kalaka, who, like most other female farmers, saw the collection and exchange of knowledge as an important prerequisite for farm development, explained that she found it difficult to discuss her farm plans with farmers who worked with agricultural loans. I also found that single or divorced female farm heads often preferred to exchange information with other female farm heads. They believed that all information about possible investments or long-term strategies obtained from these women was more appropriate and useful for them since these women were facing the same constraints to a greater or lesser extent, and all seemed to have problems finding the time or the labour to cultivate cash crops.

We may conclude that women nowadays have access to all the information and knowledge they require to engage in plough agriculture and the cultivation of cash crops, in spite of the fact that agricultural extension was only directed towards the male population when the plough and the various cash crops were introduced.

'Women have equal access to farming because land is there for all'

According to Poewe, matriliney is a political economy which minimizes individual male control of power and resources and guarantees women control over offspring and land (Poewe 1978: 364). Long states that in Nchimishi under the system of *citeme* cultivation no groups or persons had an interest in a particular piece of land for an indefinite period of time: 'Land rights were vested in the individual as a member or citizen of a particular chiefdom, but each individual could cultivate any tract of uncultivated land within the chiefdom providing no one had already established prior rights over it.' (Long 1968: 27). According to Long, women were not excluded from having rights to land, and older children might even cultivate their own gardens. Theoretically, an individual could choose any unoccupied tract and delineate his/her own boundaries.

Lancaster argues that in matrilineal societies it is not the output of subsistence horticulture (which is often not even considered to be a form of wealth) but rather ties through women that are the most valuable things which can be controlled, given the cultural history and world view of these societies (Lancaster 1976: 545-52). According to Lancaster, it has often been observed that where the subsistence sector becomes subject to the more intensified labour and capital inputs associated with enhanced productivity, matriliney tends to vanish and to be replaced by patriliney. He argues that matriliney fades with the establishment of plough agriculture and cash-crop farming, since these activities not only demand increased labour input by males, but, as they attract male attention, result in male control over divisible productive property such as domesticated animals, equipment and cash crops. If processes of agricultural development and expansion occur simultaneously with population growth, land ceases to be the 'free good' that it has been in the simple horticultural systems of tribal sub-Saharan Africa. The increased value derived from the land attracts more male attention and the increasing values (in male eyes) tend to favour male involvement and male control and a bias toward patriliney (Lancaster 1976).

When we consider the situation in Nchimishi at the time of the restudy, we must conclude that the transition to plough agriculture and cash-crop farming has not resulted in women losing their traditional rights to use land, despite the fact that nowadays much more value is attached to land, especially in the more densely populated areas near the main road. A male farmer may nominate his sons and daughters as the successors to his land and farm, and many farmers reserve tracts for their sons and daughters who are living on the Copperbelt (see Chapter 12).

The Agnes Musonda Kalaka case shows that women may successfully secure access to the land of their (deceased) matrikin. Even while living on the farm of their husband or his matrikin, and even in cases where the husband only controls a small tract of land, women usually manage to gain access to land, and several examples exist of a woman threatening to divorce her husband if she was not 'shown' a fertile and large enough tract of land to cultivate. Only a few respondents believed that women would be the first to be forced out of commercially-oriented agriculture when land becomes scarce in the

near future. Many men and women were convinced, however, that women would never give up their rights, their land, and quite a number of respondents even believed that there was a tendency for women to control an increasing amount of the land in Nchimishi. The following comments by Frank Mumbulu and Harriet Lupalo (in the next section) point towards this process and illustrate that both men and women attach a high value to land. Moreover, their remarks show the way in which many women obtain access to land on their return from the Copperbelt. Frank Mumbulu:

'A lot of women who were living in town continued visiting their relatives here. A woman who lives in town will not spend a long time away without seeing mam. They come back very often for a visit. But men! When a man is on leave for a month he ignores his relatives (close matrikin, H.S.). But a woman can come here three or four times a year. So most women kept in touch with what was going on here, and they knew that after coming back they would have to become engaged in farming if they wanted to make some money. That's why a lot of these women (ex-migrants, H.S.) have become good farmers. Here it's not like in town where a man stands a better chance of getting a job. Women have equal access to farming because land is there for all. That's why you can see a lot of women getting on well and even surpassing men. Moreover, women are more stingy when it comes to capital. Often you can see a man, after his return home, settling on the farm of his wife's relatives (matrikin, H.S.) because the wife has maintained good contacts with her relatives, while he forgot all about his own relatives, neglecting them. While he was working in town she often came back to maintain fields and hire workers to stump new fields. So, when the husband receives his pension, they automatically go and live with her relatives, because his relatives are not willing to put up someone who has neglected them for so long. So she will have a big say over the land, and she may even control it. Sometimes, when the husband receives his pension, they are at loggerheads, because they each want to settle at the farms of their (respective, H.S.) relatives. Quite a few ladies got married to outsiders, to people originating from other parts of Zambia: inter-marriages. When the husband gets pensioned off, the lady thinks of coming here. If the husband refuses, she can say: "No, I won't follow you to your place. Let me return to my mother's place, to Nchimishi, because that's a developed area where farming is concerned". So they separate. But sometimes the husband follows his wife, and you often see that he ends up being controlled by the wife, because she is from here and has ideas when it comes to farming, whereas he is just a pensioner from another part of the country, a stranger with no experience in farming. You see, women will not lose control over land, never. Even if, after marriage or after returning from town, a couple decides to establish their own farm, the wife will maintain fields at the farm of her parents, or she will simply divorce her husband and start her own farm, alone or with her sons, if she does not receive a big portion. Women here have seen that it's possible to become a big farmer without the help of a husband. In the past, it was almost impossible for a divorced woman to obtain a farm licence from the chief. He considered the stumping of fields and the making of roads and bridges to be jobs that are too heavy for a woman. But now the chief knows that many divorced women nowadays have the power to do that kind of work, or have the money to hire workers. That's why a woman also can get a licence nowadays, and, if she does not have her own licence, she can always ask other farmers for a piece of land.' (E)

Returning migrants and their access to land

Harriet Lupalo, who lives in Ndola with her husband, Musonda Kapianga, and five of their children, started cultivating hybrid maize at the village of her father, Ba Lupalo, in 1986 (see also Genealogy 12.1). In August 1987, she sold twenty-three bags to the depot and the next season she produced more than sixty bags. That year, she stayed for almost four months in Lupalo village to take care of the weeding of her maize, and to

harvest, process and sell the crop. The initial capital required to purchase inputs and hire labour was provided by her husband who works as a truck driver for an Ndola-based haulage company. Harriet works in close cooperation with her stepmother, Bana Lupalo, in the cultivation of hybrid maize. Harriet helps Lupalo's wife with the harvesting and processing of her millet and maize, while Bana Lupalo assists Harriet with the recruitment of piece workers and purchases the necessary inputs at the local depot when Harriet is in Ndola. Harriet buys clothes in Ndola which are used to pay their workers. In addition to the fields in Lupalo village, Harriet's conjugal family has a garden near their house in Ndola where Harriet cultivates vegetables. They also maintain a few small fields in the rural area around Ndola where a variety of food crops are grown. Harriet Lupalo:

'I started farming here to get some extra money for my family. Life in town has become very expensive, but when you produce maize, it means you have your own mealie meal and money to buy relish and things for the house. Until 1986, we had to live on my husband's salary. While he was away in Zimbabwe or Botswana, I took care of the children, that was my duty.

- It seems to me that you now spend more time here in Lupalo village than a few years ago?

Yes, that's true. It's because of my parents. They are getting old now, and I also want to prepare for our stay here in the future. My husband is nearing retirement. That's why I started farming here. We do not want to suffer when we return to Nchimishi. We will need a place and we need to stump new fields. But if we do not occupy the land here (the land of Ba Lupalo and his wife, H.S.), others will take it. I also want to get experience in farming and learn from people like my mother, Bana Lupalo. And I want to get used to rural life which is difficult. In Ndola when my husband is home we drink tea in the afternoon and we always eat at the table with forks, but here we sit in the kitchen or the *nsaka* and we eat with our hands. But life in town is also difficult, you always have to buy things. That's why Julie and Musonda (two of Harriet's seven children, H.S.) are here. They can help my parents, and I do not have to spend too much money on them. In town there is unemployment, but here there is self-employment. In the past, money was only found in town and town dwellers used to laugh at villagers.

- Why are you not going to stay at the farm of one of your husband's relatives (matrikin, H.S.), at the farm of Kash Chipilingu (see Genealogy 12.1 and 12.2), for instance?

No, his (Musonda Kapianga's H.S.) parents are dead, and I do not want to stay with his relatives, with someone like Kash. My husband's relatives always ask for things because my husband is a truck driver and visits many different places. My husband doesn't mind settling here (in Lupalo village, H.S.) and after a few years if he wants, we can leave this place to establish our own farm.

- Don't you think that it will be difficult to find land?

Yes, it will be difficult. Many people are looking for land. But I don't mind establishing a farm in the bush. If my husband wants to go there, we'll go.' (L)

The remarks of Frank Mumbulu and Harriet Lupalo show that remigration is often a gradual process. Many married couples feel the need to prepare their final return to Nchimishi well in advance. Since most migrant women do not have regular jobs, they are often the first to spend part of the year in Nchimishi to take up farming and make sure that fields are stumped and cleared. In most cases, these women settle at the farms of their parents or close matrikin. The maintenance of good contacts with their parents and matrikin over the years makes it easy for these women to obtain a suitable area for cultivation. Their husbands, when they settle in Nchimishi, usually have much less experience and knowledge with regard to cash-crop farming, and some men upon their

return are taught by their wives how to cultivate hybrid maize. It is not often that these women accept being pushed out of cash-crop farming and being relegated to the kitchen or the fields where only food crops are cultivated.

It should be noted, however, that in some cases it was not the wife but the husband who was involved in preparatory activities and maize cultivation in the period preceding the final return of his family to Nchimishi. I also came across quite a few cases where couples decided to settle at the farm of the husband's relatives or parents. In most of these cases, I observed that the women were allocated sufficient land if they had the intention of engaging in cash-crop farming. It has also become the norm among young married non-migrant couples that, if husband and wife do not wish to cooperate in the cultivation of cash crops, they at least should each have enough land to cultivate their own hybrid maize, runner beans or Irish potatoes.

The mobility of women and the location of farms

For most married couples, whether newly-weds or returned migrants, living at the farms of close matrikin, children or parents is considered to be merely a transitional phase, during which they are on the lookout for their own tract of unoccupied and fertile land (see Note 7 in Chapter 9). After a number of years, the landholding is often found to be too small to support several families, especially if more migrant families have settled at the farm and if plans exist among its inhabitants to expand their commercial operations. Couples may also decide in these cases to look for a suitable piece of land and establish their own farm. The Agnes Musonda Kalaka case and the cases presented in Chapter 5 show, however, that it has become very difficult to find large tracts of unoccupied land near the main road to Chibale. Many families, therefore, are forced to settle in the more remote and less densely populated parts of Nchimishi, or elsewhere in Chibale Chiefdom. Unlike Harriet Lupalo, many farmers find it difficult to leave the roadside and settle in frontier areas. For many returned migrants, the roadside area has the atmosphere and the vivacity that reminds them of their stay in the urban areas.

It struck me when I discussed this issue with respondents that it was more often women who seemed to have reservations about settling in the more distant areas of Nchimishi. The explanation which respondents offered for this was that women are less mobile than men due to their domestic responsibilities and have a much smaller, what we might call, radius of action as compared with men. Since women are responsible on most farms for the preparation of meals, the fetching of water and firewood (activities that are usually carried out in the afternoon) and for taking care of the children, they have less leisure time than men after they have finished their farm work in the early afternoon. (Men and women usually carry out their farm work from around 6 o'clock in the morning until 12 - 2 o'clock in the afternoon.) Data collected in Chief Chibale's area show that male household heads on average spend 1,083 hours annually on social activities and visits. Female household heads and wives only spend, respectively, 213 and 264 hours annually on these activities. Men on average only spend 100 hours on household activities, whereas female household heads spend 383 hours and wives, 749 hours annually on domestic work (IRDP 1984: 58-9).¹⁾

Before they start with the preparation of the evening meal at around 3 pm or 4 pm, many women usually spend their time resting and chatting in the kitchen or *nsaka*, washing clothes or collecting firewood. This period of the day is also used to visit friends and relatives who live on nearby farms. Even when they do not have to work in the fields, however, their household work, the high frequency of their tasks, prevents them from staying away for more than a few hours, especially if no other women who can take care of the younger children reside at the farm. Whereas women are responsible for all high frequency household tasks, men are responsible for many low frequency tasks which do not have to be carried out on a daily basis, such as construction work and the maintenance and repair of farming equipment.²⁾ Men, therefore, usually have much more time for leisure and, after working in the fields, they can stay away for most of the afternoon and evening, attending beer parties or visiting friends or relatives. I found that on many farms the husband is not obliged to show up for dinner. If he wishes, a man may eat at the farm of the friend he is visiting and return home in the late evening. The radius of action of men is thus much wider, and additionally so because, unlike a large majority of the women, many men own bicycles.³⁾

A move to the more distant and isolated parts of Nchimishi, therefore, tends to have a much more radical impact upon the life of women, and for this reason many are reluctant to leave the roadside. Moving to the bush often means that it becomes very difficult for women to maintain regular contacts with many of their friends and close matrikin. Some women explained that settling in the bush not only means not being able to interact as frequently with friends and relatives, but also results in missing out on the latest news and information; for instance, information with regard to prices of consumer goods or concerning the arrival at the Nchimishi depot of new supplies of fertilizer and seed. According to most respondents, for women, living in 'the bush' means being more tied to the farm and its direct surroundings. Unlike the farms located near the roadside, farms in the Nchimishi hinterland are often located at a considerable distance from each other, making it more difficult for a woman to find someone to take care of the children or to arrange for a baby-sitter when she intends to work in the field, wants to go out to visit friends, or when she is ill. This isolation and the long distance to the main road is also felt in other ways. Women living in the hinterland often complained that they found it difficult to take their young children to church or the Kingdom Hall, and to their monthly visit to the 'under fives clinic'. Other women emphasized that living in the bush makes it much more difficult to take maize to the grinding mill (located near the maize depot, see Map 1.2), to buy relish, to sell beans to traders from town, or to travel to Serenje, to Chitambo Mission Hospital or to the Copperbelt. Some women stated that brewing beer was a less profitable business in the hinterland since potential customers were often not willing to walk or cycle long distances, especially after having consumed their beer. Others argued that living in more isolated areas made it more difficult for a woman to become a trader.

Many women in the end decide, after weighing up the pros and cons, to move to the bush since they consider access to land to be of vital importance. I also encountered a few cases where wives refused to leave their roadside farm and settle in more remote

areas. These cases often consisted of conjugal and extended families who lived on their own farms and did not control enough land to expand the fields with cash crops. In two cases, the wish of the husband to move to a less densely populated part of Nchimishi and the refusal of the wife to leave the roadside resulted in the couple managing two separate farms. For example, one woman named Bana Mwape (or Dyna), the wife of a farmer named George Bulwani (see also Chapter 12), refused to follow her husband to the new farm he had built at a distance of approximately 10 kilometres from their farm in Lupalo village. Bana Mwape argued that she did not want to forgo the company and assistance of Bana Lupalo and Ngosa Lupalo, her friends in the village. Moreover, since she was getting old and suffered from asthma, she was unable to walk long distances. Like George, Bana Mwape saw the need for the establishment of the second farm. Not only had their cattle frequently ravaged the fields of neighbouring farmers, but several of the farm's residents (six adults) had plans to increase their production of cash crops. They finally decided that George, assisted by his youngest son Mambwe, would further develop the second farm, while Bana Mwape would be responsible for the affairs at their farm in Lupalo village. George would cycle between the two farms and spend a few days and nights every week in Lupalo village. In 1988, a few acquaintances of the family told me that they did not expect the arrangement to last for very long since George would obviously need a second wife to cook for him and help him develop the second farm. When I left the field towards the end of 1989, however, George stated that the development of the second farm was proceeding quite well and that he did not have any intention of marrying a second wife.

Different income-earning opportunities for women

The Agnes Musonda Kalaka case (see Chapter 8) is illustrative of the strategies used in Nchimishi by many women - both married women and female household heads - to obtain the cash required to engage in the production of hybrid maize and to purchase draught animals and farming equipment. For many women who wish to have their own income and become financially independent of their husbands, the combined cultivation of runner beans and Lala maize in *katobela* is seen as an ideal strategy since these crops can be cultivated on a relatively large scale without having to use any financial inputs. Even after having taken the plunge and having started cultivating hybrid maize, bean production remains an important activity for most women. If they have sufficient financial resources, some women even decide to expand their *katobela* gardens by hiring labour to assist them during the planting and harvesting season. Like Agnes Musonda Kalaka, a limited number of women also get involved at a later stage in the bean trade. As recently as the mid-1970's, beans were considered to be a typical women's crop, though men often used to assist their wives with the slashing of grasses and the digging of mounds. Nowadays, women mostly prepare their bean gardens without any male assistance. Another remarkable change is that in recent years, since the emergence of runner beans as a major cash crop, men also have begun preparing large *katobela*

gardens of their own. In other words, they have adopted an income-generating strategy developed by women.

Another important income-generating activity for women is the brewing of beer. Brewing beer from millet or maize is considered to be an exclusively female activity and is very popular among a large section of the adult female population in Nchimishi. 63% of all adult women in the 1988 survey stated that they brewed millet-beer (*chipumu*), maize-beer (*katata*, which also contains a certain quantity of millet) or both. Both types are sold locally and can be produced without the use of substantial amounts of capital. *Katata*, which was introduced into the area in the early 1980's, is considered to be the most interesting type of beer from a commercial point of view. This beer is mainly brewed by younger women, while many women of the older generation are experts in brewing the traditional *chipumu*. Younger women who do not cultivate hybrid maize on ploughed fields (*ama acres*) often use their *katobela* maize to brew beer or buy (often on credit) the maize and millet they require. Husband and wife may share the profit which is derived from the sale of beer, but more often revenues are seen as the personal income of the woman. It is difficult for a woman to refuse the occasional request of her husband or older son to brew beer on his behalf, especially when they are willing to provide the ingredients. Nevertheless, beer brewing is seen pre-eminently as an opportunity for women to earn cash. This became clear to me when discussions arose in March 1988 over the high inflation in the country and the increase in beer prices. Whereas the majority of the men involved in these discussions were fiercely against the proposed price increase, the women argued that the prices of essential commodities were increasing for them also. Others stated that they had to increase the price of beer to take account of the higher prices they had to pay at the grinding mill (a result of the dramatic increase in the price of diesel).

In the early stages of her farming career, a woman may brew beer to generate the cash she needs for the further development of her farming enterprise. In a later stage, women usually brew beer in order to satisfy particular consumption needs (for example, to buy a new dress, a pair of shoes, or school uniforms for the children) without having to break into the financial reserves set aside for the cultivation of cash crops. A few women who are considered to be experts by other brewers derive a small income by assisting other women during the final stages of the brewing process. These final stages are crucial if a high quality beer is to be obtained.

Apart from the sale of beer and the cultivation of beans or other crops, such as sunflower and groundnuts, which equally do not demand much in the way of capital, there are a number of other options open to women who wish to generate and accumulate cash. I found that a few women were involved in the sale of rape, tomatoes or oranges, which they had purchased from other farmers. Some women, such as Agnes Musonda Kalaka, sold dried fish they bought in Luapula Province or at the Serenje market. Others sold prepared food during so-called *sundowni* parties. Some younger women collected and sold edible caterpillars.

Working for other male or female farmers was seen as yet another opportunity for earning cash (see Chapter 9). As in the case of many male farmers (see Chapter 6), a lot of younger women considered working for commercially-oriented farmers as a kind

of training period. I found that many older women were more reluctant to work for other farmers as they considered it to be humiliating having to accept orders from a younger person. Nevertheless, older women also were found selling their labour to others. In many cases, these women lived on relatively poor farms.

A minority of women applied for agricultural loans, but a somewhat larger number preferred to arrange informal loans and borrow money from their husband, relatives or friends. I encountered a few cases where young women received financial assistance from well-to-do matrikin or children living on the Copperbelt or outside Zambia. I also met some women who, in order to remain independent, had rejected the financial assistance offered to them by their husband or their matrikin.

As in the case of Agnes Musonda Kalaka, women who have progressed in their farming career may obtain additional income by hiring out their implements and animals to other farmers.

The above mentioned income-generating strategies are also used by middle-aged and older wives or female household and farm heads. A number of older female household and farm heads are relatively poor and some of these women explained this by pointing out that developments in agriculture and the rise of female farming had come too late for them since they now lacked the 'power' to take full advantage of new opportunities. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conclude that in Nchimishi the category of middle-aged and older wives or female household and farm heads consists of women who lack the opportunity to become successful commercially-oriented farmers. In fact, out of the 35 women in the survey sample who were older than 44 years of age in December 1988, 23 (65.7%) were engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize. Of these 23 women, 16 (69.6%) cultivated and sold their own hybrid maize, whereas 7 (30.4%) cultivated the crop together with their husbands in common fields. Out of the 17 female household and/or farm heads in the survey sample who were older than 44 years of age, 10 (58.8%) cultivated and sold their own hybrid maize. Of all 35 women in the survey sample who were older than 44 years of age, 18 were married. Of these women, 13 (72.2%) were engaged in the cultivation of hybrid maize, whereas 6 (46.2%) of them cultivated their own personal fields with hybrid maize (see also Appendix 4).

Notwithstanding the fact that there exist different ways for women to accumulate cash, it was argued by many male and female respondents that men have even more opportunities to gain access to cash. A number of men derived an additional cash income from utilizing special skills which women usually do not possess, such as bricklaying, carpentry, tailoring, blacksmithing, shoe repairing, tyre mending and hunting (elephant poaching). Although some women in Nchimishi do their own ploughing (19.3% of all adult women), I found none of them using this skill to earn money by assisting other farmers (a strategy often used by young men) during the ploughing season (and to get their fields ploughed in return). As pointed out earlier, men in Nchimishi usually have better access to formal agricultural loans.

Although many women in Nchimishi have their own cash income either through the sale of beans, beer, hybrid maize or other crops (ie. sunflower, Irish potatoes or groundnuts), they are not always free to spend it as they please. I found that on many farms husband and wife occasionally had discussions regarding the spending of their

respective incomes on the essentials needed for the household. Married women often complained that, because they were responsible for most domestic work, their husbands expected them to purchase various household necessities such as relish, cooking oil, salt, and sugar out of their personal income. In a few cases, husbands also expected their wife to pay for the clothing of the children, their school fees, and school uniforms, arguing that after all children belonged to their mother's clan. Some female respondents argued that the fact that their husbands forced them to spend a relatively large part of their personal income for the benefit of the whole household was delaying their emergence as commercially-oriented farmers. In other words, although women usually have control over their own incomes, their 'traditional' responsibility for domestic work and their children may sometimes force them to neglect their own interests. I also found, however, that many women who had their own income were not prepared to yield to any force inflicted upon them by their husbands, and quite a few of them managed to come to an arrangement whereby they both had to contribute to purchases made for the household or the children.

I found that some women in the early stages of their farming career use a considerable part of the sale proceeds of beans or beer to buy household necessities and various consumer goods for themselves. A majority, however, prefer to save or reinvest their capital in new income-generating activities, and in the shorter or longer run most women take up the cultivation of hybrid maize. They purchase inputs and some hire others to stump and plough their first fields. Although many women (and men) adopt the strategy of having their fields ploughed as this is quicker and less strenuous than hoeing, other women (and men) in the early stages of their farming career do not wish to spend scarce capital resources on labour for stumping and ploughing and prefer to cultivate hybrid maize in old fields, in hoed *inkule*, *mikose* or *katobela*. Like most men, a majority of the younger women consider the cultivation of cash crops by means of hoeing to be merely a transitional phase, a necessary step, on their way to plough agriculture. The ultimate goal of many younger female farmers is to possess their own cattle and farming implements in the future. Women also stressed the importance they attached to owning cattle, especially as cattle can be converted into cash in times of need. Other women do not have to take up the hoe or hire other farmers to work for them since they have access to the animals and farming equipment of their husband, parents, brothers or sisters who are willing to assist them with ploughing. Many women, however, are reluctant to develop their farming enterprise by making use of the oxen and implements of their husband, as they fear that in the event of a divorce the husband and his matrikin will claim most of their assets, defending this claim by arguing that after all they 'started from his pocket'.

Some well-established female and male farmers have developed certain doubts in recent years regarding the cultivation of hybrid maize. They feel this activity has the disadvantage that a large part of the revenue has to be reinvested in the next year's crop (see also Chapter 6). Some women I interviewed even asked themselves whether their only objective in taking part in the 'bags race' was to raise their personal status and whether it would not be better to concentrate their efforts upon the large-scale cultivation of runner beans, especially in view of the fact that, with the high rate of

inflation, the production of maize was not that profitable any more.

Women and their access to labour

I have indicated that most men in Nchimishi certainly do not have full control over the farm labour of their wives, sisters or daughters, nor over the fruits of this labour. According to some respondents, men who decide to work for their parents-in-law for much shorter periods than in the past lose whatever rights they might have had over their wife's labour.

If husband and wife each have separate ploughed fields and *katobela* they often each carry out all work related to the cultivation of beans and hybrid maize. I also came across farms, however, where husband and wife assisted each other in their respective fields. At many of these farms, a kind of sexual division of labour continued to exist whereby the husband took care of stumping, clearing the land and ploughing, and the wife prepared the mounds and did most of the weeding.

A married woman with children is usually less free than her husband to divide time among various activities and sometimes finds it more difficult to find enough time to carry out all her farm work since she is expected by her husband, and in most cases sees it as her duty, to take care of the young children and carry out most of the domestic work. The cultivation of fields and the heavy load of domestic work often forces married women, and even more so divorced women (irrespective of whether they own oxen or not), with young children to hire external labour, especially in cases where a woman cannot rely, or does not want to rely, upon the labour and assistance of her (ex) husband, her children, sons-in-law and/or close matrikin. Some elderly female farmers argued that they are also forced to hire outside labour occasionally because not only have they less time for farm work, but also, being women, they have less physical strength, less 'power' than most men of their age.

I found that quite a number of female farmers without oxen assist their husband or close matrikin (often their brothers) or children with ploughing, planting or the application of fertilizer in order to get their fields ploughed in return. Women who receive assistance from close kinsmen in return for their labour often regard this form of cooperation as one way of expressing mutual obligation among kinsmen. In other words, these women try to make these arrangements and gain access to the plough by reference to norms related to the relations between close kin and to traditional kinship rights (as Holy indicates, similar arrangements exist among the Toka, Holy 1986: 56-76). They do not always succeed, however, as sometimes these norms are disregarded since they appear to be incompatible with the economic goals of these ox-owning matrilineal kinsmen, who either have a large enough labour force on their farm, or who consider it to be more profitable to make similar arrangements with non-related males. According to most respondents, the disregard of these traditional obligations towards close kinsmen has become common practice, since an increasing number of people no longer consider that kinship ties grant a person the right to assistance. This change is

generally explained as being the result of the spatial separation of relatives brought about by the establishment of independent farms and the diffusion of cash-crop cultivation. In the past, the main purpose of cooperation between close kin was to ensure that everyone had a comfortable existence, that everyone had sufficient food supplies. Nowadays at most farms agriculture, and plough agriculture in particular, is to a large extent geared to profit making, and it has become a way for individuals to achieve long-term agricultural, social (owning cattle and producing a large number of bags with hybrid maize) and economic goals (see also Holy 1986: 64-7). Farming is now seen as the responsibility of the individual, the conjugal family, household or farm, and individuals are often reluctant to contribute to the success of their close matrikin. Only if individual economic goals are compatible with cooperation between matrikin, can traditional normative rules be successfully invoked. Cooperation between close kin occurs more frequently in the non-commoditized domain. Related women, for instance, can be seen assisting each other in fields where food crops are exclusively grown. But even in such cases I found that some respondents pointed to the opportunity costs involved in this kind of cooperation.

Women who do not own oxen and who are unable to gain access to the plough by working for some of their close matrikin sometimes manage to make similar working arrangements with non-kinsmen. The only labour some ox owners need, however, is precisely the labour required to make up a team for ploughing. Therefore, women who do not know how to handle the plough or to guide the oxen, who are unable to mobilize the assistance of their matrikin and who do not have the cash to hire complete teams for ploughing often end up not having access to the plough. Typically, they are widows or old divorced women living alone. Older women (and men) whose physical condition stops them from resorting to hoeing can be prevented from engaging in the cultivation of hybrid maize by not having access to the plough. Some, because of their age or health, lack the physical force to work for other farmers, while others are forced to go out and work to satisfy their needs for food and cash. I found that a number of women (and men), both related and unrelated, from the poorest households assist each other during the planting and harvesting season of Lala maize, cassava and millet in order to neutralize the effects of sickness and because working together seems to hurry jobs along.

Female farmers who own oxen and farming implements but who lack the labour to make up a team for ploughing do not usually find it difficult to get assistance. Like Agnes Musonda Kalaka, these women are often assisted by brothers or sons-in-law who do not have their own animals and equipment. In the event of no matrikin or in-laws being there to help them, they usually do not have too much difficulty recruiting a sufficient number of young men and women, albeit that a young female farmer, such as Agnes Musonda Kalaka, may recruit workers through her brother, as many men are slow to ask a young woman for work.

Some women (and men) prefer to recruit matrikin to make up teams for ploughing or to carry out other tasks rather than strangers who might steal resources, but, like Agnes Musonda Kalaka, many female farmers prefer to employ non-matrikin since kinsmen are usually less willing to accept orders, complain a lot, often demand higher

pay and tend to leave the work whenever it suits them. A few large-scale female farmers pointed out to me that, instead of going out to other farms to recruit workers, they preferred to wait until they were approached by people looking for an opportunity to earn some cash, to work for clothes or a quantity of salt. According to Plevious, a successful female farmer, approaching other farmers has several disadvantages:

'If you ask people to come and work for you, they are often more careless than people who came to you to ask for work. If you ask them to sweep the floor and to collect the remaining maize, they can say: "Why? You came to ask us to work for you".' (L)

Beer and the recruitment of labour

Until recent years, a common method utilized by male and female headed households to organize labour was to brew beer. The 'owners' of the work were supposed to announce well in advance that on a particular day men and/or women were needed to carry out a certain task. The traditional millet beer, *chipumu*, was consumed communally by the work parties in the afternoons, after the work had been completed. *Chipumu* is considered to be food and, for poorer women and men, working for beer therefore meant being able to economize on their food reserves (see also Pottier 1988: 128; Long 1991: 147-70). The work parties were supervised by the village headman. In the case of the Mambwe who were studied by Watson in the 1950's, the rewarding of work parties with beer resulted in the redistribution of surpluses of millet in ways that were socially and ecologically justified (Watson 1958: 162-3; Pottier 1988: 9), since no unnecessary surplus was produced. According to Watson, the consumption of beer generated and expressed a high degree of cooperation. Through their village membership, households were united as a corporate working-group and all cooperative work was reciprocated (see Pottier 1988: 116). Women and men who attended the work party of another villager obliged the other to work for her or him, to work in her or his fields, in return. In Watson's view, *chipumu* was not to be seen as pay, since it was the work which was reciprocated: 'A man cannot get his gardens dug simply by providing beer for others to come and work for him; if he does not work in return, no one will again accept his invitations' (Watson 1958: 107-8). From the information I gathered during conversations with older respondents, it appears that Watson's conclusions also seem to apply to the situation in Nchimishi as it existed in the first decades of this century. It was stressed by various men and women that this form of cooperation made it possible for many older women to have their own *citeme* cut.

With the diffusion of the plough and cash-crop farming, it seems that in Nchimishi, like in some Mambwe villages, *chipumu* rapidly developed into a kind of payment. To use Pottier's words:

'The shift from (presumed) reciprocal to non-reciprocal arrangements has been sealed by a shift in the meaning of *chipumu*, the millet beer customarily consumed at the end of a working-party session. The meaning of *chipumu* has shifted from being a symbol of guaranteed reciprocity (Watson 1958: 106) to being a means of straightforward payment - a transition facilitated by the fact that ploughing as reciprocity cannot so easily be "measured".' (Pottier 1988: 129).

When the agricultural and economic differentiation in Nchimishi became more marked in the 1960's and 70's, brewing beer became more and more an instrument in the hand of the larger male ox farmers - who in most cases had a higher demand for labour - to recruit temporary workers needed for various tasks. These farmers, however, were often unable and unwilling to reciprocate the work provided by a relatively large number of people.

The system whereby collective work parties are paid in beer seems to have been just a transitional phase which had practically ceased to exist in Nchimishi by the mid-1980's. During my field work, I only met one woman who on one occasion attempted to recruit workers by brewing beer. As no one showed up that particular morning, she was forced to sell all the beer in the afternoon. Respondents explained that when cash became more readily available the system started losing its popularity, especially among potential workers. Getting paid in money or even salt has the advantage that consumption can take place later, at any convenient moment. Money can be saved and be converted not only into beer, but equally into a large number of other consumer and productive goods and services. As we have seen, working for money became an important strategy for many young men and women who wished to become commercially-oriented farmers and who needed cash. Some respondents stated that the working-party system has disappeared since workers are not willing to work just for a few cups of beer in fields from which the owner derives a cash income. According to these respondents, working for beer has to be seen in the context of the *citeme* system and the cultivation of millet and other food crops. For their assistance in these activities, working parties were rewarded with food (millet beer). An activity such as the cultivation of crops like hybrid maize, however, has the generation of a cash income as its main purpose, and nowadays the norm is that piece workers who assist with the cultivation of cash crops receive cash ('food for food and cash for cash'). A few respondents argued that the disappearance of the villages had also contributed to the decay of the system. Work parties had often been supervised by the village headman and had played a role in maintaining a sense of cooperation among the villagers. At their own farms, these respondents argued, people just tend to mind their own business and do not see any advantage in these traditional forms of cooperation.

The cultivation of food crops, the sexual division of labour and social change

In Nchimishi, women not only are responsible for most domestic work but also have always fulfilled a major role in the production of food crops. When the *citeme* system still stood at the heart of the agricultural system of the area, women had performed many agricultural tasks. As pointed out earlier, however, a strict sexual division of labour was central to the traditional agricultural system of the Lala. Women were not supposed, and not considered able, to take part in the felling of trees, the clearing of

the undergrowth and the construction of fences around the *citeme* gardens. Although men were also responsible for the heavy digging involved in the preparation of the subsidiary gardens, men's work was often vertical in movement, whereas women worked with a bent back most of the time.

The fact that men were responsible for the initial tasks which required a lot of energy ('power') and a woman could only proceed with her duties after a man had performed his work expressed and symbolized female dependence and male authority and superior 'power', according to respondents. A remark which was often made in this context was that in the past, in the days of *citeme*, a husband had always 'worked in front' whereas a wife had 'followed behind' her husband.

As said before, the change from a subsistence-based agriculture to one of cash cropping brought with it major changes in the traditional sexual division of labour. After the introduction of the plough and the various cash crops, men gradually became interested in commercially-oriented agriculture. Long shows that in the early 1960's the growing of crops under plough cultivation was mostly undertaken jointly by the husband and wife, and men became involved in activities such as planting, weeding and harvesting, tasks which in the past were almost exclusively carried out by women. Apart from cultivating crops on ploughed or hoed fields, many male farmers became aware during the late seventies and early eighties of the possible benefits of growing traditional crops such as runner beans - which had started developing into an important cash crop - in gardens such as the *katobela* and *mabwela*. The wish of many men and women to have their own incomes and thus to maintain their own fields resulted in the gradual disappearance of the sexual division of labour from these fields also. Women who maintained their own *katobela* and *mabwela* fields were often forced to dig mounds themselves in the event of their being unable to come to a working arrangement with their husband or to recruit other men to do this work for them. Men often had to do their own planting, weeding and harvesting. Most men's interest stopped, however, at the cultivation of cash crops, and many men even became increasingly reluctant to assist their wives in cultivating those gardens where only food crops were grown. This was partly because a number of women had shown themselves well capable of performing heavy tasks such as clearing and digging. On the basis of these observations and some of the literature (IRD 1984: 47-60; Moore and Vaughan 1987), I arrive at the conclusion that the workload of women has increased considerably during the transition from subsistence-based agriculture to a more commercially-oriented type of farming. Not only have women in Nchimishi remained responsible for most domestic work, not only has the amount of farm work they do increased because of their direct or indirect (in those cases where wives assist their husband) involvement in the cultivation of cash crops, but it seems to me that they are more burdened than ever with the cultivation of food crops. When I confronted different men and women with this conclusion, all agreed that the workload of women has increased in the last forty years or so. During these conversations it also appeared that the intensification of women's labour has taken place through an extension of their working day and an overall increase in hours spent on farm work. The increase in time spent on work seem to have been at the expense of time spent on leisure and social activities.

The same respondents also emphasized, however, that in recent years significant changes are taking place with regard to women's roles and responsibilities in relation to the cultivation of food crops, changes which seem to go hand in hand with, and according to some should be seen as the result of, the increasing economic independence of women vis-a-vis their husbands, which in turn is to a large extent a result of their involvement in cash-crop farming. Many women in Nchimishi have begun to question their own role and the role men play within the subsistence side of the agricultural system, and have started criticizing the practices, norms and values that have determined that particular types of farm work should be designated as being a woman's task, a woman's responsibility. On quite a number of farms, this has resulted in negotiations, in a power struggle, between husband and wife. In the wider context outside the farm and household, these tensions give rise to numerous discussions between men and women. To illustrate this, I now present part of a discussion between a number of men and women who were attending a beer party in Lupalo village in September 1988. I found it very important to study such gatherings as beer parties, funerals and *akabungwe* (see also Chapter 8 and 12) because, first, they tend to reflect particular processes of agrarian, social and economic change, and patterns or processes of differentiation or integration; second, processes of change and their consequences often form the topic of discussion and are evaluated during these gatherings; and, finally, these gatherings, where individuals have the opportunity to interact with others (with strangers but also friends, relatives, or acquaintances who live at other farms), form important arenas for the verbalization, formulation, testing and dissemination of new interpretations, theories, concepts, values and norms. In other words, it is often at these gatherings that change is given shape and new social forms start to emerge.

A discussion in the nsaka

This particular discussion took place in the main *nsaka* of Lupalo village and was recorded on tape and later translated by Mudala Chisenga, my research assistant. Present during the discussion were: Mumba Cotton and his wife, Bana Labeka (see also Chapter 6), Bana Lupalo (the wife of the headman Lupalo), Mr. Shondwe, Bana Chitambo and her husband, Kasonde, and finally Kasubika, a woman also residing in the village.

Bana Lupalo:

'Today, Musonda Kapitolo has really worked very hard. If he goes there (to his *mutipula* garden, H.S.) tomorrow, I don't know where he will end.'

Mumba:

'You mean working in *mutipula*?'

Bana Lupalo:

'Yes.'

Mumba:

'Mmmm, tomorrow I will start working in *mutipula* too. Or are we supposed to make bricks for the clinic?'

Kasubika:

'You can go to the *mutipula*. They have almost finished making all the bricks we need.'

Mumba:

'Anyway, *mutipula* can be made little by little. There is no need to work as if you are being punished. Musonda Kapitolo, even if he works very hard and makes many mounds, why should we praise him for that? We are not going to eat his maize and he won't make a profit in *mutipula*. Everyone just eats his own maize.'

Bana Lupalo:

'If he makes many mounds, yes, I can congratulate him, and if you do the same, I can praise you.'

Mumba:

'Whether someone makes two mounds or eight, he will only eat his own maize.'

Bana Lupalo:

'Is it like that Mumba? No, because not many men are like Musonda Kapitolo. Not many men make *mutipula*. He (Musonda Kapitolo, H.S.) wants to finish this week.'

Mumba:

'Have you ever finished making *mutipula* in one week? Have you ever done it?'

Kasubika:

'If there is a man who can assist you with clearing, then it's possible.'

Kasonde:

'*Mutipula* is women's work.'

Bana Lupalo:

'Is that true? Men should be in front to clear.'

Shondwe:

'No, no. A man cannot make *mutipula*. What is he going to gain from it?'

Kasonde:

'*Mutipula* is for women, like *fibunde* and *fisebe*.'

Bana Lupalo:

'It's men who should do the clearing and some men now make their own *mutipula* and *fibunde*.'

Kasonde:

'But that's something you will only find here in Nchimishi.'

Shondwe:

'In Mitunta (the area near Mukopa, see also Map 1.1, H.S.) men refuse to make *fibunde* saying it's work for women. There, you only see women making *fibunde*.'

Bana Lupalo:

'But in Mitunta men do the clearing. Here many women have to do that as well.'

Kasonde:

'But here you also see some men making *mutipula* and *fibunde*. As men, we should only eat from these fields.'

Shondwe:

'Here, some women even refuse to peel *mumbu* (Livingstone potatoes) for their husbands.'

Kasubika:

'Why should she peel if he doesn't want to make *fibunde*?'

Bana Chitambo:

'Women only want to peel for men who make their own *fibunde*, or for men who assist them.'

Kasonde:

'In Mitunta they peel for you, even if you do not make *fibunde*.'

Shondwe:

'As a man I cannot make *fibunde*, there is no money in *mumbu*.'

Kasubika:

'What about us? Is there a profit for us, women? Men should also make *fibunde* and *mutipula*.'

Kasonde:

'That's not the kind of work for men.'

Kasubika:

'Nowadays, many men have started making *mutipula* and *fibunde*. Things are changing for the better. You should not leave it to the women only.'

Shondwe:

'There is no business in *mumbu*. Only women sometimes sell *mumbu* and sweet potatoes at Mulilima and only in small quantities. That's why only women should grow these crops.'

Kasubika:

'If you, being a man, do not grow *mumbu*, how can you sell *mumbu*?'

Shondwe:

'But if a woman succeeds in selling *mumbu*, that's her money isn't it?'

Kasubika:

'Of course it's her money. But if her husband wants to help her to make *fibunde*, she can give him some money for beer.'

Shondwe:

'Money for beer? Are you sure? Will you give your husband money?'

Mumba:

'She won't give him the money. Women!'

Kasubika:

'What about you men, do you give money to us? You lock your pockets with chains. That's why we want to have our own maize.'

Shondwe:

'Listen to me. A long time ago when they used to cut *citeme*, who used to sharpen the axe?'

Bana Citambo:

'Ah, but now you're talking about cutting trees.'

Kasubika:

'It's true, the man did the cutting, but who made the *myunda*. If a woman did not make the *myunda*, could a man say that he made a *citeme*?'

Bana Chitambo:

'You men think you can oppress us. Don't ask us for *mumbu*. We shall not give you any.'

Shondwe:

'I can't ask for it. I just have to wait and see. Some men never eat *mumbu* because they are not given it by their wives. But what if a man makes his own *fibunde*?'

Bana Chitambo:

'Okay. No problem, we can both make our own *fibunde* or *mutipula*.'

Shondwe:

'But can a woman do as much work as a man?'

Kasubika:

'Maybe not, but the little she produces is better than nothing.'

Shondwe:

'But that means you and your children will finish your *mumbu* or maize very quickly. You will end up living like rats, having nothing to eat, stealing.'

Kasubika:

'Why? I can show my children the fields of their father and ask them not to eat only from my fields.'

Shondwe:

'I could chase them away, saying: "Did your mother assist me?"'

Bana Chitambo:

'If that's the case I could also chase them, asking them: "Did your father come to my fields to assist me?"'

Bana Lupalo:

'Listen, a long time ago, Kapepa, who married Makolo Kawa, used to make *katobela* where Chilimbeke's farm is now. When the maize was ripe, he would go there with a dish and his wife would carry a basket. They both would harvest maize and carry it home. Then they would put the basket and the dish in the house and make a fire. If a child came in and picked up some maize from that dish, Kapepa would say to that child: "Don't provoke me. There is maize for you in your mother's basket".'

Shondwe:

'You see?'

Bana Chitambo:

'Yes we do, but at least she was given maize.'

Kasubika:

'I would tell my children to serve themselves from that dish. After all, they are the children of both of us.'

Bana Lupalo:

'But both of them (Kapepa and Makolo Kawa, H.S.) were getting maize from his *katobela*.'

Kasubika:

'Well in that case, maybe I would not provoke him.'

Shondwe:

'Now what is the difference?'

Kasubika:

'Don't you understand what she (Bana Lupalo, H.S.) is saying? The wife was eating from a *katobela* made by her husband. At least he assisted his family.'

Mumba (in English):

'Han, do you understand what this discussion is all about?'

Han:

'About how a husband and wife should work together and produce enough food for the family?'

Mumba:

'Yes. How we can work together. How a man should be able to depend on his wife and whether a woman can rely on her husband. I think husband and wife should work together. Otherwise, suppose Bana Labeka works very hard and produces a lot of sweet potatoes but without my help and suppose I do not cultivate my own field. Then, when the period comes for eating these sweet potatoes and Kapilia (Mumba's daughter from his first marriage, H.S.) asks Bana Labeka to give her some, Bana Labeka can say: "No, Kapilia, go to your dad and ask him to show you where he grew sweet potatoes".'

Han:

'Is that why nowadays husband and wife work together in the same field, the same *mutipula*, doing all the work together?'

Mumba:

'Yes, but some people say that working in *mutipula* and *fibunde* is a woman's job and that she should do all the work, even the clearing.'

Han:

'But I have seen men making *fibunde* and *mutipula*.'

Kasubika (in Lala):

'Han, can you leave the work of making *fibunde* for your wife? Can you leave all that work for Marleen, like some Lala men are doing?'

Mumba (in English):

'If Marleen starts making *fibunde* you can go and help her, so she can give you *mumbu* without having to complain. Making *mutipula* is quite tough work, even for men. And you know, there are some men who leave all the work to their wife. But when the maize is ripe they would like to eat that maize and control the crop.'

Kasubika:

'Some men eat maize faster than a grinding machine.'

Mumba:

'But it is the women who control maize from *mutipula*. That's why they can force their husbands to assist them or to make their own *mutipula*. If I help Bana Labeka, she will bring me some cobs of fresh maize, but if I leave the work for her she can refuse.'

Shondwe:

'Why do you compare us men with a grinding machine? Men are not stupid. If a man eats a lot of maize and grinds it like a milling machine, he knows he will suffer from constipation.'

Kasubika:

'Not if you put a bit of salt on that maize.'

Bana Chitambo:

'That's true.'

Kasubika:

'Look what's happening there (pointing towards another *nsaka*, H.S.) they have already started singing and dancing. Did they have enough beer?'

A few months later I decided to discuss and analyze this conversation with my assistant, Mudala Chisenga. In what follows I present the various comments made by Mudala:

'Mrs Lupalo began by saying that Musonda Kapitolo has worked a lot in *mutipula* and that he had to be praised for that. Later in that conversation they came to the point where they talked about men nowadays doing the work of women. Mr. Shondwe and Mr. Kasonde said that jobs like cultivating *mutipula* and *fibunde* are only for women and not for men. They cited an example and said that in Mitunta you can only find women doing that type of work. There in Mitunta it is not considered to be work for men. Then later the women said: "No, it is better that you men also get involved in this type of work, because when the crop is ready you also share in it".

- Why did they say that?

Women want men to produce food crops as well, rather than having to do the whole work - feeding the family - themselves. They feel that this type of work should also be done by men. Food production will increase in that way. But women have seen that men only want to get involved in growing cash crops. Crops like maize which they can sell. I even heard Shondwe say something like: "Why should I be working in *mutipula*, there is no profit there". But women want the men also to work in these gardens.

- Did you often hear this kind of discussion?

Oh yes, many women are saying these things, not only in this *nsaka*.

- Do women want men to help cultivate food crops or make their own *fibunde* and *mutipula* because they fear they will not have enough time to grow cash crops?

Not really, no, because *fibunde* and *mutipula* are made when most of the other work is done. In April when people make *fibunde*, weeding (of the maize crop, H.S.) is finished and also *mabwela* beans. In August (when many farmers prepare their *mutipula* gardens, H.S.) there is not much work, people have harvested and sold their maize, and many can be found at beer parties. Women want men to do

these jobs simply because they want to have less work to do. In the past, there were certain separations: this type of work was for men, that type of work was only done by women. But nowadays people feel that most jobs can be done by men and women. That's why you find these discussions, this struggle between men and women. But here in Nchimishi women have become equal to men. Because whatever a man can do, even a woman is doing it. Many women are even much better than men, like for instance in farming. This has changed the way men and women think of each other. Men feel they have lost power and it's true. Previously there was not one man employed by a woman, but now many men work for women. Musonda Kalaka or Bana Febby, they have got a lot of people working for them, men and women. But previously it was only the men who employed women.

- What else can you say about this discussion?

I think the discussion was also a complaint about the behaviour of Mr. Shondwe. He is just a visitor from Mitunta, not even a relative, and he has been staying in Lupalo village for some months now, but he is not doing anything, just eating. Mr. and Mrs. Lupalo have been complaining to others about that, but they are afraid to send Shondwe packing because he is a diviner. They feel he should assist Mrs. Lupalo. Even Mr. Lupalo (who is in his nineties, H.S.) makes *mutipula*. That's why they said that men should follow the example of Musonda Kapitolo, to make Mr. Shondwe work. Traditionally, the husband was working in front and the wife followed. But Musonda Kapitolo is doing the whole work; clearing and making mounds. At many farms you can also see women doing the whole work. That's the change and that's why you find these discussions. Tradition is lost, but women do not want to end up doing all the work. This division between men's work and women's work has almost disappeared.

- But what about millet harvesting?

Even that's changing. You can see men doing it nowadays. Previously it was only done by women. But now if a man assists his wife with millet harvesting, others cannot laugh at him any more. It has changed because of this separation of fields. If a man wants his wife to brew *chipumu* or *katata*, she will need millet, and if he does not assist her in her fields, he will have to supply her with his own millet. On some farms, a woman will refuse to use her own millet to brew beer for her husband.' (E)

The cultivation of food crops, domestic work and the power struggle between husband and wife

Although the harvesting of millet by men is certainly not yet a common sight in Nchimishi, it has definitely become more accepted that men perform certain tasks which in the past were considered to be typical responsibilities of women. By showing they have the 'power' to carry out the heavy work involved in the initial clearing of gardens, women have shown that they are not mere 'followers' who depend on male labour. After seeing that women were able to cultivate *katobela*, *mutipula* and *fibunde* gardens without their assistance, a lot of men in Nchimishi have indeed attempted to withdraw completely from the cultivation of food crops, arguing that no profit was to be reaped from these fields. But it seems that they have overlooked the fact that many women in Nchimishi are not prepared to settle for a further aggravation of their workload.

In Nchimishi, the absence of the traditional division of labour in respect of the cultivation of cash crops has also had its repercussions on the division of labour with regard to growing food crops, the cultivation of gardens which are not important from

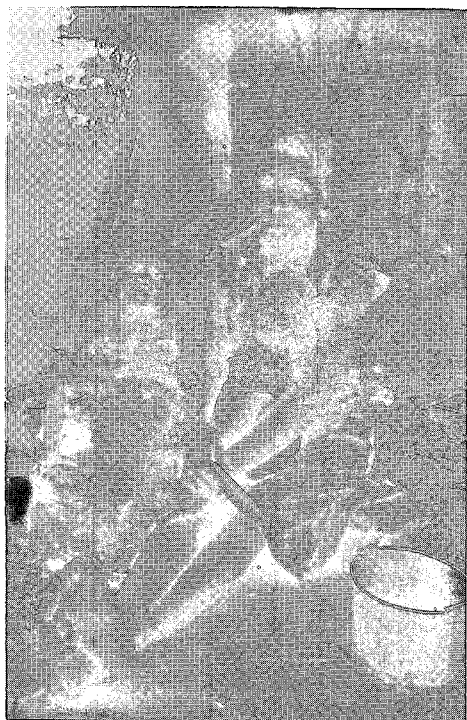


Plate 10.1 Young mother preparing food



Plate 10.2 Bana Labeka processing her maize

a commercial point of view. The present situation with regard to the cultivation of food crops and the role played by men and women in this process is characterized by a lack of new generally-accepted working arrangements, indeterminacy, and by the frequent occurrence of discussions and negotiations between husbands and wives. The different outcomes of this power struggle between the spouses are reflected in the wide variety of, and changes in, working arrangements and the different ways in which the tasks of husband and wife are defined at various farms. The old clear-cut division of labour according to sex, where male and female tasks were antagonistic and complementary, has not been replaced by new generally-accepted arrangements, or by what we perhaps might call a new tradition, but rather by a variety of organizational forms. This change in turn provides the background against which further discussions and negotiations between the two sexes take place. It is obvious from the above discussion and analysis that farmers are very aware that the situation in Nchimishi is characterized by ongoing and rapid change, and the frequent occurrence of discussions somewhat similar to the one presented above certainly play a role in strengthening the opinion among the inhabitants of the area that things are changing and that at many farms husband and wife have different objectives and interests. It is, however, this changing situation and the discussions that are taking place which enable women and men to create more room for manoeuvre for themselves.

Gatherings such as beer parties, funerals and political or religious meetings play an important role in the process of change, since they often provide a good opportunity to discuss and evaluate particular values and norms ('*Mutipula* is women's work'); 'traditional' and new forms of behaviour; the behaviour of particular individuals or groups (for example, the behaviour of Shondwe and the fact that Musonda Kapitolo made a lot of *mutipula* mounds despite the fact that he is a man); particular changes ('Men have lost power') or plans for action ('Don't ask us for *mumbu*, we shall not give you any'). These discussions also enable participants to express or formulate new evaluations, plans and theories, new values, norms and objectives.⁴

Because some important practices, values and norms are being interpreted differently by different individuals or even called into question, debates such as the one presented above may also play an important role in accelerating change, in bringing about de-routinization (Giddens 1979: 220-1) and an increasing complexity and differentiation within the community. The discussion of particular new forms of behaviour (for example, men cultivating *mutipula* gardens) at various gatherings may result in the formulation of new, alternative norms and values (see also Barth 1966) and subsequently in the dissemination of these new forms, which then come to co-exist with more traditional forms of behaviour.

It is difficult to assess where these discussions and change processes will lead, but it seems to me that women - who demand that their husbands either carry out the initial clearing of the bushes or grasses (which is thus a partial restoration of the traditional division of labour), maintain their own gardens, or assist during all activities - are in a strong position since they do the cooking and therefore control the access to prepared meals. In other words, from the various discussions I attended it emerges that a number of women are ready to use their traditional responsibility in the domestic sphere - the

last domain in which a more or less strict division of labour persists to a large extent - to accomplish a change, to pressurize their husbands into accepting different working arrangements in the sphere of subsistence production.

Many men in Nchimishi feel they are on the defensive, and the fact that an increasing number of them, such as Musonda Kapitolo, prepare *mutipula* gardens for their wives or maintain their own gardens is interpreted by men as being a sign that they are losing power. Some respondents argued that even the mere occurrence of discussions between men and women, during which women sit in the *nsaka* and do not seem to show much respect for men, can be regarded as a clear sign of change and of men losing authority. Moreover, it seems that the changing position of women in agriculture, and their economic independence, has served as a catalyst in the sense that many women have begun to place in question their position within the household or farm and the sexual division of labour which still exists in relation to domestic work. I found that at a substantial number of farms men often assisted their wives by carrying out such traditionally female tasks as fetching water and firewood²⁹ and the washing of clothes (in most cases their own). These changes in the domestic sphere were also interpreted, by older men in particular, as being an expression of the increasing power of women.

Notes:

1. Farm and non-farm activities in Chief Chibale's area: mean hours per household per year.

Farm activities	3126
Fetching water	737
Food and household chores	1129
Brewing	38
Employment and business	729
Other gainful activities	353
Sickness	1044
Education	1704

(Source: IRDP 1984: 58).

2. That men nowadays can be seen fetching firewood was explained by some respondents as being to some extent the result of the introduction of ox carts and of the fact that, because of the disappearance of large tracts of woodland, firewood has to be collected at a greater distance from the kitchen and *nsaka*. Since larger quantities of firewood can be transported over a longer distance with the help of oxen, it was only logical, according to these respondents, that men, who are usually more used to handling oxen and a cart, would sooner or later become involved in this activity. One could also argue that men were prepared to become involved in fetching firewood only after it had ceased to be a high frequency activity.
3. According to Muzewa (pseudonym), one of Paul Lushwili's wives, and a number of other respondents, mobility and a person's ability to leave the farm and to attend beer parties, for instance, should not only be seen in relation to gender. Muzewa:
 'There is a difference between women, such as Musonda Kalaka, who produce a lot of maize and people like ourselves. Rich farmers are always on the move. They travel for business or for pleasure. We do not have the money to go to Serenje to buy nice clothes or even to go to a beer party. That's why you have always found us here at home or in our fields. We only go to funerals and sometimes we visit relatives. That's when we stay away for a few days. You need money to move around, to drink beer. You can't always beg others for beer. Beggars, poor people like us, are left behind. Therefore, if you have no money you stay at home. But women who are in business travel about a lot. Some big farmers travel a lot but they travel with a purpose; they visit their business friends in order to improve their farms.' (L)
4. I found that the changing social and economic position of women and men and changing gender relations have led individuals to formulate more abstract explanations for these processes of change. The following remarks of Kaulenti Chisenga illustrate the way men and women tried to link the above-described changes in the domestic sphere to other changes (such as changes with regard to gender specific food taboos) which are taking place within and outside Nchimishi. It also shows the circumstances under which certain traditional practices, and tradition as such, may become disavowed as a form of legitimization. Kaulenti Chisenga:
 'Traditions are disappearing because many of them have no meaning. In the past, a woman could not sit on a stool. But this has changed, nowadays a woman can sit on a stool and still remain a woman. When people left the villages and came to live on farms, they put several stools in the *nsaka*: one for the husband and the others for visitors. But most of the time the husband, wife and children are the only people who sit in the *nsaka*. Then they realized how strange it is to leave these stools unoccupied when there are no visitors. Why can't a woman sit on a stool? No problem. In the past, women were not supposed to eat eggs and chicken. It was a taboo, *imishila*. Not eating chicken was a way for a woman to show respect to her husband. Chicken was only eaten by men. But what was the meaning of this? God said to Noah: "I gave Adam and Eve vegetables to eat, but now Noah I shall add more, and from now on you can eat birds and all other animals". But he did not say to Noah: "Make sure that women do not get any chicken".
 - Okay, but what about people who do not read the Bible?

Also people who are not Jehovah's Witnesses, their way of thinking is changing, because it's not only because of the Bible that things are changing here. Time is also important. As we go into the future everything changes. We meet people from other countries, from other tribes. If I tell someone from another tribe: "We Lala, our women cannot eat chicken". Then that other person can say: "But why? Our women eat chicken". You cannot give a real answer to that man. The only thing you can say is: "It's our tradition, this is what we Lala do and it's what our mother did and our grandmothers did, it's to show respect". After such a conversation you start feeling doubts. Doubts about this tradition, about other traditions; what's the use of traditions, what is their meaning. So, we learn from other people who live in other places, who have their own traditions different from ours. If a woman thinks such a tradition has no meaning, she may decide to stop following it and start eating chicken. Sometimes this can happen in difficult times when there is *nsala*, hunger. For example, daughters can say to their parents: "Is it good to remain hungry when there is a chicken in the pot? Why can't we eat chicken too?" Then these parents can say to each other: "Ah, we are just making life difficult for our children, let's just give them some chicken". Especially when people started to live on farms some traditions started disappearing. In the village, all the men ate together, but at the farm, when you live alone with your wife and children, it is difficult to make two groups (according to sex, H.S.), new rules can make life easier. But when you live in town it is easier to break with traditions. If you break a rule here, people see you have changed because here a lot of people still follow traditions, Lala rules. Now if you change and start living according to the rules of the Bible they say: "Ah, very strange, this man is changing. Why is he breaking our rules, our traditions?" Now in town nobody can know that and there are fewer people who can control you. And in town most people are getting rid of traditions.' (E)

These remarks made by Kaulenti Chisenga link up quite well with what Giddens says about routine, tradition and social change. According to Giddens, there are three sorts of circumstances in which an existing set of traditional practices may become undermined:

'First of all, there are those types of circumstances that act externally upon cold societies. Neither the impact of natural events nor collision with other societies (if they are of the same type) places broad aspects of tradition in question: rather, certain traditional practices are replaced by others. This is not the undermining of traditional modes of belief and conduct as such, but the replacement of certain traditional practices by other traditional practices. Such is not the case with the second type of social circumstances that can be distinguished, which is where there emerge divergent 'interpretations' of established norms. The clash of diverging interpretations of tradition already in some part places in question the hold of tradition itself, but only by replacing 'tradition' with 'traditions'. The third type of circumstance, which is really specific to the modern West, involves the disavowal of tradition as such as a form of legitimation, and is correspondingly the most profound potential source of de-routinization.' (Giddens 1979: 220-1).

From Kaulenti Chisenga's remarks it can be concluded that 1) collision with other societies, 2) the adding of a new tradition, i.e., the religious ideology of the Jehovah's Witnesses, and 3) certain 'internal' changes (the changed pattern of settlement and the changing relation between the sexes), may give rise to Giddens' third circumstance: the disavowal of tradition as such as a form of legitimation, because the other circumstances which act to counter the grip of the taken-for-granted character of day to day interaction (see also Giddens 1979: 220) may induce actors to formulate, as Kaulenti does, more general theories in order to explain these changes, these circumstances, and by doing this enable them to deal with their feelings of uncertainty, doubt and astonishment. The formulation of such theories, like any other influence which places traditional practices in question, carries with it the likelihood of accelerating change.

Chapter 11

The social relations between women and men and their access to arenas

Introduction

In the preceding chapters I made frequent reference to the relation between gender and space (or distance). In this chapter, I examine the relation between the use of space, the control of particular settings or arenas on the one hand, and the changing relationship between men and women on the other. I argue that gaining access to certain arenas or losing control over certain settings is interpreted by local actors as being a manifestation, or even a result, of (social) change, of changes in the balance of power between the sexes. I also argue that changes with regard to the use of space, the meaning attributed to particular social spaces and the control of settings may in turn affect these processes of social change.

The kitchen and the *nsaka*

When villages were still the dominant type of residence, men and women to some extent lived apart from each other. The men spent much of their time together in a large *nsaka* which could be found in each village. The women were not supposed to sit in this *nsaka*: the kitchens (*chikeni*) were considered to be their domain and the place where they could sit, chat and have discussions. It was there that young girls were brought up. Boys received their 'education' in the *nsaka*. Having reached the appropriate age, boys were taught the 'secrets' of manhood; what was to be expected from a man as a member of a village and clan; and how he was supposed to behave once he married and took up residence at the village of his wife's matrikin. In the kitchen of her mother or maternal grandmother, a girl learned the 'secrets' of womanhood; the 'secret rules' of marriage; her responsibilities towards her matrikin, children and husband; and the respectful way in which she had to behave towards men. Despite the fact that the household was the main unit of production, this separation between the men's world and the women's world, between two separate flows of information, two separate bodies of shared knowledge symbolized in the kitchen and the *nsaka*, reinforced the image of the man as head of the village and household. The main decisions concerning the village

as a whole were made and discussed in the *nsaka* by the headman and the other elders. Since the men who ate together in the *nsaka* received meals from different kitchens while the women and young children ate in the kitchen, the *nsaka* and kitchen were also important units of consumption. The sexual division of social space was not restricted to mere areas, the physical location of *nsaka* and kitchen. Women, and younger women in particular, when they delivered food for instance, could not just walk up to the *nsaka* when men were seated there, but had to approach it with 'respect' (*umushinshi*), kneeling down a few metres in front of it, clapping their hands to attract the attention of the men. Usually, one of the younger men would then come out to take the pots or bowls from her, or the men would allow her to bring in the meal she had prepared.

In the last decades, several developments have led to major changes with respect to these customary practices. According to the respondents with whom I discussed this issue, the changing pattern of settlement has played a major role in the gradual disappearance of this spatial separation between the sexes. At farms where husband and wife lived alone or with their children, it proved impractical and very difficult to continue maintaining this traditional separation. Instead of remaining separate and alone, it became common practice on most farms for husband and wife to sit and eat together in the *nsaka* or kitchen. I found that at some newly-established farms the *nsaka* also served as a kitchen or the other way round. The spatial separation between the sexes continues to exist only at farms where more adult men or more adult women are living together. Kash Chipilingu (see also Chapter 4), for example, usually ate with some of his older sons. The dishes they received were prepared in the kitchens of Kash's two wives and were consumed either in the *nsaka* near the fire or in the main house around the table.

Although Paul Lushwili's two wives, Muzewa and Musonda, (see also Chapter 5) each had their own kitchen where they prepared meals, the three of them usually ate together. When Paul was 'staying' with Muzewa they would eat in her *nsaka* or kitchen. After a two-week period, Paul usually moved to his other wife's house, and the next two weeks they would have lunch and dinner in Musonda's *nsaka* or kitchen. One of the reasons they gave for eating together was that Musonda or Muzewa were often unable to prepare *nchima* and/or relish due to their frequent illness and lack of cash. Eating together thus served as a strategy to overcome the detrimental effects of sickness and increased the chance of each member of the family having relish at dinner. Eating together was also considered to serve a social purpose however. Paul argued that it would not be right for one of his wives to sit alone in her kitchen and have no one to talk to. Having dinner together also provided a good opportunity to discuss farm and family matters. When the two women were asked why they had never decided to join forces and cook together in one kitchen, they responded by saying that although they often exchanged ingredients (salt, cooking oil, etc.), assisted and consulted each other (sometimes one of the women prepared lunch and then the other cooked dinner), they, like every other adult Lala woman, each wanted and were supposed to have their own kitchen.

In Lupalo village, the only remaining village in Nchimishi, eating arrangements changed frequently during my stay. In 1986 and 1987, the headman Lupalo (see



Plate 11.1 and 11.2 Drinking *chipumu* in Lupalo village

Genealogy 12.1) usually had dinner with his adult grandson Mumba (in his mid-thirties) and a few other but much younger grandsons. They received food from the kitchen of Lupalo's wife (Bana Lupalo) and from the kitchen of Ngosa Lupalo (Lupalo's daughter and the mother of Mumba). When Mumba got married in 1988, his wife, Bana Labeka, at first assisted her mother-in-law while she was waiting for Mumba to build her a kitchen of her own. In April 1988, the group of men eating in Lupalo's *nsaka* consisted of Lupalo, Mumba, myself and Muzewa, one of Mumba's classificatory nephews who had decided to stay with Mumba's family for some time. Later that year, after the diviner Mr. Shondwe settled in Lupalo village, Mumba decided that he and Muzewa would eat in Mumba's house or *nsaka*, because Muzewa, who was afraid of being bewitched by Shondwe, refused to eat in Lupalo's *nsaka* any longer. After Muzewa's departure, Mumba at times returned to Lupalo's *nsaka* to eat with his grandfather, but he often preferred to eat with his wife, his daughter Kapidia (five years of age) and his wife's daughter Labeka (four years of age). I found that at the other farms eating arrangements tended to change also when new men, women or children moved in or moved out. At many farms, even at those consisting of only one conjugal family (in 1988, 37.5% of all farms in Nchimishi consisted of a single nuclear family), the traditional separation in respect of eating is often temporarily restored with the arrival of male or female visitors who stay over for dinner.

The fact that at some farms or on certain occasions men and women eat separately does not mean that after dinner men and women continue to spend the rest of the evening at different locations. It is common to see men and women (farm residents and visitors) sitting in the *nsaka* around the fire after dinner, chatting, having discussions, listening to stories, making music or watching the children dance.

The fact that women have gained access to the *nsaka*, an arena previously controlled by the male villagers, is interpreted by most men and women as another sign that men have lost much of the authority they once had over their wives, their sisters, over women in general. It was also argued by many respondents that women have placed themselves in a position in which they are able to interact in a different, more direct way with their husbands and with other men as a result of the changing pattern of residence and of the fact that they have gained access to the *nsaka*, the place where many important decisions have been made from time immemorial. This in turn has resulted in women having much more influence on all decisions affecting the family and farm. During the time of the villages also, women took certain decisions: decisions concerning the children, the preparation of food, the location of new mound gardens, etc. As I indicated earlier, women had access to resources such as land and male labour. From several discussions I had with older men and women it appeared, however, that the room for manoeuvre experienced by women in the past had been granted to them by men. In other words, in the villages it was the men who had marked out and who controlled what we might call the female spheres of decision making: decisions and responsibilities which relieved men of much of the daily domestic and agricultural work which had to be carried out - domestic and agricultural work which was deemed to be less important than male activities, such as hunting, and activities in the public sphere such as kinship affairs and village politics.

Matters related to descent, marriage, alliance, inheritance and succession, were regarded by men and women as constituting the major elements leading to power, wealth and position. According to some women, the fact that their work, their decisions were deemed to be of lesser importance and that their room for manoeuvre was limited by tradition to the agricultural and domestic sphere and controlled by the village headman, male matrikin and husbands was proof that traditions had worked to the benefit of men. Some women and men even argued that traditions had been created by men for their own benefit, to make their life easier. Later, economic activities such as urban wage employment, storekeeping and cash-crop farming in its early years became male-controlled and male-dominated activities. Apart from storekeeping, these economic activities soon achieved high status (see also Long 1968: 132-162).

By leaving their villages and establishing their own farms, many men hoped to gain a greater degree of independence from other men, in particular the (more powerful) village headman and their male matrikin. In other words, these farmers thought that by leaving their village and the village *nsaka*, by withdrawing from village public life and by building their own *nsaka*, they could become more independent and better able to make their own decisions, make their own rules and thus exert a higher degree of control over matters related to production and consumption, ownership, kinship and inheritance. I have shown in previous chapters, however, that men have never been able to escape completely from the influence of their matrikin. Moreover, most men in Nchimishi apparently did not foresee that their wives, having entered the *nsaka*, would not be prepared to remain passive listeners. Women not only gained much influence but also became more actively involved in kinship politics. Nowadays, many women no longer accept that certain decisions are only to be taken by their husbands, and at most farms women have become active in the decision-making process. Some respondents stated that these changes cannot be explained by reference only to the changed pattern of residence and women's access to the *nsaka*. According to these men and women, consideration must also be given to some of the other developments and processes that have taken place. Women's involvement in cash-crop farming, formal education, migration and the spreading of religious ideologies (see also Chapter 13) are said to have played an important role in bringing about the emancipation of women. Formal education at the Nchimishi primary school differs from the traditional education in the *nsaka* and kitchen in that boys and girls are seated next to each other in the same class room and receive the same information. In this way, some farmers and teachers argued, education has played a role in the disintegration of the two separate worlds in which boys and girls used to live.

Most respondents believed that migration to the urban areas has played an important role in changing the relationships between husband and wife. In cases where the wife remained behind in Nchimishi when her husband went to work in the mines, she often became gradually accustomed to being independent. I found that quite a number of women had come into conflict with their husbands when these latter returned from the Copperbelt. According to such women, conflicts arose mainly because a man found it very difficult to accept that his wife had become used to living without a husband and taking her own decisions.

In cases where the wife accompanied her husband to town, both spouses were thus often separated from their respective matrikin and from a village headman. They, therefore, had to find solutions together for many unexpected and unknown problems. Many returned migrant women stressed that urban life meant being dependent upon cash and therefore facing a lot of difficulties to make ends meet. From the late 1970's onwards, in particular, the husband's income proved to be insufficient to provide for the whole family. Urban life in such a situation demanded a lot of initiative and creativity on the part the woman, even more so when she decided to look for employment or became engaged in trade. On their return to Nchimishi, many of these women (and men) were unwilling to return, so to say, to tradition, and to accept the authority it bestowed upon men.

A few farmers, all members of UNIP, pointed out that the Zambian Government, the Party and the ideology of 'Humanism' had made an important contribution to the emancipation of women since they all tended to stress the equality between the sexes.

Quite a few respondents stressed that their success in farming and trade has made women aware of their capabilities and given them more self confidence. This self confidence gradually made women more critical and reluctant to accept the judgements and decisions of men, and of their husbands and relatives in particular. Moreover, becoming independent farmers made many women demand that their husbands treat them as equals. According to these respondents, the economic independence of women and the economic separation which arose between husband and wife has contributed to the disappearance of the spatial separation between the spouses. Other respondents maintained more or less the opposite, saying that the engagement of women in cash-crop farming and their economic independence has been made possible by, or has come as a result of, the changed pattern of residence and women gaining access to the *nsaka*. An increasing number of women decided to set themselves up as independent farmers because they now had the possibility of expressing themselves more freely and of negotiating and discussing with their husband their own values, norms and objectives, but equally because of the unwillingness of many men to treat women as equal partners in their new farming enterprises and to grant them an equal share of the fruits of their common labour.

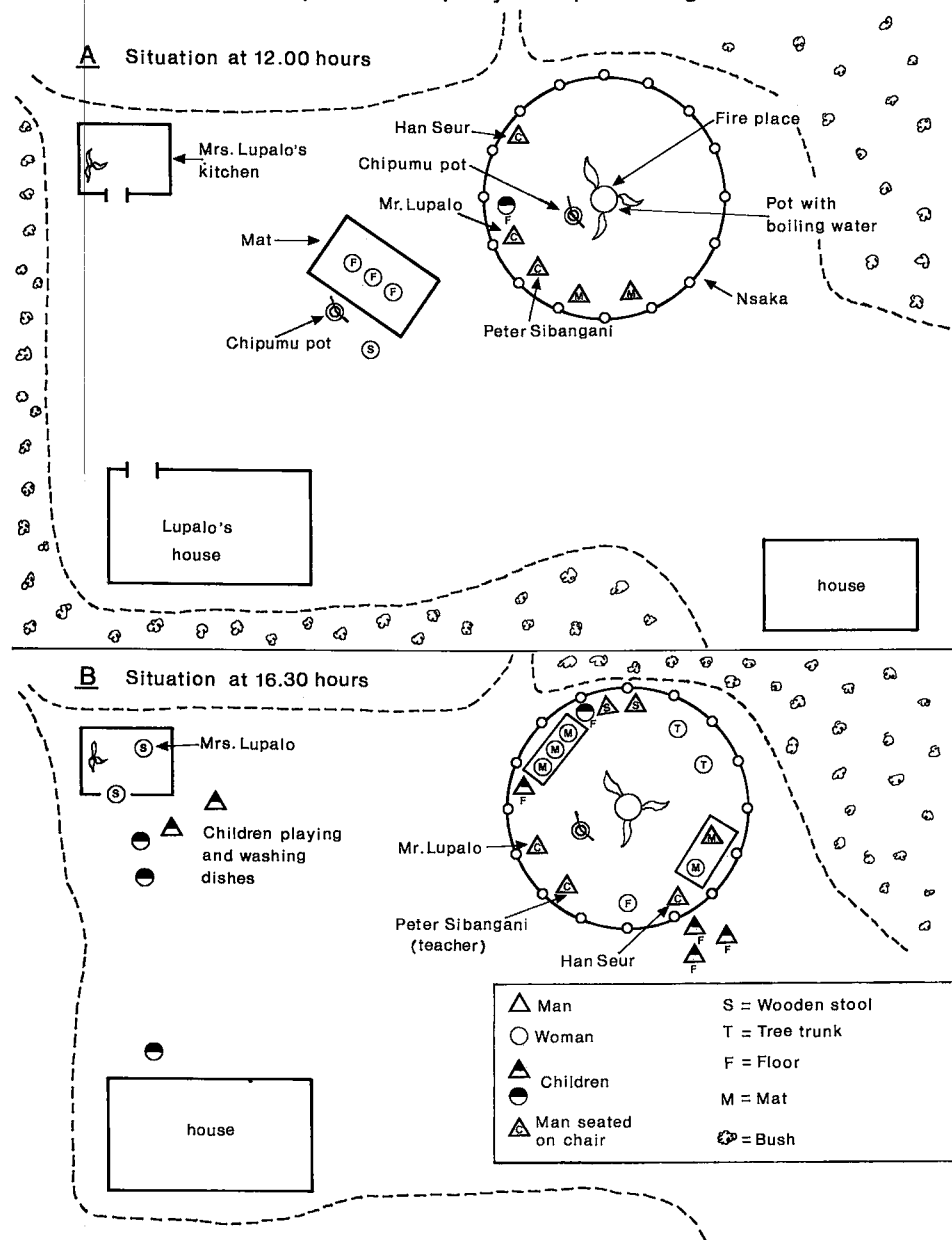
Unlike some of the respondents with whom I discussed these issues, I find it impossible to detect a particular prime mover, or a kind of causality chain. From what has been argued in previous chapters (see, for instance, Chapter 4) regarding the various processes of change that have taken place in Nchimishi in the last five decades or so, it seems that all these different processes: migration, the diffusion of the plough and cash-crop farming, the changing pattern of settlement, the power struggle between men and women, formal education and the success of religious ideologies have, as I have indicated, interacted with each other and given rise to the situation as it exists in Nchimishi today.

Women and the public sphere

The changes that have occurred in the domestic sphere with regard to access to settings like *nsaka* and kitchen and the relationship between the spouses have to a large extent been matched by changes in the public sphere. Men have ceased to be the dominant actors in some important domains of public life in Nchimishi as a result of women gaining access to certain social spaces and having become more vocal in public. Although all villages, except for one, have disappeared and a large majority of the population lives on farms, Nchimishi enjoys an important and lively community life. Most men, women and children frequently meet people residing on other farms. People interact with non-farm members during visits or when they happen to meet them along the paths, on the main road or at the maize depot. But more formal gatherings also form an important part of public life. Beer parties, funerals, political meetings, meetings of the cooperative and the PTA (Parent-Teacher Association), but also church services and the so-called *akabungwe* form important occasions to meet others and to discuss certain matters or events. These different gatherings also reflect the important changes that have taken place in the relationship between men and women.

In the past, when beer had been brewed by one of the women in the village, women and men would drink *chipumu* separately. The men would be seated in the *nsaka* whereas the women would sit in one of the kitchens or somewhere outside in the sun or in the shade of a tree. Long found that in the early 1960's women at times sat on the edges of the *nsaka*. Nowadays, however, it is common for men and women to sit together either outside or in the *nsaka* (see also Map 11.1 and Plate 11.1). The recorded discussion (presented in Chapter 11) during a beer party in Lupalo village shows clearly that women have not only entered the *nsaka*, but become actively involved in the discussions that take place there. The mere fact of women being present at all, not to mention the fact that women participate in conversations and discussions, is, as I said earlier, interpreted by many men and women as being a clear sign that men have lost power and women have gained influence. But what is more, the fact that nowadays women are able to present their views, their individual or shared images of reality; that they are able to defend or criticize particular views, practices, traditions, norms and values; and to express and defend their individual or common interests, objectives, values and norms in front of a gathering of women and men, not only reflects the changed relationship between women and men, but in turn tends to affect this relationship. In other words, the more open and direct communication between the sexes, the fact that the voices of women are heard by men and other women reflects a process of change, but at the same time also influences the same process as well as other processes, not only because during these discussions (younger) women learn to express and defend themselves in front of men and other women, but also because during these interactions: 1) women and men may try to reach a common understanding regarding particular issues, and 2) women and men may formulate new norms and values, new concepts, theories and new plans for action.

Map: 11.1 A chipumu beer party in Lupalo village (01.12.'86)



These understandings, theories and plans, as I said in Chapter 10, may result in new forms of behaviour in the domestic sphere, for instance, or in the domain of agriculture. Needless to say, therefore, an analysis of gatherings such as beer parties can be an important element in the study of particular change processes, such as, for instance, the gradual disappearance of the sexual division of labour in subsistence agriculture or the diffusion of certain agricultural methods.

According to some of my respondents, on looking at the old village *nsaka* in retrospect one can only arrive at the conclusion that it was a symbol of male dominance and a bastion of conservatism. With women entering the *nsaka*, however, it gradually ceased to be a place where tradition, preservation and rigidity reigned, and the *nsaka* developed into a symbol of change, an arena of struggle and discussion: discussions, for instance, between the sexes and the generations. (According to many elderly men the 'old' *nsaka* does not exist any more.)

What has been said for the discussions that take place during beer parties also applies to a large extent to the *akabungwe*, albeit that in most cases men (often the section chairman and the section secretary) act as the chairman and secretary of these meetings (for a detailed analysis of the *akabungwe*, see Fullan 1991).

Over the years, significant changes have taken place with regard to funerals. Today, as was common in the past, men and women sit separately at most funerals in larger or smaller groups. To some extent this spatial separation is caused by the relatively strict sexual division of labour which still characterizes funerals. It is mainly the women who remain in the house, the kitchen or *nsaka* with the deceased, mourning and preparing the body for burial. Men usually spend only a short time with the deceased to pay their last respects. After this, they join one of the groups of men seated outside, or assist the men who are making the coffin. Making the coffin and digging the grave are considered to be the responsibility of men. Women will prepare food for those who have come from distant places to attend the funeral. They also collect firewood so that mourners who have to spend the night outside can make a fire before going to sleep. At first it seemed to me that the funeral was a gathering which had not undergone major changes over the years, but different women and men pointed out that significant changes had occurred and were still taking place with regard to the funeral. It is becoming quite common for men to assist with the gathering of firewood and it is not unusual to see men and women mingling and to see mixed groups sitting around the fires, especially after a few days when the funeral is coming to an end. Another change which is interpreted by many as a sign of women's enhanced position is that an increasing number of women in Nchimishi take part in carrying the coffin from the farm to the grave. Until recent years, it was only the men who carried the coffin in turns to the *dambo*, but as one farmer put it:

'These days, women have come to realize they can do the jobs of men. Women do not want to be left out any more, that's why you can even see some women now who take a shovel and help the men to cover the coffin with sand.' (E)

In Nchimishi, men occupy most official functions within the Party (the UNIP sections,

branches and ward) and formal organizations such as the Masananga Ward Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society, the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) and the Roman Catholic Church. (In Chapter 13, I discuss the role of women within the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses.) This means that men are the dominant actors and represent the rest of the population during encounters between Nchimishi and the wider world, between for instance local party officials and party or government officials who work at the district, provincial or national level. When, for instance, the Member of the Central Committee for Central Province visited Nchimishi in 1988, she was welcomed mainly by men. A few women belonging to the local Women's League participated in just one of the sketches presented in her honour. One should not overestimate the importance of these political meetings however. Attendance is usually not very large (especially when compared with the attendance at meetings organized by the Jehovah's Witnesses to which large numbers of non-Witnesses are also attracted) and the general opinion among men and women is that these meetings serve no useful purpose at all.

It is more significant that women have more difficulty getting their loan applications approved. According to some women, this is mainly due to the fact that it is men who decide on applications, men who in most cases are not very successful farmers themselves and who tend to be jealous of successful female farmers. Moreover, most women, especially if they are not members of UNIP, do not seem to have access to Musonda Chunga's network which I described earlier (see Chapters 6 and 13). On one occasion, I was asked by Agnes Musonda Kalaka whether I could convince Musonda Chunga to help her get her loan application approved. According to Agnes, she had no other useful connections with the ward chairman.

Although men dominate all formal organizations in Nchimishi, there is some indication that more women are becoming active within the UCZ church and the farmers' cooperative. A majority of these women are returned migrants who were active in similar organizations when they resided in the urban areas. Quite a few of them are literate and speak English.

Concluding remarks

In Chapters 8-11, I have discussed various issues related to gender. The discussion at the farm of Agnes Musonda Kalaka presented in Chapter 8 and the one in the *nsaka* of Lupalo presented in Chapter 10 are expressions of a power struggle which was taking place between men and women in Nchimishi at the time of the restudy. Although during some discussions, in certain contexts, men and women will defend opposed views, it would be wrong to speak of a kind of gender war in the Nchimishi case. The women in Nchimishi do not form a homogenous economic and social category (for example, some women often work for other women) and women sometimes have opposed interests, while some women in particular contexts may have the same interests as men (women and men working for the same female farmer may share the same interests which may

differ markedly from those of their employer). As I have shown, the struggle between the sexes mostly takes place within the confines of the conjugal family, the household and/or farm. The preceding four chapters also show that this gender-based struggle has several different faces.

First, the struggle is an economic one involving the often opposed economic goals of individuals or groups and access to and control over (scarce) productive resources and incomes. When talking about the economic aspect of the struggle we can, for instance, include differences of opinion between husband and wife as to how household income should be spent in the interest of household welfare and also the refusal of women to assist their husband in his hybrid maize fields. Second, the struggle has a social (cultural) aspect to it. For example, many women consider the production of large quantities of hybrid maize or beans as a means of gaining prestige within their networks of friends and kin or within the community as a whole. I also showed that many women question traditional values and norms which designate certain tasks to them or which restrict their access to certain social spaces. Finally, as this chapter shows, the struggle also has a (social) political aspect as many women wish to be treated as equal to men. In the last decades, women in Nchimishi have gained access to important political arenas where they are not merely listeners but also take part in the discussions and the decision-making process.

The preceding chapters have shown that, despite the fact that the work load of women has increased and that a number of women (elderly female household and farm heads in particular) have to some extent become economically marginalized, up to the present the struggle has resulted in a significant improvement in the social, economic and political position of many women in Nchimishi.

Chapter 12

Changing attitudes to land, land rights and boundaries

Introduction

In this chapter I explain how farmers in Nchimishi have come to attach a much greater value to land over the last few decades. I start with a description of the system of land holding as it existed in the past, under the system of *citeme* cultivation. Then I show how land gradually came to be regarded as a scarce and valuable economic resource as a result of population growth, the shortening of fallow periods, changing settlement patterns, and the introduction of cash crop farming and the plough. By presenting a number of case studies, I show how this increased value attached to land is reflected in disputes and conflicts among farmers, disputes concerning farm boundaries, rights to particular plots of land and finally conflicts between the conjugal family and the matrilineal relatives of the deceased about the inheritance of land. I show the strategies which the different parties who become involved in land or boundary disputes may use to support and defend their claims; how, for instance, matrilineal ideology, or the history of occupation of a particular tract of land, are used as strategic resources during disputes and negotiations.

I show how farmers themselves explain the increased value they attach to land, and the values, norms, conflicts, negotiations and settlements which nowadays surround issues regarding land holding and succession. Finally, I show that although different individuals and groups may have opposite and conflicting interests when it comes to a particular plot of land, although conflicts and frictions related to land holding issues may have different outcomes and although, according to many respondents, there still exists a great deal of insecurity when it comes to land holding and succession, over the years a kind of consensus seems to have emerged, as some ideas, norms and values regarding land and land holding are now widely shared.

First of all, it is commonly held in Nchimishi that more clearly defined rules and procedures are required: norms, rules and procedures defining the circumstances in which land can be rightfully claimed; rules and norms which, therefore, may prevent the occurrence of many land and boundary conflicts and which may offer farmers greater security of tenure. Second, there seems to be widespread agreement that if a man's wife and children have contributed most to the development of the land and farming enterprise they ought to be regarded as his rightful heirs, as the successors to the farm (see also Long 1968: 30-1). These informal and widely-shared norms and informal rules, which seem to have emerged from a dissatisfaction among large sections

of the local population with the way in which land issues have been dealt with in the recent past, have already had an important impact on social action since they are invoked and used during the settlement of land and boundary conflicts.

The traditional system of land holding

According to Long:

'Under the system of *citeme* cultivation traditionally practised by the Lala no groups or persons had an interest in a particular piece of land for an indefinite period of time. Land rights were vested in the individual as a member or citizen of a particular chiefdom, but each individual could cultivate any tract of uncultivated land within the chiefdom provided no one had already established prior rights over it. It was customary on joining a village to ask the headman to advise on a suitable area for cultivation but theoretically an individual could choose any unoccupied tract and delineate his own boundaries. Once an individual had started cultivating a certain area (Long refers here to the cultivation of secondary *dambo* and upland gardens, H.S.), he had full rights to its use until he abandoned it. He also had prior rights to vacant and unused land adjacent to his own gardens, and any dispute that might arise over the use of this land was normally settled on the grounds that the first to cut the trees or cultivate in the area had land rights there. Women were not excluded from having rights in land and older children might also cultivate their own gardens.' (Long 1968: 27-8).

Long found that the same basic principles of land tenure held in the early 1960's. He concluded that the plough had not yet brought significant changes to the system of tenure. There were, however, some signs that peasant farmers in particular were beginning to attach a new value to land: although farmers did not attempt to sell their land, on leaving their farm they demanded and received cash payments for the various improvements they had made (Long 1968: 28; see also the remarks made by Henry Chimpabu in Chapter 5).

Due to various processes of change, land (and land along the main road in particular) in Nchimishi over the last decades has become an even scarcer resource and a valuable economic asset in the eyes of farmers. The processes of change include the rapid population growth (through natural increase and re-migration) of the 1970's and 1980's; the resulting shortening of fallow periods; and the adoption of cash-crop farming and more permanent and mechanized forms of agriculture which require the investment of labour (for stumping and land preparation) and capital (to hire labour or purchase farming equipment and inputs such as seeds and fertilizer to maintain soil fertility). The greater value attached to land is to some extent reflected in the large number of land conflicts and boundary disputes which occur in the area.

Long found that upon the death of a peasant farmer there could be competing claims on the farm buildings and land on the part of the farmer's sons and his close matrilineal kinsmen who often defended their claim by arguing that land under the traditional Lala matrilineal system is inherited by a man's matrikin (Long 1968: 30-1). Most older respondents with whom I discussed this issue argued, however, that the connection made at that time (and, indeed, up to the present) between land and the matrilineal

system of kinship and inheritance is a relatively new one. One farmer, Jonas Benson Mwape expressed this as follows:

'No, land was not inherited by the relatives (a man's matrikin, H.S.) or the clan, because in the past, at the time of the villages, there was enough land here, so it was not considered to be very important. Land did not belong to the clan, people were not very interested in land, only a village belonged to a clan, to a *mukowa* (lineage). And then, it was not the village site but the name of the village which was important (see also Long 1968: 111-2) and the number of people living there, because every ten years or so, when the supply of trees was exhausted, they moved to a new place. Also when the headman died they left the place. So inheriting land is a new thing, people claiming land, saying it belongs to their clan, to *abena Luo* or *abena Lungu*, that's also a new thing, it's not a tradition. These changes have come because land has become something people have to fight for. Now when a farmer dies his children want to stay on that farm, but his relatives also are interested in the land.' (L)

Peters, when discussing village movement in Serenje District, shows that, in the 1940's, the average length of time spent on one site was 5.5 years and the average distance of each move made was 8.8 kilometres (Peters 1950: 51; see also Richards 1987: 222). He also found that the most important reason for relocating was the lack of large enough areas of woodland suitable for *fitime* in the vicinity of the village. Another reason which explains why land was not considered to be 'important', why it was not an 'object' falling under matrilineal or any other rules of inheritance, is that in most cases *citeme* gardens were used for one season only (occasionally for two seasons) after which they were abandoned. By the time the trees had regenerated, it was most likely that villagers had moved to a new site and were cutting their *citeme* gardens elsewhere in the chiefdom. New villagers who had settled in the area had every right to use these unoccupied woodlands (whether they contained fully regenerated trees or not) to cut their *citeme* gardens. As I indicated earlier, individuals had full rights to cultivate subsidiary gardens in unoccupied *dambo* or upland areas until they abandoned the particular area. Thus, even if the *citeme* system in Nchimishi had come under pressure in the 1940's due to the increasing lack of well-generated trees, families or groups of matrikin still had no real interest in returning to a particular plot they had cultivated on an earlier occasion. The situation changed, however, when land became scarce due to the increasing population density, the diffusion of more permanent forms of agriculture and cash crops. These developments have resulted in a greater attachment of farmers to the land they cultivate and have cleared and stumped and, also, in a greater attachment to their *dambo* gardens and the unused land adjacent to these fields and gardens. Fertile and arable land, be it in the form of stumped fields (*ama acres*) or unused bush land, has in the last decades come to be regarded by many as a valuable economic asset worth inheriting.

According to many writers, matriliney can be associated with subsistence horticulture, the unrestricted access to, and exploitation of, dispersed but plentiful natural resources and with a mode of production different from that of private ownership (see, for example, Lancaster 1976 and Poewe 1978). Under this system, land is thus not an element of wealth and power and does not, as can also be concluded from the words of Jonas Benson, enter the prestige sphere deliberations concerned with inheritance and

succession. Lancaster notes that where land ceases to be a free good, and where the subsistence sector becomes subject to the more intensified labour and capital inputs associated with enhanced productivity, farming not only attracts more male attention but matriliney tends to vanish and be replaced by patriliney (Lancaster 1976: 551).

In Nchimishi, land has indeed entered the discussions and negotiations about inheritance in the last decades. The inheritance of land controlled by a man has gradually become an issue giving rise to numerous conflicts and controversies between the remaining members of his conjugal family on the one hand and his matrikin or other members of his matri-clan on the other. Lancaster argues that the 'almost casual, generally transient land claim based on usufruct in simple female-oriented horticulture where work inputs are slight and land is a free good becomes a matter requiring rules of inheritance and more male attention to provide for added labor inputs and needs of defense.' (Lancaster 1976: 558). I show in this chapter that in Nchimishi also the gradual development of land into an object of inheritance has resulted in the need for rules of inheritance (see also some of the remarks made by Zebron Bulwani (1C4) that follow later). This gap has not been filled, however, with a single body of rules, a single normative system or ideology. As already mentioned, in many cases both a man's matrikin and his wife and children have an interest in the land which he individually or jointly controls. Some of the case studies that follow show clearly that both parties try to defend their claims, pursue their interests or justify their actions, by introducing into the discussions and negotiations surrounding the inheritance of a particular plot of land, mutually conflicting normative systems and ideologies. I found that members of the conjugal family tend to adhere to what we might call a patrilineal (or even cognatic) ideology in relation to the land they cultivate and control, stressing the relationship between the members of conjugal families and rejecting matriliney. A man's matrikin, on the other hand, in the pursuit of their immediate interests and goals, often defend their land claims by invoking the traditional matrilineal ideology. Since, traditionally, land did not form part of a man's inheritance, this means that in the last decades groups of matrikin have succeeded, as Jonas Benson already pointed out, in establishing a link between land and the traditional matrilineal system of inheritance. In other words, they have succeeded in effectively manipulating certain norms and the accompanying matrilineal ideology in such a way that it came to include the rights to and inheritance of land and could be used as a strategy to claim land.

It is important to note that if a husband and wife at a certain point decide to, for instance, end their stay on the Copperbelt, or leave the farm of either his or her parents in order to establish their own farm, this does not automatically mean that the husband comes into control of the land. I found that, although the husband controls the land on some farms, many wives in Nchimishi regard themselves, and many husbands consider their wives, to be the co-owner of the land.¹⁾ This is especially the case if the farm is established on land which was not previously controlled and/or occupied by the husband's matrikin. But I found that even in cases where the couple had decided to establish their farm on unused land which was controlled and given to the couple by the husband's matrikin, the wife not only had access to as much land as she required to cultivate her crops, but was seen by the husband, and often even by his close matrikin,

as the rightful heir to the farm and even to the land as yet uncultivated, especially if she had played an important role in developing the farm. If a couple decides to settle on land controlled by the wife's matrikin, the position of the husband with regard to the land he cultivates is often less secure and the inheritance of the land by his wife and children usually represents less of a problem.

I think that such factors as the changed settlement pattern, the increasing scarcity of land and the resulting structural conflict of interests between the members of the conjugal family and a man's matrikin, together with other developments I describe in other chapters (such as religious change and the introduction of the plough and various cash crops) have resulted in quite a number of cases in a gradual strengthening of the economic and sometimes the social relations between the members of the conjugal family (and especially the relations between a man and his children) - often at the expense of the ties between a man and his close matrikin. Even in cases where they maintain separate fields, the members of the household or farm may have a common interest in the land they cultivate or wish to develop. In most cases, it is the members of the conjugal family or household who develop and cultivate the land, but I also found that at many farms where the husband was said to be in control of the land, he could only count on the assistance of his wife and children if he acknowledged their present and future rights to the land he controlled. In other words, the economic interests of a man - irrespective of whether the other members of his conjugal family or household maintain separate fields or claim to be co-owners of the land - often correspond with the interests of his wife and children and are frequently opposed to the interests of his close matrikin. On these grounds, a man may end up rejecting the claims of his close matrikin and the matrilineal system of inheritance in favour of a patrilineal or cognatic version. I think, therefore, that the social and economic ties which today exist between the members of many conjugal families in Nchimishi can to some extent be seen as a response to increasing land scarcity and the emergence of land as an object of inheritance.

In what follows, I show that individuals in Nchimishi, depending upon the situation and their current interests, may operate both normative systems, may use both ideologies when trying to attain their goals (see also Holy 1986: 198-210). The following case studies also show the ways in which these ideologies are used in a given situation by the different parties involved. The case studies also illustrate that individuals, apart from using either the matrilineal or patrilineal ideology as a strategic resource, develop and utilize other strategies in their attempt to defend their land or claim a particular plot.

The land of Nchimishi

The farm of Zebron and Peleshi

Nchimishi village, which predated the coming of Europeans, broke up in August 1962 on the death of the headman. In Nchimishi Parish, eight out of eleven villages in 1964 were derived from the village of Nchimishi, and people continued to use it as a point of reference when discussing the historical links between villages in the parish (Long 1968: 84).

When Nchimishi village broke up, Zebron Bulwani (1C4) decided to settle with his wife, Peleshi (1C3), at the nearby village of Zebron's maternal uncle, Lupalo (1B11) (see also Genealogy 12.1). Peleshi, like all the headmen of Nchimishi village, belongs to the *Mbulo* clan (the *abena Mbulo*). A few years later, in 1968, the family decided to establish a farm near the deserted village. Zebron Bulwani:

'We went back to the old place of Chiloa Musonda (1B3), the last *sulutani* of Nchimishi village, the last Ba Nchimishi. When Chiloa Musonda (1B3) died there was no successor: Mr. Yumba refused to take his place and Mr. Chilemba (1C2) was not here at that time. That's why people started leaving the village. That was in 1961. In those days, people started living on farms. In 1967, Mr. Yumba told me that if I wished to start a farm, I could settle on the land around the old village. After all my father belonged to the *abena Mbulo* (Zebron's patri-clan, H.S.), the clan of Nchimishi and Peleshi (1C3) was born of a sister of Chiloa Musonda (1B3). My children are also *abena Mbulo*. When I came back, nobody was living here, the last one to leave Nchimishi village was Mr. Eleven Chibuye.'

(L)

Zebron and Peleshi's choice of farm site was further influenced by Zebron's desire to remain in close proximity to his close matrikin in Lupalo village. Moreover, the old village was surrounded by large tracts of unused bush land suitable for plough agriculture (see Map 12.1 and Plates 4.2 and 12.1). Zebron and Peleshi even figured that after the trees had regenerated completely they could maintain a small *citeme* garden each year.

At the time of the restudy, Zebron and Peleshi were certainly not known as successful farmers who cultivated large fields with hybrid maize or other cash crops, but they were generally known as being among the biggest 'landowners' of the Nchimishi area, landowners who, instead of cultivating their land, wished to preserve it for their children who were still working in the urban areas and Mpika District.

The unwillingness of the couple to release land to neighbouring farmers and to persons belonging to their own group of matrikin, and their refusal to allow young farmers who wished to establish a farm near the main road to settle on their land, met with much criticism in Nchimishi. Many farmers told me that Zebron and Peleshi's behaviour was unacceptable because it went against the wishes and policy of both the Government and the chief. On several occasions, the chief had clearly stated that, now that land had become scarce, he objected to farmers controlling or claiming large tracts of land near the road-side, without cultivating it, or at least having the intention of

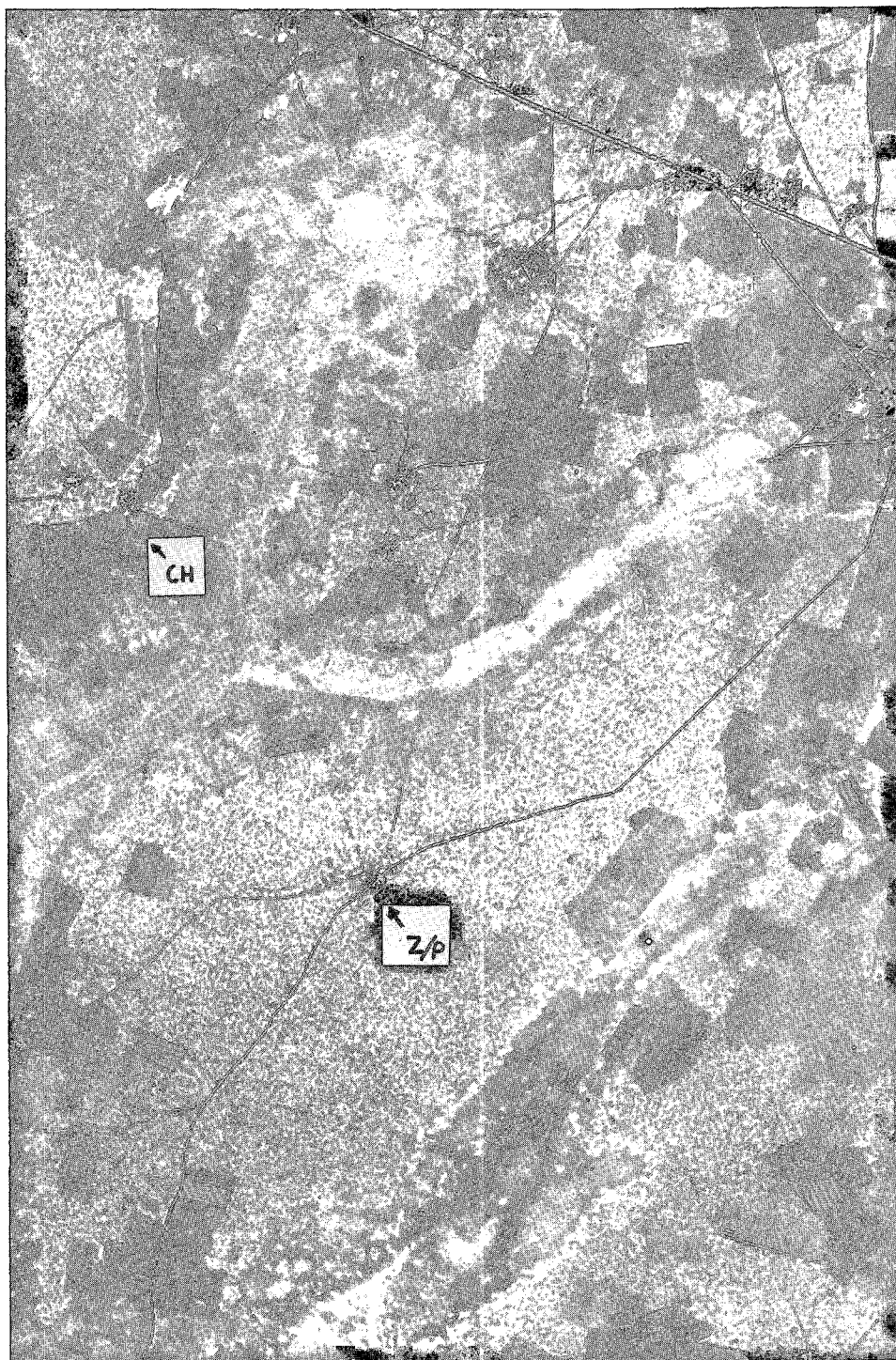


Plate 12.1 Aerial photograph of the farms of Zebron Bulwani (Z/P) and Chilemba (CH)

developing it. Some farmers maintained that several government officials who had visited the area in recent years had been justified in saying that, in areas where land was becoming scarce, unused but arable land had to be made available to those who needed it and who intended to produce 'food for the nation', and that such a valuable resource could not be preserved for matrikin, children or parents who were living and working in the urban areas.

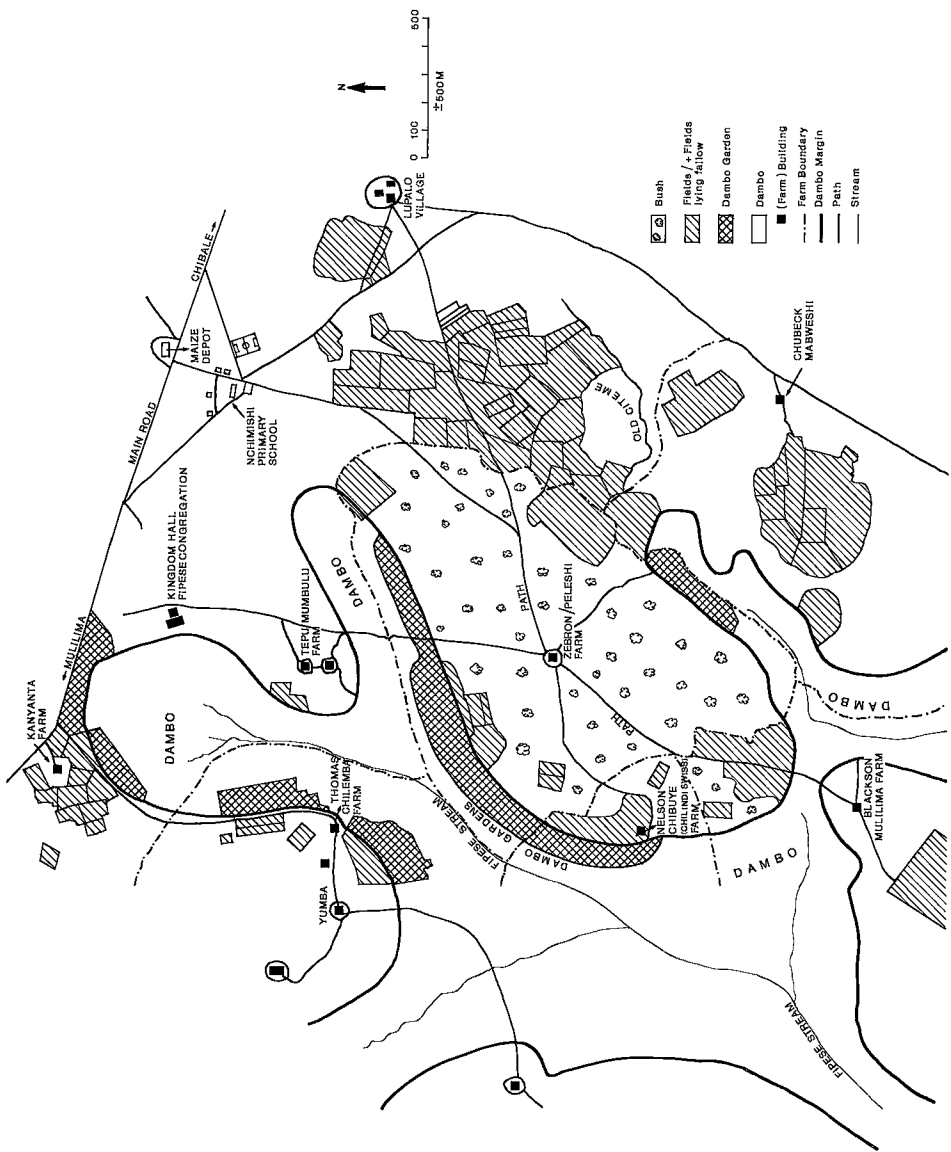
The attitude of Peleshi, Zebron and the other 'landowners' was often the topic of discussion at beer parties, funerals and other gatherings, and it was frequently stated that people like Zebron and Peleshi, in their attempt to defend their land, would stop at nothing and even practised all sorts of sorcery to prevent others from occupying part of their land.

For his part, Zebron explained to me that he felt obliged to provide for a secure future for his children on their return home, and he saw the preservation of large tracts of land as the least he and his wife could do. According to Zebron and Peleshi, their children, who were well educated and who had well-paid occupations, would most likely want to invest their considerable savings in commercially-oriented farming enterprises upon their return. It would be very difficult, however, for such seasoned towns' people to settle in the more remote and isolated parts of Chibale. Zebron and Peleshi often told me that the only reason they denied neighbouring farmers and matrikin access to their land was their wish to help their own children. For this reason also, they drove away farmers who had attempted to make fields without their permission. Since it was becoming increasingly difficult to defend their boundaries, they hoped their children would return in the not-too-distant future.

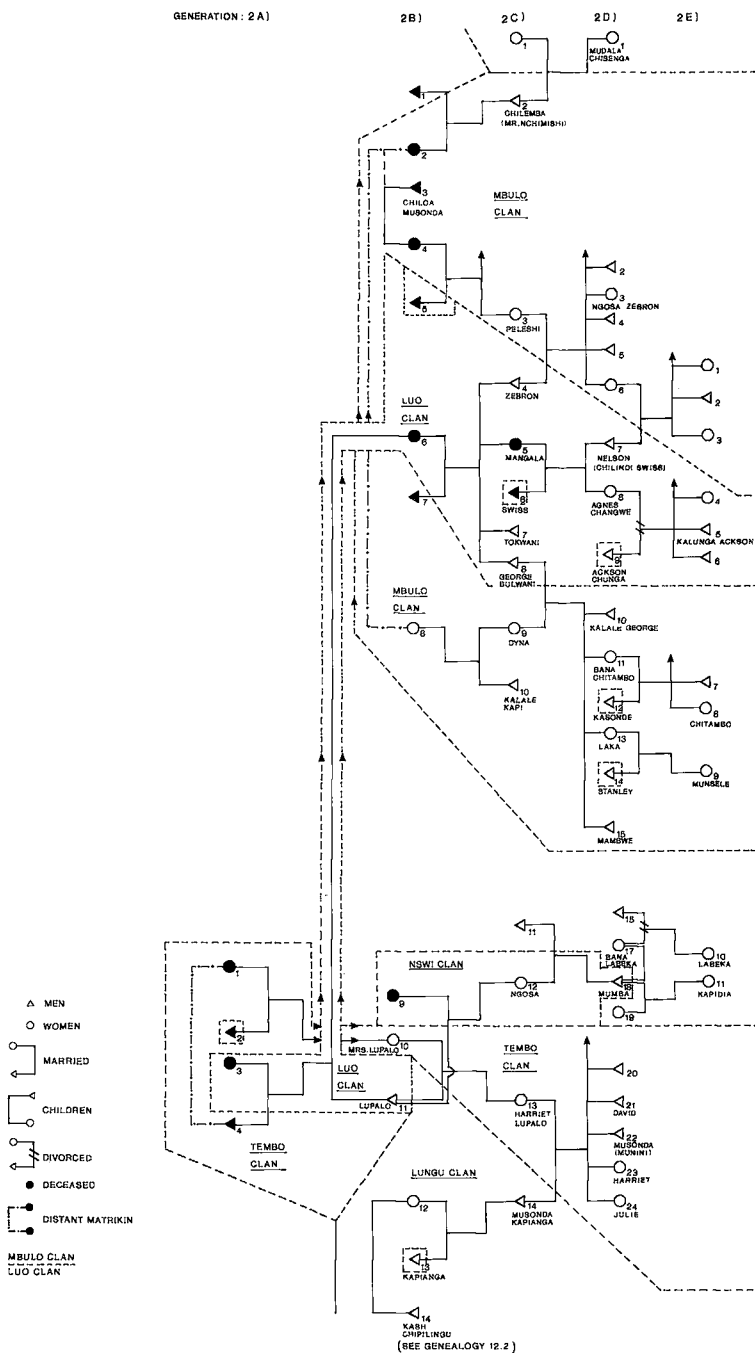
I now present some of the statements Zebron Bulwani made during the conversations I had with him. His remarks not only illustrate the fact that farmers in Nchimishi use a wide range of strategies to defend their land, but also show that individuals may even invoke and manipulate normative systems and accompanying ideologies which are mutually conflicting when legitimizing or justifying their actions in pursuit of their immediate goals and interests. In other words, farmers may in one context refer to one ideology of kinship and inheritance, while, in another, their personal interest or argumentation is served better by another ideology. Zebron's remarks also show that concepts such as land ownership and farm boundaries are still vague and ill-defined because they have only emerged in local discourse and discussions in the last decades and because various meanings, strategies, norms and ideologies have been attached to them.

Active use of these various strategies and ideologies is required, therefore, in conflicts concerning land. Zebron Bulwani:

Map 12.1: Zebron/Peleshi farm



Genealogy 12.1: Nchimishi village



'We came here because I once lived in Nchimishi (village), because my wife is a relative of Nchimishi and because my father was *abena Mbulo*. But nowadays people from other clans can come here too. Like Blackson Mulilima, my neighbour, he is *abena Kunda* but living on the land which should belong to Nchimishi village, to the *abena Mbulo*. People from other clans always have to ask for land from the original owners, the founders of the village. But it is becoming more difficult to say that land belongs to a particular clan. Things are changing. The chief says that this is his chiefdom and that anyone who belongs here in Chibale can settle on land which is not used. The land is controlled by the Government, and it has allowed the chief to take decisions regarding land. The chief can drive people from his chiefdom, and he is the one who deals with all land conflicts²¹ (L)

'But still you can say this land here belongs to the *abena Mbulo*. They were the first to settle here. They founded Nchimishi village and that's why they should live here. Nchimishi was one of the big villages together with Kapeshi. The villages Norman found here were new ones, small villages. When Norman came, the big villages with fences had already disappeared. My children belong to *abena Mbulo* and that's why they can live here when they come back from town.' (L)

'- A lot of people say you do not allow your relatives, people from your clan (the *Luo* clan) or from the *Mbulo* clan to settle here, or make fields on your land?

Nowadays people think land should pass to the children and not to the relatives. And that's also my opinion. We are keeping this land for our children. Children are more important than relatives. A man works with his wife and children. I think that in the future land will be scarce and many children will continue living with their parents because it will be difficult to find land. That's the reason a father will become more important in the eyes of his children. Our own children, when they return, will also live on this farm. But later, when the place becomes too small, some of them may want to leave and establish their own farm.' (L)

'This is our (Zebron and Peleshi's, H.S.) land because we were the first to come here after the village collapsed. All the others came later. When you talk about land (ownership, H.S.), it is important to consider who was the first to occupy that land. That person is the owner. Even the chief tells people who want land: "Go and ask the first settler. He can show you where you can stay". Someone can be living on your land, you can show him a forest where he can make fields, but if there are conflicts you can take the case to the chief and he will ask that farmer to leave.' (L)

'People who own much of the land here all came from Nchimishi village. People like Mr. Yumba, Mr. Chilemba (1C2) and myself. Mr. Lupalo (1B11) (Zebron's maternal uncle, H.S.) came to this place because of marriage. He was shown land by Nchimishi.

- Does that land where Lupalo lives also belong to the *Mbulo* clan, to the *abena Nchimishi*?

No, because Mr. Lupalo was given that land a long time ago by a senior man, by the *sulutani* of Nchimishi. So Mr. Lupalo can even give parts of his land to others. He moved in exalted circles.

- What about Kash Chipilingu (1B14 & 2C14)?

Lubeya (2B3) (the headman of Lubeya village who died in 1966 and who belonged to the Lungu clan, H.S.), the (maternal, H.S.) uncle of Kash Chipilingu, was given that land by the headman of Nchimishi. Kash keeps that land by force. He says it's his land, and he does not respect the other people who lived in Lubeya village, and he does not respect people from *abena Mbulo*. They are the real owners of that land. If I wanted part of Kash's land, the chief would probably give it to me because I came from Nchimishi and my wife and children belong to *abena Mbulo*.' (L)

The case of Zebron (1C4) and Peleshi (1C3) is unique in the sense that their children belong to the clan that founded Nchimishi village and they are closely related to its last headman, Chiloa Musonda (1B3) (see Genealogy 12.1). Therefore, it is very unlikely that other members of the *Mbulo* clan will try to prevent these children from inheriting the farm land. In many cases, however, and as some of the following cases illustrate, it is the farmer (and not his children) who belongs to the group of matrikin that founded a village. In these cases, the inheritance of the farmer's land by his children often becomes more of a problem.

Another strategy adopted by Zebron, Peleshi and other farmers to defend their land was to create more clearly defined boundaries. In recent years, many farmers have found that specifying and demarcating farm boundaries or negotiating them with neighbouring farmers has proved to be more effective than trying to prevent other farmers from encroaching upon on their land by claiming a large area of land with vague boundaries. Some farmers in Nchimishi have also attempted to defend their as-yet-undeveloped land by allowing close friends or relatives to cultivate fields or gardens or establish farms at the periphery of the land they claim, or by cultivating parts of this peripheral land themselves. A number of men and women explained that the creation of such boundaries usually means that strong rights are established over the land located between these boundaries and the farm buildings and other fields. If, however, a large area of uncultivated bush is claimed around fields which are located near the farm houses, it is often more difficult to defend such a claim and prevent intrusion and gradual encroachment by other farmers.³ I found that rights to land usually weaken the further one travels from the farmyard and fields. According to Zebron Bulwani, the disadvantage of using such strategies has been that over the years the area he controls has become considerably smaller:

'Landholdings will always be getting smaller since many people are returning from town. I gave land to Nelson (1D7) Chibuye (a son of Zebron's sister, H.S.) and to Blackson Mulilima, so my landholding is decreasing. I try to protect our land by establishing people on the boundary, so others cannot come onto our land. We make fields at the boundary so that no one will ever try to make fields between our own fields and our farmyard. In this way, we can keep the forest for our children. But now I always refuse when people ask for land. Most people here now know the boundaries of our farm and they know we want to keep the land for our children. I can't claim that our land stretches as far as Nakaliawela (a hill located approximately 10 kilometres from Zebron's farm, H.S.). When you think about your land and its boundary, you think about the land which is near to your farmyard. When it comes to boundaries you consider the distance to your farmyard. Saying: "This is my land", has come as a result of farms. Nowadays people say: "This is the boundary of my farm", because they fear others might start using land, preventing them from extending their fields or keeping cattle. But, in the past, boundaries were not clear. There was enough land, and nobody cared about boundaries, but now land is becoming scarce, so people have started talking about boundaries. Nowadays we are forced to make boundaries because everyone wants to defend his land. That's why farmers say: "This is my land and this is the boundary". Making boundaries is a way to keep the land. Everyone here knows this land is Zebron's.' (L)

This statement of Zebron's expresses clearly the point of view held by many other farmers. In some of the more densely-populated areas of Nchimishi, where farms are no longer separated from each other by large areas of uncultivated unclaimed bush land, marking out boundaries has become almost a necessity to prevent frictions and conflicts from occurring every time a farmer wants to extend his or her fields. Some boundaries between farms are the result of direct negotiations between neighbours while others can be regarded as resulting from more tacit agreements. Although marking out boundaries has become more common in Nchimishi, it still frequently happens that two or more farmers claim the same area of land, or proclaim and make boundaries without consulting their neighbours or without their consent.

That claims on land and land rights continue to be complicated issues characterized

by indeterminacy, insecurity and the invoking of different ideologies by parties who pursue opposing interests is also shown by the following two accounts. The first account is illustrative of the kind of conflicts that frequently occur after a man's death: conflicts between his wife and children, on the one hand, and his matrikin or other members of his matri-clan, on the other. The second account shows that, although the descendent matrikin of the first occupant of an area may feel they have rights to the land of their ancestor, the present occupiers do not necessarily have to give in to such claims. Both accounts also indicate that the link between matriliney and the inheritance of land may in fact turn out to be a temporary phenomenon.

The farm of Mr. Chilemba

In March 1989, the father of Mudala Chilemba (my research assistant) passed away. During the days following Mr. Chilemba's funeral, his children (his wife had pre-deceased him) and some of his matrilineal kin met several times to discuss matters concerning the inheritance of the personal property, cattle and land of the deceased. Having claimed and, indeed, having succeeded in securing, most of Mr. Chilemba's assets and animals, some of Chilemba's matrilineal kin now expressed their interest in his land. The discussions now revolved around the question of who was to inherit the land of the man who had been called *Ba Nchimishi* (Mr. Nchimishi) by many older people since he belonged to the Mbulo clan, and who could have become the successor to the last village headman of Nchimishi village had he not been away working on the Copperbelt. Despite the fact that on numerous occasions Chilemba (1C2) had explained to his close matrikin that he wished his children (who belong to the Luo clan) to inherit his movable assets and cattle and that his land was to be left for those who lived and worked with him on the farm and for his children living in the urban areas, some members of the Mbulo clan were of the opinion that the land rightfully belonged to them, to the Mbulo clan. (In January 1989, the farm was composed of Mr. Chilemba (1D1), his son Mudala, his daughter-in-law and a few of his daughter's children.) Beside, Mudala and his older brother who had come from Ndola, Kalale Kapi (1C10) and Kanyanta (two close matrilineal kinsmen of Mr. Chilemba and a few neighbours took part in the discussions. What follows next is part of Mudala Chisenga's (1D1) reproduction, and his own interpretation, of these conversations:

"Then they started talking about the land. The people from *abena Mbulo* said: "We cannot give all the land to you Mudala, because this land belongs to *abena Nchimishi*, to the Mbulo clan. We need someone to possess this land in the name of *abena Mbulo*", the clan of my father. I said: "So that's the case. But I cannot allow anyone to come and stay here, I cannot share the land with anyone. I will be living alone here with my wife and I do not want anybody to settle on this land". Then Mr. Kanyanta answered: "No, we cannot leave this land for you, it's just too big for only one man. Someone should be living with you, not on the same farm but on the land. The name of Nchimishi should not be lost". Then I said: "If you are just fighting for the name of Nchimishi, you Mbulo can just continue living on your farms calling yourself *Ba Nchimishi* like my father was called, no problem". You see, the thing is that Mr. Kanyanta himself wanted this land to extend his fields, because his landholding is quite small. But I said to him: "If I share this land with someone, at this moment he can be a good person to live with, but in the future he might change and start making

trouble for me. That's why I do not want anybody here on this land". Then I started showing them: "If you go this side you enter the land of Zebron (1C4) Bulwani (see also Map 12.1 and Plate 12.1). If you go in that direction you enter the farm of Mr. Yumba who has fields there. If you go in that direction there, you meet Musonda Lumpa's fields. So how can you live here? We are all surrounded by fields, by other farms". Traditionally, land belonged to the clan (this view although expressed by some other younger respondents was not shared by most older respondents with whom I discussed the land issue, H.S.). For that reason they told me that I could not remain on our farm, because I am not from *abena Mbulo*. They just wanted the land, and they thought they could get it by saying that they want to preserve the name of Nchimishi, because, if I stay here, it means the land no longer belongs to *abena Mbulo*, as I am from *abena Luo*. But many other people present, like Kash Chipilingu, supported me, and some of them told me later that the Mbulo are always after property and land. Kash told me that if I had allowed the Mbulo to stay with me they would eventually have taken all the land from me. A cousin of my father's (Chilemba's sister's daughter, H.S.) who came over from Luanshya for the funeral also told me that I should not allow the other relatives of my father to take his assets and his land. She said that things are changing and that when a man dies now the assets remain with the children, as happens in town. She also told me that if they tried to take away the assets or force me out of here, I should contact the police.' (E)

In 1990, Mudala Chisenga was still living on his father's farm, and there were no indications that Kanyanta or other members of the Mbulo clan were attempting to gain access to parts of Chilemba's land, or had plans to evict Mudala and his wife from the farm.

The land of Henry Chimpabu

Henry Chimpabu:

'Here in Nchimishi the Mbulo are the owners of the land (Henry Chimpabu belongs to the Luo clan). Once, a daughter of Mrs. Chikulu came here saying she needed some of the land I use for making my *katobela*. She told me that she was from *abena Mbulo*, *abena Nchimishi* (those belonging to the Mbulo clan who are also related to the headman Nchimishi, H.S) and that it had been Nchimishi, the headman, who had allocated the land here. I said: "No, don't even attempt to take my land". That land was left to me by the previous owner, I paid for these fields (see also the remarks made by Henry Chimpabu in Chapter 5). But these Mbulo kept on coming saying: "No, we Mbulo were the first, this is the land of the *abena Nchimishi*." One day I will take them to *akabungwe* because they are taking part of my land near the stream each year.

- But this land, did it not belong to Lubeya village to the Lungu clan?

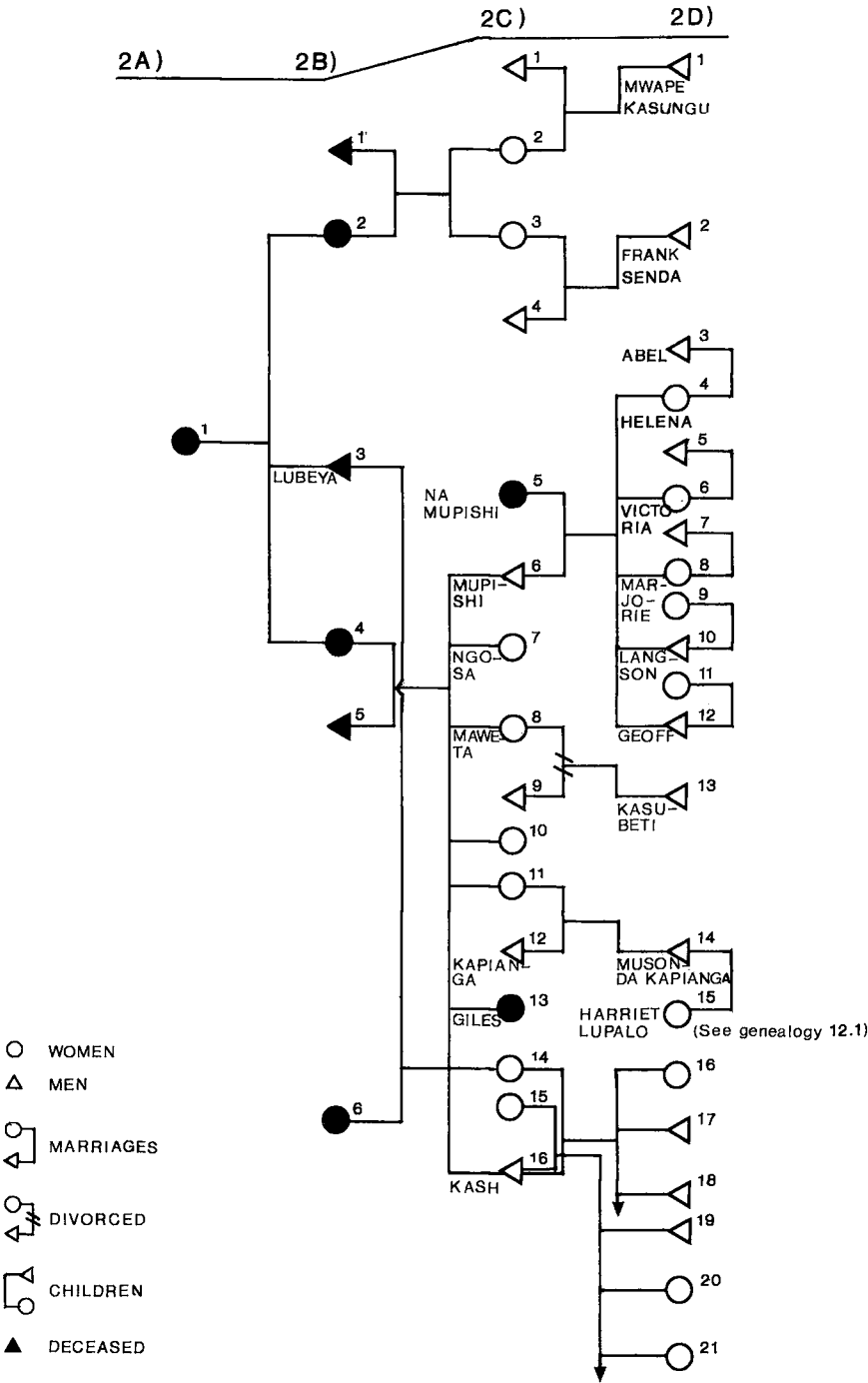
No, Nchimishi was the first. When Lubeya (2B3) came here he was given land by Nchimishi. Nchimishi was the superior man, that's why the Mbulo are the chiefs here. At least that's their idea, because nowadays this link between clan and land is not strong any more. People are becoming educated. The Government is educating them. It says that the land belongs to all of us, Zambians. Someone cannot say: "All these forests are my land." You cannot say any more: "This land belongs to the *abena Mbulo*". If I should decide to stay here, this land will pass to my children and my wives. The *abena Mbulo* cannot take it. The world is changing each and every day, and we are doing away with hopeless rules from the past.' (E)

The land of Lubeya

Lubeya village was founded by the headman, Lubeya (2B3), in 1938. Prior to the first break-away movement, towards the late 1940's, the village consisted of a single matrilineal descent group, within which there were a number of smaller groups (for a detailed description and analysis of the growth and fission of Lubeya village, see Long 1968: 99-106, Long uses the pseudonym Lusefu). The first to leave Lubeya village was Kash Chipilingu (1B14 & 2C14) who established a farm some three kilometres from the village in 1955. Between 1955 and 1961, six other groups broke away to establish their own independent settlements. When the headman died in 1966, the remaining inhabitants left the village. According to Long, the break-up of Lubeya village can be largely attributed to the introduction of new forms of wealth and to new socio-economic goals. The quarrels and conflicts which arose in the village, and which had made many inhabitants decide to leave, had all centred around the question of control over resources. According to Long, even the accusations of sorcery made against Kash were a product of the competition between Kash and others in the village for economic resources, rather than merely a reflection of the hostility between specific categories of kinsmen seeking to gain the allegiance of a group of female matrikin (Long 1968: 106).

Lubeya village, like many of the other villages in the area, was derived from Nchimishi village, and the headman, Lubeya, was 'shown' the land where he established his village by the headman of Nchimishi. Consequently, some respondents, such as Zebron Bulwani (1C4), were of the opinion that the area surrounding the site of the old Lubeya village in fact belonged to the *abena Mbulo*. Other residents of Nchimishi argued, however, that the land belonged to the *abena Lungu* (the matri-clan of Lubeya, and Lubeya's close matrikin in particular, because Lubeya had been the first to actually occupy the area; because a large part of it was still controlled by Lubeya's sister's son, Kash Chipilingu, and other members of his matrikin; and finally because farmers who lived in the area but belonged to other clans had been 'shown' their land by Kash Chipilingu or other matrilineal kinsmen of the village headman (see Genealogy 12.2). Kash Chipilingu frequently explained to me that many people in Nchimishi considered him to be Lubeya's successor. The fact of his being Lubeya's successor made him, according to himself, the rightful 'owner' of the land which surrounded the site of the old village. When in August 1986 Kash Chipilingu first showed me around his farmyard, fields and all the land he controlled, I concluded that other farmers had been right in describing Kash as one of the few big 'landowners' of Nchimishi, as he indeed controlled a very large area of several hundred hectares. In this section, I discuss the strategies Kash has used over the years to defend the land he claimed and controlled and the attempts made by others to gain access to it.

Genealogy 12.2: Lubeya village



The farm of Kash Chipilingu

In the early 1970's, Kash Chipilingu was asked by the District Authorities and the District Governor himself to cooperate with the farm regrouping policy by helping to demarcate plots along the main road and give them out to farmers who were living in more isolated places and who had responded to the call of the Government to resettle (see also the remarks made by Best Kabamba in Chapter 5). Being a zealous member of UNIP, Kash was eager to cooperate even if this meant losing control over some of his land (see Map 12.2). Besides, the District Secretary had promised Kash that he would obtain title deeds for the land remaining to him. Kash hoped that his having title deeds, in other words the official acknowledgement by the Government of Kash's rights to the land of Lubeya, would prevent his neighbours and relatives from cutting *citeme* gardens or making fields (*ama acres*) on his land.

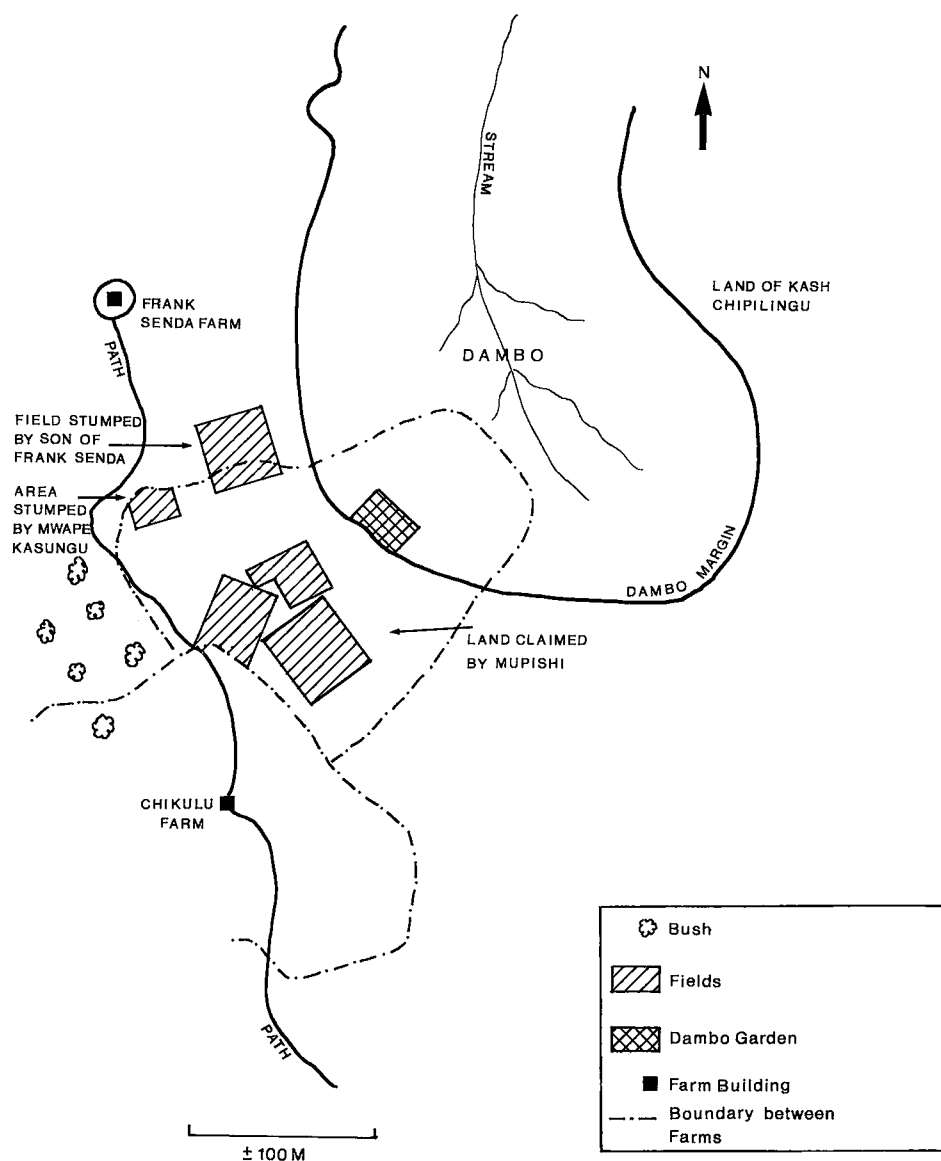
Another advantage Kash saw in giving out relatively small tracts of land to farmers like Chisenga Simon, who did not seem to have very ambitious plans with regard to farming, was that a kind buffer would be created which would prevent other, more ambitious farmers from settling on his land and establishing large farms along the main road (see also Chapter 5).

In 1972 Kash Chipilingu officially applied for the title deeds which he received in 1974 after an aerial survey was carried out and the land was demarcated.⁴ However, according to Kash, the fact that he holds title deeds has not protected his land against intruders. As Kash pointed out to me, neighbouring farmers who did not realize the importance and implications of having title deeds continued encroaching upon his land. According to Kash, some of these farmers argued that title deeds were meant for farmers who were able to cultivate the land they were given and not for farmers who were just preserving a big forest.

In the 1960's and 1970's, Kash only cleared land and cultivated fields which were located in the proximity of his farmyard, but at the time of the restudy I found him clearing very large areas located on the perimeter of what he claimed to be his land. Kash explained that this immense work (which he carried out alone, at times assisted by his son Anderson and a few hired hands) served a dual purpose. First of all, the making of new fields at the perimeter prevented potential intruders from 'stealing' land since they would not dare to make fields, let alone establish a farm, between Kash's fields and his farmyard. Secondly, Kash saw the clearing and stumping of the land as the only answer to the unceasing criticism of his neighbours who asserted that Kash did not need all the land he controlled and as the only possible response to the policy of Chief Chibale. The chief, who rejected the idea of farmers preserving large tracts of unused land for future use or for their children, had stated on several occasions that he would use the power vested in him to redistribute land which was not being put to use to those young farmers who needed it. Kash Chipilingu:

'I am trying by all means to cultivate my land, because people go to the chief and tell him they need land and that I have a big forest. If I had the money I would hire a bulldozer to clear the whole forest because stumping land is a good way to protect your land.' (L)

Map 12.2: Kash Chipilingu farm



When I asked Kash how he planned to cultivate such an immense area of cleared land, he answered that he would need a tractor to plough these new fields. The Government had long since refused to give him a loan for a tractor, but when the Agricultural Officer of Serenje, whom he intended to invite after completing the job, saw with his own eyes that Kash's plans to become a commercial farmer were serious, the Government this time would certainly help him to realize his old ambition to own a tractor (see also Long 1968: 67). Once he had his own John Deere, he argued, all intruders and even those farmers along the main road would have to give up their fields and relocate in order to make way for a farmer who had title deeds and was able to help in 'feeding the nation'. After all, farmers along the main road in Kofi Kunda had also been told to move when Musonda Chunga, the commercial farmer, obtained title deeds and intended to clear and cultivate the land with the help of tractors. Many farmers believed that Kash Chipilingu, in clearing such a area, had lost all sense of reality, because he simply did not have either the labour force or the capital to cultivate it. (In 1987, the farm was composed of the following adults: Kash, his two wives, his divorced daughter and one of his sons.) According to a few respondents, the fact that Kash's objectives and plans were never in keeping with the resources to which he has access explains why he always came into conflict with others farmers when trying to defend the only resource he does have in excess.

I found that Kash Chipilingu defended his land not only because he believed that a commercial farmer who works with a tractor simply needs sufficient land, but also because his herd of cattle requires an adequate grazing area. More importantly, however, he wishes to preserve the land for his sons: Mwape Kash, who at the time of the restudy was living in Ndola, Kalunga Kash, who was working in Mpika, and maybe Kunda Kash, who was studying at the University of Zambia.

Although he still controls a very large area, Kash has lost control of a considerable amount of land over the years, despite some successful attempts to prevent matrilineal kinsmen and others from gaining access to what he considers to be his land. Kash not only gave land to farmers, like Best Kabamba (see also Chapter 5 and Map 5.1), who had responded positively to the farm regrouping policy, he also felt the obligation to give land to some of his closest matrikin such as his older brother Mupishi (2C6) (Long uses the pseudonym Bombwe), his sister Maweta (2C8) (Chiboli), and her son Kasubeti (2D13) (Patrick). Moreover, Kash allowed a number of other farmers, such as, for instance, his brother-in-law Kapianga (1B13 & 2C12) (Totwa), who had often helped him in the past to settle on the land which had previously belonged to Lubeya (2B3). According to Kash, farmers who did not belong to his group of matrikin, although they were shown a place where they could build a farm and make fields, all realized that they were still living on his land, that they could always be driven away by Kash and that, for instance, they were not supposed to give part of their land to other farmers. The majority of these farmers, however, did not agree with Kash on this matter. According to Best Kabamba, Kash and the other close matrikin of Lubeya (2B3) had lost all their 'power' over the land they had 'shown' to others once Best and his colleagues who now occupied the land had started developing it. By clearing the bushes, preparing fields and sowing maize and other crops, these farmers, although not

belonging to the *abena Lungu*, had established inalienable rights over the land.

Kash has not always succeeded in preventing other people from cutting *citeme* gardens in his forest. He has always found it much more difficult to prevent someone from cutting a *citeme* in his forest than to stop a farmer who had the intention of stumping trees and making a field. Since *citeme* gardens are used for one season only, cutting a *citeme* is generally not considered to involve a transfer of land rights, and many people who wish to practise this form of agriculture, therefore, feel less restrained about entering a forest claimed by someone else. Uprooting trees and making a field, however, means having the intention of establishing a more permanent tie with the land. It is, therefore, more difficult, as Best Kabamba (and Kaulenti Chisenga in Chapter 5) have already indicated, to remove somebody from land he has cleared and uprooted.

Like Zebron Bulwani (1C4), Kash Chipilingu (1B14 & 2C14) found out years ago that making agreements with neighbours concerning the precise location of boundaries is a useful strategy in the defence of land from gradual encroachment by these neighbours. A large *mupundu* tree, for instance, marks the boundary with Best Kabamba's farm, a path forms the boundary with William Chimpabu's farm, while a stream serves as the boundary between Kash's farm and the land of his 'nephew', Frank Senda (2D2) (see Genealogy 12.2).

'This land is for my children'

Although he stakes his claim to the land on the basis that the village headman, Lubeya (2B3), was his maternal uncle, Kash has always tried to prevent some of Lubeya's other close matrikin, especially those he did not like or trust, from settling on the land surrounding the old village.⁵⁾ When discussing the question of his future successor, Kash stated clearly that his wives and his own children, and certainly not Lubeya's matrikin, were to inherit his land. When I asked him why, on the one hand, he defended his claim to Lubeya's land on the basis of the matrilineal system of inheritance, while at the same time strongly rejecting the idea that his own matrikin would inherit this land, Kash answered that times had changed and that nowadays children are more important to a man than matrikin. He added that he had always respected and assisted his uncle Lubeya, but that he had never been able to count on the assistance of his matrikin, who were only after his movable assets and land. His wives and children, on the other hand, had always helped him in the development of the enterprise, and he saw no reason why they could not succeed him and inherit his movable assets and land. Kash Chipilingu:

'If you have got a title for land then it becomes your land. Clans can also have land, but if a family moves to another place and another farmer moves in, then the land does not belong to the first clan any more. But if a son takes over his father's land then the land remains in the clan, because you could say my children also belong to *abena Lungu*, like myself. Nowadays, the clan of the father is also very important. That's why my children should succeed me. I will go to Serenje and tell people working for the District that my children will take over my farm upon my death. I will do this because my relatives are always after my assets and my land. I always refuse to give land to my relatives who return from town. For example, Geoffrey Tom when he came back asked me for land, but I refused. If you allow relatives to settle on your land, you and your children end up facing a lot

of conflicts with these people. It's my duty to explain to my children about the land and about the boundaries before I die, so they will know how to defend themselves when my relatives want to grab it from them. Mupishi (Kash's older brother, H.S.) won't come and drive my children away because he also knows the importance of children. He also believes children should inherit the farm. Like what happened in the case of Matala (Jackson Makofi; see also the remarks made by Blaison Makofi in Chapter 7, H.S.): when he died his wife and children inherited the land and that's very good. Mupishi (2C6) will protect my children against attacks from other relatives. Only if there are no children or no wife to succeed you can your relatives take the land. But to protect the land some children should remain at home. Like in my case: I have one of my daughters and one of my sons living here with me. We work together. If children work with their parents, they can inherit the land in the future, because it will be clear to everyone that the children helped to develop the farm, stumping, making new fields, etc. The children who stay home can keep the land for their brothers and sisters who live in town. If children want their father's land, they should come home before he dies. When children return after his death, his relatives (matrikin, H.S.) can say: "Why should you inherit this land? You did not work with your father". In the future, land will not belong to the clan. Relatives are becoming less important. In the village we were living with our relatives, but now we work with our children.' (L)

Land rights and conflicts

Over the years, Kash Chipilingu has had many land conflicts with neighbouring farmers and with matrilineal kinsmen. During my fieldwork period, a number of conflicts also occurred. For instance, when I arrived in Nchimishi in 1986, Kash was involved in a serious dispute with his neighbour, William Chimpabu (see Map 12.2). After Chimpabu (the father of Henry Chimpabu) had started cutting a *citeme* in his forest, Kash took the case to the chief. In his defence, Chimpabu argued that the land where he intended to cut his *citeme* had belonged in the past to the village of Mr. Sangwech (Long uses the pseudonym Saini Moloka; Long 1968: 40-61) and not to Lubeya village. Kash tried to refute this argument by explaining to the chief that he had been the first to occupy that land, that he had established his farm as early as 1955, at a time when William was still working at the Mulembo peasant farming scheme. In the end, the chief decided that, since Kash could base his claim to that particular land on the fact that he had been the first occupant after the village of Sangwech had collapsed and since the *citeme* system was ecologically destructive and therefore reprehensible, William should be ordered to stop his activities and withdraw from the forest.

In 1988, another land conflict arose between Kash, his older brother Mupishi (2C6) and his sons on the one hand, and, on the other, Frank Senda (2D2) (Long uses the pseudonym Kefas) and Mwape Kasungu (2D1), the sons of two of Kash's classificatory sisters. The dispute started when one day Mupishi found Mwape cutting trees on his land (see Map 12.2). This land, which borders the land of Frank Senda and a farmer named Chikulu, was shown to Mupishi by Kash upon Mupishi's return from the Copperbelt in 1972. When Mupishi (2C6) asked Mwape what he was doing, the latter answered that his 'brother' Frank had shown him the plot and that he was cutting poles to build a house since he intended to establish his own farm here. Frank Senda, Mwape argued, not only 'owned' the land, but was also the section chairman of Nachimbi section and thus had every right to give out land to his younger 'brother'. Mwape further explained that Frank had written him a letter for the chief who had subsequently

given Mwape permission to establish his farm.⁶ On hearing this, Mupishi became furious and went straight to the farm of his younger brother Kash, the UNIP branch chairman. Kash immediately took sides with his older brother and told Mupishi that he was right to defend his land and to try to preserve it for his children. The whole issue, Kash explained, was probably just another 'trick' of Senda and other jealous matrikin aimed at taking more land from Kash and Mupishi, an attempt to deprive their children of the most important resource a farmer needed.

Conflicts between Kash Chipilingu (1B14 & 2C14) and Frank Senda (2D2) go back a long time. Long describes how in Lubeya village sorcery accusations made against Kash by Frank led to a serious fight between the two (Long 1968: 99-106). According to Kash:

'What happened in Lubeya village might happen again this time. Senda has always been against me, damaging my good name, accusing me of witchcraft. He has always told other people that Mupishi (2C6) and I are witches and have killed people in the village. Senda started hating me even more when I became the new headman of this area after Lubeya's death. He became very annoyed, so now by giving land to this man Mwape he wants to show others around here he is a headman. But when Lubeya (2B3) died in 1966 and the village collapsed, the land was left for me. I was to keep that land. When Senda came back from town (in 1981, H.S.) he did not come directly, he came in a secret way. He did not ask me for land but he settled at the farm of my sister (2C11), the wife of Kapianga (1B13, 2C12). Bana Kapianga (Kash's sister, the wife of Kapianga, H.S.) was given that land by me. When our sister died that's when he took over the farm. But that farm should be her son's, Musonda Kapianga (1C14 & 2D14) (the husband of Harriet Lupalo (1C13 & 2D15)); see Chapter 8, H.S.). Later, people gave him the post of section chairman, and now he is using that power to give land to others, to start a conflict with me again. He gave Mwape Kasungu (2D1) a letter for the chief because he wants to show he has more power than Mupishi (2C6) and I have. He still has the idea of becoming a headman, he wants this land. But unfortunately for him, I am the branch chairman, he is only a section chairman and therefore I am his superior. When he came back from town he told people that I am nothing but his servant and that the fields I stumped are his.' (L)

Not surprisingly, Frank Senda (2D2) did not agree at all with Kash's analysis of the situation. According to Senda, all past and present conflicts were reducible to the fact that Kash has a very difficult and selfish character, and has always refused to do what every good kinsman is supposed to do: give his matrikin their share of the land that 'belonged' to the village. When the land was shown to Lubeya (2B3) by the headman of Nchimishi, Senda argued, it became the land of the *abena Lungu*, of all Lubeya's matrikin.

According to Kash, Frank Senda has continually attempted to create conflicts, to damage Kash's farming enterprise and to undermine his authority as branch chairman since his return from the Copperbelt. On one occasion, during the visit to Nchimishi of the Agricultural Officer of Serenje, Frank Senda had been successful in preventing Kash from obtaining a loan for a tractor. When Kash had left a farmers' meeting to buy some beer at a nearby farm for the important visitor, Frank had approached the Agricultural Officer and explained to him that the fields Kash had shown him were in fact Frank's fields since he had sent the money from town to hire labour for their development. According to Kash and some other farmers, Frank Senda had acted not only out of hatred but also out of fear that once Kash had a tractor he would clear the remaining

forest and make large fields and thus strengthen his hold over the land of Lubeya. Giving land to his relative Mwape Kasungu (2D1), it was generally believed, had to be interpreted as another strategy to challenge the position of Kash and his brother Mupishi (2C6). By not informing the other farmers in his section and not giving them a chance to discuss his plans, Frank Senda had not followed the normal procedure. A section chairman is not supposed to give land to outsiders without consulting the other inhabitants of his section, nor can he act without the consent of the branch chairman. According to Mupishi (2C6), Kash and Chikulu, an *akabungwe* with all those involved had to be held in order to solve the conflict and to demarcate clear boundaries between the land of Kash, Mupishi, Chikulu and Senda to prevent future disputes from occurring. Kash indicated to me that one of the probable outcomes of this *akabungwe* was that Mwape Kasungu would have to leave Mupishi's land who, although he did not cultivate all of it, wished to preserve it for his daughters in town.⁹

As it turned out, the *akabungwe* never took place as Mwape Kasungu managed to find another plot of land some distance from the main road, near the Lukusashi river. When Mupishi sent him a letter summoning him to the *akabungwe*, Mwape returned it saying that such a meeting was no longer necessary and that Frank, Kash and Mupishi had troubled him enough by dragging him into their long-standing controversy. The new plot of land, he said, was much larger than the land which was shown to him by Senda and was fertile. Moreover, his new neighbours seemed to be very friendly.

Title deeds

As I mentioned earlier, migrants who return from the urban areas often face difficulties in finding land. The areas along the main road, in particular, have become densely populated, and many returning migrants are therefore forced to settle in the more remote parts of Nchimishi. For some returning migrants, settling 'in the bush' is not an attractive option, not only because living in relative isolation seems to be so far removed from the kind of life they have known in town, but also because they reckon that in order to become successful, commercially-oriented farmers their fields need to be located near the main road. Only in the vicinity of the main road and the main centres of population is it relatively easy to transport produce to the depot and to recruit sufficient number of labourers.

In the last decades a few farmers in Chibale Chiefdom have tried, with some success, to gain access to land in densely populated areas by applying for title deeds. According to Musonda Chunga (see also Chapters 6 and 7) he would never have succeeded in becoming a commercial farmer without having obtained a leasehold from the Government. Although his mother lived in Kofi Kunda, Musonda Chunga had no close relatives who controlled large tracts of unused land along the main road on his return to Chibale in 1976. Applying for a title, therefore, was the only feasible strategy for him to obtain a large tract of land along the road to Chibale, because obtaining a leasehold, as Musonda Chunga explained, meant being able to evade, to bypass, the

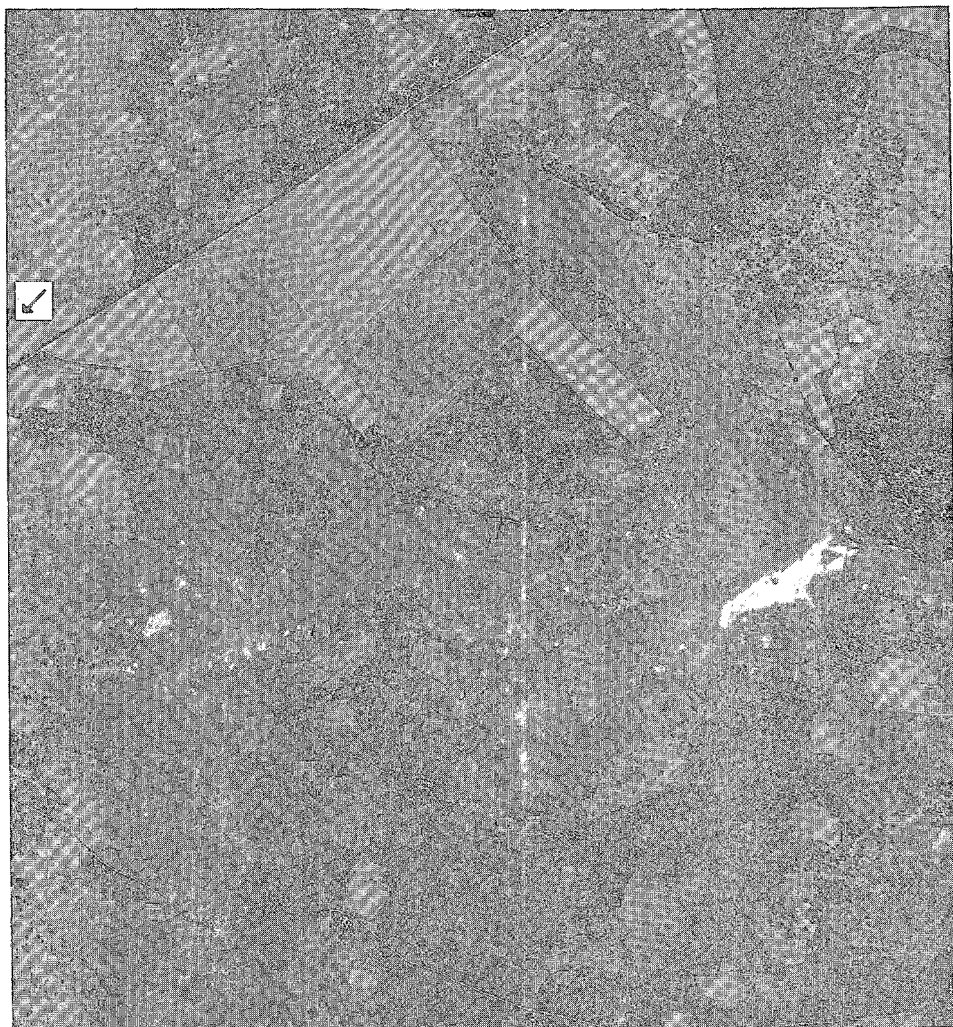


Plate 12.2 Aerial photograph showing Musonda Chunga's farm buildings and fields

traditional system of land holding and to ignore the rights individuals derive from this system. According to many other respondents, however, title deeds and 'following the Government way' to obtain land expressed a profound disrespect for Lala traditions and practices concerning land and land holding, as well as a serious disregard for the history of occupation of particular plots of land, for the rights of individual farmers who occupied these plots, and for the (future) rights and claims of children and/or matrikin.

Under the Land (Conversion of Titles) Act, 1975, all the land in Zambia is vested in the President who holds it in perpetuity for and on behalf of the people of Zambia (Procedure on Land Alienation, Land Circular No 1, 1985). The President has delegated the day-to-day administration of land matters to the office of the Commissioner of Lands. The latter is empowered by the president to make grants or dispositions of land to any person subject to the special and general directions of the Minister responsible for land matters.⁷⁾ The Reserves and Trust Lands areas (Chibale Chiefdom forms part of the Native Trust Land) are set aside for the sole use of indigenous Zambians.⁸⁾ Customary systems of land holding prevail in these areas (Mbao 1985: 232-3). However, every 'customary tenant' is allowed to apply for a leasehold for a period of 100 years (Nelson-Richards 1988: 174).

The Act of 1975, which abolished freehold and converted all freehold property into statutory leasehold, was presented as a measure to change the capitalist-oriented economy to a socialist-oriented one (Amoo 1984: 249). It was designed to curb speculation and protect the rural population through the law and administrative action from rich and powerful land seekers. Nevertheless, quite a number of farmers, customary tenants, in the Kofi Kunda area who had farms along the main road lost their land. In early 1976, when Musonda Chunga obtained title over several hundred hectares (see Plate 12.2) of land which enclosed their farms, these farmers were ordered by the district authorities to vacate the land they had cultivated and on which they had built their houses. Musonda Chunga indicated to me that although he had felt pity for those farmers who had been forced to leave their farms, he had been allocated their land because each year his farm would produce large quantities of hybrid maize and other crops the country needed to feed its large urban population. His enterprise would serve the interests of the nation as a whole by serving the interests of many urban citizens. Moreover, it was expected by the district and provincial authorities that his farming enterprise would serve as an example to a new generation of young farmers.

According to Musonda Chunga, holding title deeds had not only enabled him to gain access to land along the main road, but also provided him with the security of tenure a commercial farmer needed before he could risk making large investments. Moreover, the title deeds had enabled him to raise commercial loans from the AFC (Agricultural Finance Company) and from a commercial bank (see also Mbao 1985: 230-41) on the security of his land. Another reason Musonda Chunga had for acquiring land on title is that a leasehold provided protection against squatters since the Lands Department was supposed to control illegal settlement on agricultural farm lands (see also the Annual Reports of the Lands Department for the years 1974, 75, 76, 77 and 78).⁹⁾

The fact that the State's consent is required and has to be applied for before any land on title can be assigned, transferred, mortgaged, subdivided or subleased, gave

Musonda Chunga the reassuring thought that most probably his children rather than his matriclan would inherit his land (see also the Land (Conversion of Titles) Chapter 289 of the Laws of Zambia, Section 13; Lands Department Annual Report 1983: 2). Title deeds, he argued, provided his wife and children with the security they deserved, and gave them the motivation to work hard and develop the farm further.

Musonda Chunga attributed his success in obtaining title deeds to the fact that as far back as the 1970's he had been an active member of UNIP and maintained good contacts with the district authorities and the two MP's of Serenje District. It was, for instance, through these contacts that Musonda Chunga acquired more knowledge of the legal system and came to know the procedure to be follow to obtain title to land.

In almost every respect, Musonda Chunga's farming enterprise is exceptional. Nevertheless, I found a growing awareness, especially among the more educated returning migrants, that in their case also applying for a leasehold might indeed be an effective strategy for securing land and defending it against the (future) claims of neighbours and matrikin. I met a number of farmers who had serious plans to apply for title deeds, and some of them had already taken the first steps towards giving their tenure an official legal status.

The new land

In Chapter 5, I explained why increasing numbers of farmers are settling in the more isolated and less densely populated parts of Nchimishi. This trend took off in the early 1980's when many migrants started returning from the urban areas. Returning migrants and their families who are unable to find large enough plots of land near the main road are not the only ones who can be found living and/or working in these areas, however.

Cultivators who wish to practise *citime* cultivation, farmers without enough land to extend their fields, or persons (like Kaulenti Chisenga, see Chapter 5) who had no land of their own and occupied other farmers' land can also be found among these settlers. Some of these settlers simply returned to the place near the village or farm where they had lived before the farm regroupment.

I discovered that a few farmers have land and maintain fields in the hinterland, but continue to live on their farms near the main road. In most cases, this is not regarded as an ideal solution since it often proves very difficult to defend the land, and especially the bush land surrounding the fields, against intruders. A small number of people, in many cases still residing on their farms near the main road, can be found cutting their *citime* gardens in the hinterland. If they do not have a farm in the area where they cut their *citime* gardens, these cultivators are not considered to be the 'owners' of the cutting areas, as the cutting of *citime* gardens is not regarded as involving the establishment of more permanent rights over land. Therefore, other farmers do not feel restrained from occupying these gardens during the second season. Often the *myunda* and part of the cutting area are transformed into fields or used as pasture for cattle. Cultivators who wish to cut *citime* gardens in the hinterland of Nchimishi, without

actually settling there, often face problems with new settlers who frequently immediately claim the land on which nearby *citeme* gardens are found (see also the remarks made by Paul Lushwili in Chapter 5). I came across a number of cases where settlers, apparently in order to drive away or to discourage other cultivators, stole part of the millet crop, set fire to *myunda* or had them destroyed by their cattle.

As mentioned earlier, another category of farmers who can be found in the Nchimishi hinterland are those who possess large herds of cattle and who do not have sufficient pastures for their animals near their roadside farms.

Respondents with whom I discussed the issue stated that, although before the village farm regrouping policy quite a number of farmers lived in isolated places at a considerable distance from the main road, it was relatively easy to obtain a large enough tract of land in these areas, because the land often had no (well known) history of occupation on the basis of which certain individuals or groups of individuals can successfully claim land. Most farmers who wish to establish a farm in another section, first approach the section chairman and the farmers who live near the area they have set their eyes on. If a farmer is allotted a plot of land s/he is obliged to present a letter of recommendation written by the chairman or secretary of the section s/he wishes to leave before s/he is allowed to settle in the new section. The next step in the procedure is that the farmer takes a letter from the chairman of the section in which s/he wishes to settle together with his or her farm licence to Chief Chibale, who decides whether the farmer is allowed to move, occupy the land and build a farm.¹⁰ It is generally considered to be very important for a farmer wishing to set up a farm in an area with a very low population density to establish friendly relations with the section chairman and the first settlers as they are the 'first owners' of the land and control large areas of unoccupied bush land, often with no clearly defined boundaries. Although some of these early settlers and section chairmen were accused of trying to preserve all the fertile land for their children and matrikin, it was considered to be relatively easy to become the 'owner' of land in sparsely populated areas. The situation tends to change fast however. In 1987 and 1988, Kalemba Section, which was very sparsely populated according to aerial photographs in 1983 (see also Map 1.2), was the scene of numerous land and farm boundary disputes.¹¹ According to some respondents, these land and farm boundary disputes in what we might call frontier areas are first of all the result of immigration. They can, however, to some extent also be attributed to the fact that, on the one hand, farmers feel that farms should be located at sufficient distance from each other to allow everyone to have enough unused land to extend fields and to cut firewood or poles required for the construction of houses, kraals and barns, and that, on the other hand, all farmers have to live near perennial streams. Many families also wish to live in the neighbourhood of others because they fear to live in isolation, or, as I showed in Chapter 5, because they depend on the ox carts and ploughs of other farmers and want to link up their farm roads with the existing infrastructure.

Two farm boundary disputes

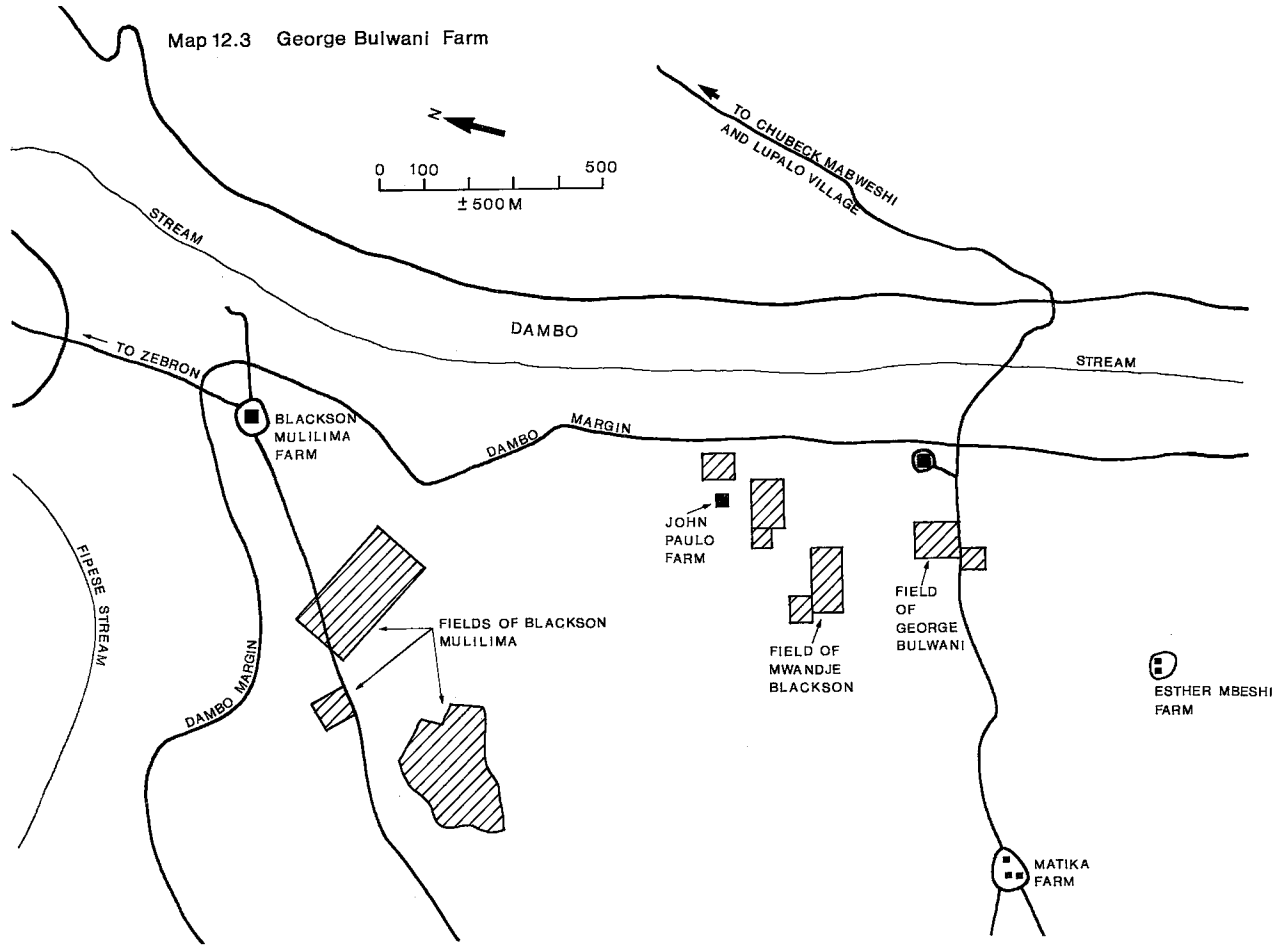
In what follows I describe the farm boundary disputes which occurred in the first half of 1987 between George Bulwani (1C8) (approximately 65 years of age), who settled in Kalembe section in 1986, and two of his neighbours.

Before obtaining a second farm in Kalembe section, George Bulwani (see also Genealogy 12.2) only had land near his houses in Lupalo village (which is located near the main road) where he lived with his wife, Dyna (1C9), one of his sons, one of his daughters and her husband, and a few of his grandchildren. In 1985, George decided that if the family wished to increase further the size of their herd of cattle, and if he and his wife wished to give their children a more secure future, they would soon require more land. That same year, George started looking for a place to establish a second farm and soon found a fertile and large enough plot of land some 4 kilometres from Lupalo village in Kalembe section. George Bulwani:

'In 1985 I decided to make a new farm and that's when I started looking for another place. I couldn't find land near the road, but soon I found this place (this conversation with George Bulwani took place in April 1987, H.S.), and I started visiting those who live here, who have land here. People like Chubeck Mabweshi, Blackson Mulilima, Ringson Mafuta and Matika, the section chairman. This is the area where some of them kept their cattle, but nevertheless they allowed me to settle here and they showed me the boundary with their farms. I had three reasons for establishing a new farm. First, I have a lot of cattle and my animals were destroying the fields of other farmers such as Chilimbeki. Conflicts; that's why farmers with cattle establish new farms in the bush. The second reason is that, in the future, I would like to produce more maize, but my fields in Lupalo village have lost their fertility because I have used them for many years. Around the village there is no place to extend our fields since we are surrounded by the fields of Lupalo, Zebron (1C4) and Agnes Changwe (1D8) (the daughter of George's sister, Mangala (1C5) Bulwani, H.S.). Lupalo (1B11) has many children and one day they will receive their pension and return from town. Harriet Lupalo (1C13 & 2D15) is already growing maize near the village (see also Chapter 8, H.S.). Lupalo is my (maternal, H.S.) uncle and when he dies I could take over that land and drive out his children, but I don't want to do that. And what's more important, I also have to think about my own children. Laka (1D13), Bana Chitambo (1D11) and Kalale George (1D10). They will need a place in which to live in the future. The landholding I have at Lupalo village is small and after my death people like Zebron, Agnes Changwe or Kalunga (Agnes Changwe's son, H.S.) may decide to drive my children out, saying they do not belong to *abena Luo*. That's why I decided to make this new farm.' (L)

Later George explained that another reason for wanting to leave Lupalo village was that his brother Zebron, with whom George is involved in a long standing conflict (see also Note 5 in Chapter 14), started giving out parts of George's land to other farmers. However, George decided not to take any action against his brother because he feared Zebron's sorcery and because his older brother (who returned from urban employment and had settled in Nchimishi village in the early 1940's when George was in still living in town) considered himself, together with his maternal uncle Lupalo, to be the 'owner' of all the land around Lupalo village.

Early in 1986 George, assisted by the other farm members, built a house on their new plot (see also Map 12.3) and started clearing and stumping land in order to make fields. At the same time, the family continued living and cultivating their fields and

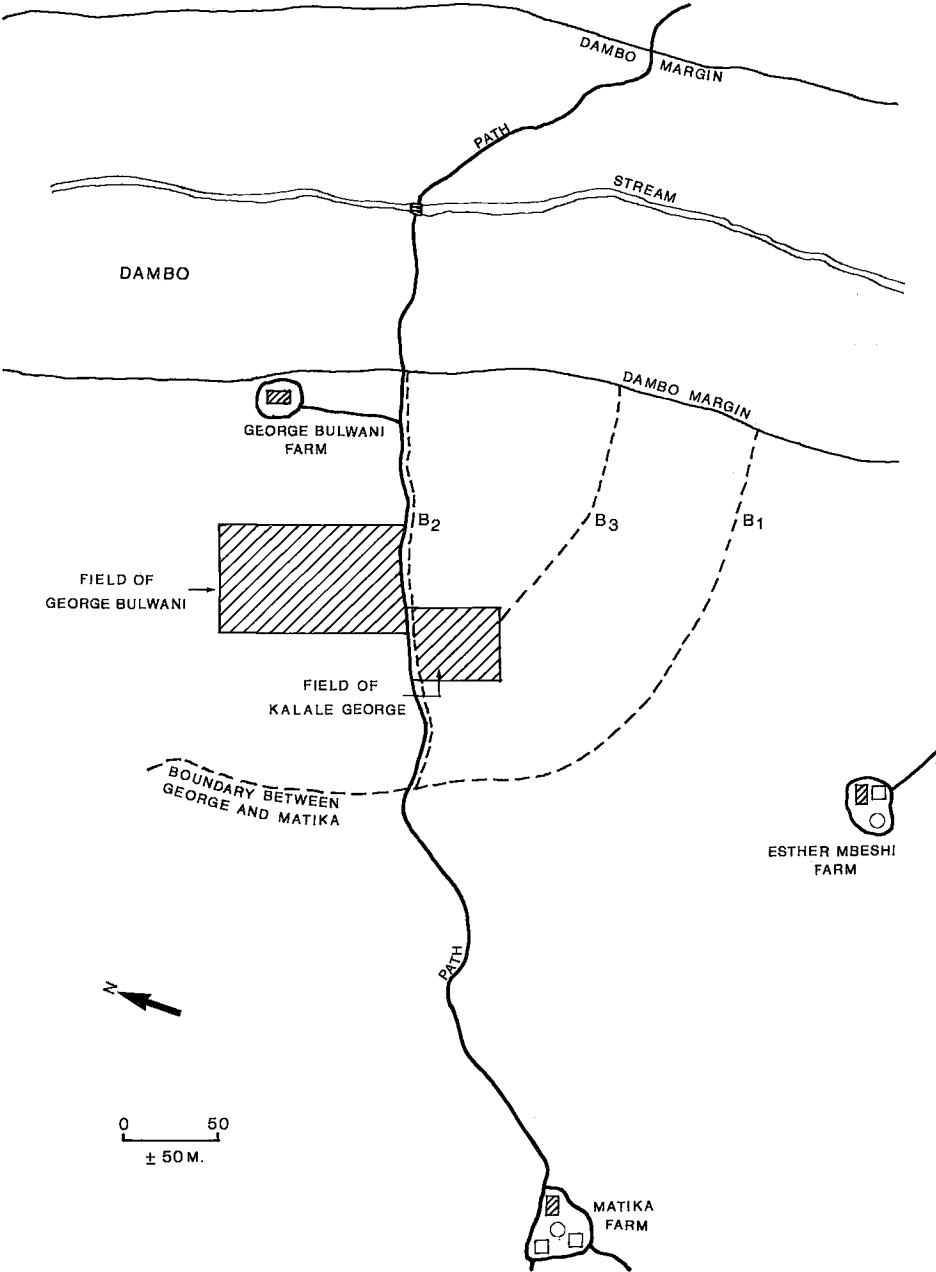


gardens in Lupalo village. At the new farm the first boundary dispute occurred towards the end of 1986, when George's neighbour, Blackson Mulilima, gave land to his son, Mwandje Blackson, and to a returned migrant named John Paul. According to George, who had assumed that the land near the boundary between their farms would be reserved as a grazing area for their herds, Blackson apparently feared future expansion by George and intrusion into his land and therefore wished to create a 'strong' boundary consisting of a band of fields. George Bulwani expressed this as follows:

'Now it will be difficult to prevent my animals from grazing in these fields. Blackson told me that his son, Mwandje, made fields along the boundary because he is a bit confused, but later I found them working together in Mwandje's fields. I think Blackson forced Mwandje to make fields there in order to get a strong boundary and prevent me from making a big farm. Making fields along the boundary that's the trick some people here use. He should have given land only to John Paul. If my animals graze in John Paul's fields it's not a problem because he is a new man here and he came here after me, but if my animals destroy the fields of Blackson or Mwandje I will have trouble and be forced to pay money because Blackson was here before me.' (L)

Early in 1987, George Bulwani became involved in another farm boundary dispute with his new neighbour, Esther Mbeshi. At an *akabungwe* which was held on the 29th of March at the farm of the section chairman, Matika, in the presence of Esther Mbeshi, Matika, another neighbour named Lemson Chayi, Mudala Chisenga and myself, George argued that when he had asked Chubeck Mabweshi where he could build a farm, people like Lemson and Esther had not yet settled in Kalemba section. Esther Mbeshi had also approached Chubeck, and the latter had made a mistake in showing her a plot of land which to some extent overlapped with the parcel he had shown to George. Esther Mbeshi replied by saying that although George had spoken the truth, she also needed enough land and could not accept the boundary George had marked out between their two farms (see Map 12.4, Esther Mbeshi referred to boundary B1). Esther suggested that from now on the path between George's farm and that of Matika (boundary B2) would mark the boundary between George's farm and her own farm, and that George's son, Kalale, would next season vacate the fields he had made. George answered that this was simply impossible because his son, by clearing the land, had become its 'owner'. After long discussions, both parties reached a compromise. Kalale could keep his field which at the same time would mark the new boundary between the two farms (boundary B3).¹² Two weeks after the *akabungwe*, George explained to me that tensions between him and Esther Mbeshi had developed after George's cattle had grazed in his neighbour's millet field. He added that in the beginning the parcel which had been 'shown' to him had appeared large enough. There was enough land to keep a large herd of cattle and enough to provide his children and their families with a secure future. However, with the establishment of several new farms in the area (the farm of Esther Mbeshi, Lemson Chayi and Matika, who settled not far from George's farm after having lived near Chubeck Mabweshi for a number of years) this part of Kalemba section had become 'crowded', the land George controlled had become considerably smaller in size, and as a result all opportunity of establishing a flourishing farming enterprise had disappeared.

MAP 12.4.
George Bulwani versus
Esther Mbeshi



By April 1987, George Bulwani had come to the conclusion that, if he and his family wished to achieve their objectives and live in peace with their neighbours, they had to search for a tract of unoccupied land further away from the main road. George figured that he needed to find a very large tract of vacant land so that he, being the first occupant, would be in a position to give out land to others and by doing so create his own boundaries. Soon he found an excellent tract of land in another part of Kalembe section approximately 10 kilometres from Lupalo village and 5 kilometres from his second farm. The land was located in a very sparsely populated part of Kalembe section, surrounded by several perennial streams and a hill called Nakaliawwela. The farmyards and fields of his neighbours, who did not seem to have plans to become large-scale, commercially-oriented farmers in the future, were located several kilometres from the site where George intended to build a house and a cattle kraal. In July 1987, George Bulwani (1C8) left the second farm and started clearing land at his new farm. A few months later Matika, Lemson and Esther allowed a farmer to settle at George's second farm. This farmer, Musonda, was told by George that he could now consider himself to be the owner of the land, formerly controlled but not developed by George and his family. The fields cleared and cultivated by George and his family would only become Musonda's property if he was prepared to pay compensation to the Bulwani's for the labour invested in these fields. If not, George argued, Musonda just had to wait until trees and bushes had covered these old fields before he could cultivate this land himself.

Commentary and analysis

The case of George Bulwani (1C8) shows that land and boundary conflicts do occur in the less densely populated areas of Nchimishi also. In these areas, however, disputes concerning land are to some extent different in character. This can be attributed to the fact that the plots of land involved do not have a long history of occupation. In most cases, therefore, claims on particular plots are not and cannot be supported on the basis of membership of a particular clan. Farmers often pointed out to me that the link between the matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance and land exists only in relation to land (mainly located along the main road) which has been occupied and cultivated for several generations, often by members of the same group of matrikin. According to most respondents, it is very unlikely that such a link will be established in the frontier areas which are witnessing an influx of farmers, especially since in most cases the land in these areas is developed by conjugal families and/or by the labour hired by them. Moreover, as I indicated in the introduction, both husbands and wives regard each other in many cases as the co-owners of the land.

The fact that leaving land to wife and children does not usually seem to present a real problem provides another reason for farmers to establish farms in these areas. Negotiations and disputes in the new settlement areas mostly involve the precise location of boundaries and not so much the rights over a particular plot of cultivated or unused land. The first occupant in any unpopulated area is generally considered to be the 'owner' of all the land in the wide surroundings of his farm buildings and fields. Before

they can obtain a letter from the section chairman and a ratification from the chief, other farmers who wish to settle in the area are supposed to consult these first settlers and ask them where they can establish their farm. However, there also exists a widely-shared view that a farmer who cannot cultivate all the land s/he claims, or who does not need it to herd cattle, cannot deny other prospective farmers access to the land. In other words, although the first settler in a given area is regarded as the 'owner' of the land, this does not mean that s/he may control vast tracts of unused land which s/he cannot possibly cultivate, since a farmer is expected 'to show', to give out land to those who need it. Once new settlers start clearing and stumping the land, the first 'owner' loses her or his rights to this land and the surrounding bush s/he has shown for the new arrival.

It is the vagueness of boundaries which run through uncultivated bush or *dambo* land which often gives rise to tensions and disputes between neighbours, especially when they were accidentally 'shown' the same piece of land. Usually, the greater the distance of land from farm buildings and established fields, the more difficult it is to defend from intrusion and occupation by others. Without clearly marked boundaries, it becomes difficult for a farmer to prevent others from further encroaching upon her or his land. Therefore, in order to strengthen their hold over land, many farmers try to establish clearly demarcated boundaries with new neighbours or with future settlers. Some do this by cultivating fields at what they consider to be the boundary of their farm. Other boundaries and boundary markers are the result of negotiations (popular boundary markers are anthills, large trees, paths, streams, and poles). I found that some farmers who had been the first occupants in an area had actually welcomed the arrival of other settlers since this gave them the opportunity to strengthen their hold over the land in the vicinity of their fields and farm buildings by replacing vague, ambiguous and indefensible boundaries by clearly demarcated and negotiated ones.

Grazing rights

Communal grazing is the common practice in Nchimishi, and farmers may let their cattle graze on unused land belonging to other farmers. After the harvest period, cattle owners are even allowed to let their animals graze on the maize and millet fields of neighbouring farmers. Such a system of communal grazing raises its own problems, however, especially in the more densely populated parts of the area, since it appears to be very difficult for the young herdsboys to keep the cattle from straying too far and from entering and destroying fields and gardens. I also found that in the densely populated areas near the main road, where pastures are getting scarce and are often surrounded by fields, some cattle owners try to prevent other farmers from settling, or making fields in popular grazing areas, even if these pastures are not found within the perimeter of their farm land.

Often these cattle owners refuse to pay compensation to farmers who suffer from damage to fields or property inflicted by their cattle. In August 1987, I attended an

akabungwe at the farm of Chilemba (1C2) (Mr. Nchimishi). Champion Nsandaula, a relatively poor farmer who had asked for the meeting to be held, demanded compensation for damage caused by a herd consisting of the animals of Sainent and three other cattle owners named Robert Vasco, Mrs. Portie and Short Shitebela. A few weeks earlier, these animals had pulled one of Champion's shirts and a pair of trousers from his clothesline and torn them apart. In front of Chilemba and Hubert Yumba (the section secretary) who presided over the meeting, and about twenty other men and women, Sainent refused to concede to Champion's demands to buy him another pair of second-hand trousers and a new shirt.¹³⁾ Sainent denied that the cattle had partly eaten Champion's clothes, and he added that even if it had been his animals that had caused the damage, there was another reason why Champion had no right to demand compensation from Sainent and the other cattle owners:

'Maybe we should not continue denying that our animals destroyed these clothes. We have been paying people for a long time for damage caused by our cows and oxen, paying because our cattle eat their maize and clothes from time to time. I already gave Mr. Champion two bags of millet after my animals ate some of his millet. But this man, Mr. Champion, came to live where we have kept our cattle for a long time. Even before he came back from town, our cattle grazed in the plain near where he has established his farm, and we also had a kraal there. That's why our cows and oxen always go to his farm. He made his farm in the middle of our grazing area. They cross the stream near his farm and they will continue to go to his farm, whether we give him new clothes or not. What do you expect, Mr. Champion? You made your farm amidst our kraals. That's why I think we should not be told to replace your clothes.' (L)

The wife of Sainent added:

'Mr. Champion should take better care of his things, of his clothes and of his millet. The area where he is living is for our cattle. We used it before he came here.' (L)

Champion replied by saying that when he had returned from town and established his farm, most of the land had been covered with bushes and trees and that the chief himself had given him permission to build a farm there. The land, according to Champion, did not belong to Sainent and the others, nor to their cattle, and although it was true that Sainent had used part of his land as pasture, the real owners of the land, people like Zebron (1C4) and Yumba (the father of Hubert Yumba), would never have allowed him to settle there if the land had belonged to Sainent.¹⁴⁾ Moreover, Sainent lived in a different section and could not claim land miles away from his own farm just because his cattle had grazed there for a long time. Using land as pasture, according to Champion and many other farmers present, could never lead to having exclusive rights over that particular land. Another farmer present, named Musonda Kapitolo, expressed the point of view held by most farmers in Nchimishi concerning the relationship between communal grazing and the rights to land, when he said the following:

'I do not agree with what Mr. Sainent and his wife told us. Cattle cannot own land. At the court they will never accept such a idea. You have given your cattle to a herdsboy whom you pay K1,800 for three years' work. If that herdsboy does not mind those cattle properly, if he is careless and your

run a commercially-oriented farming enterprise depends to a large extent upon the assistance and labour of his wife, his children and the other members of the farm. In the Nchimishi context it is unlikely, however, that a man can rely upon their assistance if he does not acknowledge the rights of his wife and children to his personal property and land. In other words, it is not only in the interest of the wife and children, but also in the interest of the husband that, after his death, the land will be inherited by the remaining members of his conjugal family. A man who wishes to preserve his land for his wife and children is likely to invoke norms which stress the right of the individual to decide over the transfer and future use of his own assets including land, or he may adhere to (for instance, religious) norms which emphasize the bond between the members of the conjugal family. In the same situation, this man may defend his interests and the interests of his wife and children by pointing to the gradual change in values, norms and practices surrounding and concerning inheritance, but he may also refer to changed settlement patterns or government policy concerning land and the inheritance of property. On another occasion, however, the same man may claim a parcel of land which belonged to his brother or maternal uncle by invoking matrilineal norms, by using matrilineal ideology as a strategic resource. I also found that when it comes to the inheritance of land, individuals who defend their claims on the basis of their membership of a particular clan or group of matrikin often do this by referring to the history of occupation of the land, by emphasizing past discourses and conflicts, whereas members of the conjugal family of the deceased tend to stress that their right to the land rests on the fact that they cleared, stumped and cultivated the land. In other words, land as an economic resource is not usually considered in isolation from its past, that is to say, from traditional social relationships and norms or from human resources invested in the development of the land (see also Miers and Kopytoff 1977).

The use of matrilineal ideology as a strategic resource is much more than an automatic application of rules to 'standard' situations to which they have been applied for many generations. As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the inhabitants of Nchimishi have managed to extend matrilineal ideology to include the rights to land, as land gradually developed into an increasingly scarce resource and valuable economic asset. This means that a system which in the past was people centred, a political system therefore, is being transformed into a system which is materialistic, where prestige is derived from control of an economic resource, the access to land, rather than, as formerly, from the number of a leader's followers (see also Guyer 1981: 125). In other words, with the gradual emergence of land as an economic resource, the matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance has to some extent been transformed into a system with an important economic component.

This chapter has also shown that individuals or groups of people in Nchimishi may have recourse to a number of other strategies to gain access to land, to support their claims or defend their interests. The act of choosing a tract of unoccupied land unclaimed by others, and cultivating part of that land, is generally regarded as establishing rights over it. This does not mean, however, that farmers who have settled in the more remote and sparsely populated parts of Nchimishi are always able to control vast areas. According to many respondents, the rights of an individual to the unoccupied

land which surrounds his or her farm buildings and fields gets weaker the further it is from his or her farmyard and fields. Clearing, stumping and cultivating land is seen as a way of establishing inalienable rights over it. Farmers who have access to the plough, a large labour force, or enough capital to hire labour, are therefore able to control larger tracts of land. Making fields at what one considers to be the farm boundary, or allowing others to settle near that boundary are also considered to be efficient strategies to defend and preserve the remaining land.

Applying for title deeds has proved to be a successful strategy in a number of cases to gain access to vacant land, and also to land which is inhabited and cultivated by others. The Kash Chipilingu case shows, however, that, if a farmer proves to be unable to develop his land, having title deeds does not prevent other farmers from encroaching upon his land.

Although individuals may operate and manipulate different normative systems and ideologies in different contexts and situations in order to pursue their objectives, nowadays there exists in Nchimishi a widely-shared and frequently-expressed conviction that now that land has ceased to be a free good, unambiguous rules and procedures are needed to regulate the rights to, and the inheritance of, land, rules and procedures which will put an end to the insecurity of tenure which often leads to, or results from, sometimes endless negotiations and long-standing disputes. The demand for rules and procedures is, I think, partly the result of an awareness that in the near future arable land in the less densely populated areas will also become scarcer and thus valuable, due to population increase, the further diffusion of the plough and expansion of commercially-oriented farming. Already, the amount of land a farmer controls contributes, albeit to a limited extent, to a farmer's social status and power within the community, since it sets a limit to his potential income from farming.

Not only do many men and women in Nchimishi share the conviction that clear rules are required in relation to the land issue, but it also seems that a kind of consensus is gradually emerging regarding the content of these rules. An increasing number of farmers believe that, irrespective of the occupational history of a tract of unused land, the person or persons who have cleared, stumped and cultivated the land should be allowed to decide who will inherit it. Since 87.5% of all farms in the area are composed of the conjugal or three-generation families, this means that in a majority of cases a man's wife, children or grandchildren are eligible to inherit the farm land. Only in cases where the wife and children for some reason do not wish to inherit the land (for instance, because they have their own farm) or where a man has founded a farm and is working with one or more of his brothers or sisters is it felt that a man's siblings or other close matrikin should have preferential access to the land of their deceased relative.

Many respondents argued that not only is too much time wasted in trying to solve land and boundary disputes, but the insecurity of tenure tends to hamper agricultural development. Greater security of tenure would not only motivate farmers to invest more labour and capital in their land, but also provide an inducement for wife and children to help to clear and cultivate the land.

The idea that land should belong to those who cultivate it, or are able to cultivate it,

also helps to explain why considerable numbers of men and women believe that one should not try to preserve very large tracts of unused land for a long period of time for children or parents who are absent because they are living and working in the urban areas. These respondents felt that if children want to inherit the land they should return to Nchimishi well before their father's death in order to occupy and develop the land. If children continue to be absent, land should be given out to farmers who need land and who are able to cultivate it. Another conviction which seems to be gaining ground in Nchimishi is that farms should have clearly defined boundaries and that these boundaries should be the result of negotiations and agreements.

These shared convictions, norms and values are not without consequence, but have a strong impact upon behaviour, upon all actions related to land and land holding. The pattern which emerges when these actions are aggregated shows that, in an increasing number of cases, a man's children and wife inherit the farm land and that more and more farmers try and, indeed, succeed in creating clearly demarcated boundaries. It also shows that the amount of land a farmer can control is determined less by claims based on membership of a particular group of matrikin and on the history of a particular plot than by his or her ability to cultivate it and by his or her skill to reach clear agreements with neighbours concerning farm boundaries. In other words, it seems that the amount of land a farmer can control is increasingly determined by a farmer's access to productive resources, such as labour, capital, oxen and the plough, which are needed to develop this land and cultivate it.

These actions in turn play a role in the reproduction and the strengthening of these relatively new views, norms and values. Many farmers when explaining what had convinced them that a man's wife and children should inherit his land, pointed to the developments and new practices with regard to land and rights to land, or referred to particular cases or situations (see, for instance, the remark made by Kash Chipilingu with regard to Jackson Makofi's land).

The fact that increasing numbers of wives and children inherit land indicates also that the link between matrilineal ideology and rights to land will probably prove to be a rather short-lived phenomenon, especially as it does not seem to be reproduced in the less populated parts of Nchimishi. The inheritance of land by wives and children can be seen as a reflection of, and at the same time as leading to, the increased importance of the economic ties between the members of the conjugal family, particularly between a father and his children. According to some respondents, the inheritance of land by wives and children may, therefore, play a role in dismantling the whole matrilineal system of inheritance, especially when land becomes an even scarcer and more valued economic resource in the near future. This development, however, threatens to undermine the position of those women who want to divorce their husband and establish their own farms, since their children may prefer to remain with their father instead of following their mother.

Notes:

1. Despite the fact that in the event of divorce it is usually the wife and children who leave the farm.
2. Land and boundary disputes are usually dealt with within the section but, as a last resort, the chief, who can grant land rights, has to solve this type of conflict.
3. Zebron Bulwani (1C4) made the following remarks concerning the boundaries of his farm (see also Map 12.1):
 'My landholding is very big, so it's difficult to make clear boundaries everywhere and in my case it's not necessary. For example, Nelson (1D7) Chibuye is occupying my land, but there is no reason to demarcate a boundary between our farms because he is my nephew and married to my daughter. There is also no need for a boundary between Lupalo village and my farm. We are one, because Lupalo (1B11) is my uncle (mother's brother, H.S.) and my friend. Our fields are interlocked. Some of our fields are on my land and some fields are on Lupalo's (1B11) land. Lupalo can even make fields on my land without asking. But with Chubeck Mabweshi it's different. Some of his fields are on my land. But Chubeck knows where his should end, where the boundary is. If he wants to extend his fields he should first ask me for permission. If there is a conflict I cannot drive Chubeck from his farm because I have no title, but I can take the case to the chief and the chief can ask Chubeck to leave since I was the first to come here to live and Chubeck came later. But he is also a Jehovah's Witness and he has lived on his farm a long time now. That's why I do not want to drive him out. Once, I had a quarrel with Blackson Mulilima. He wanted to move into my land. I took the case to the chief and he told Blackson to relocate, but then I relented so he is still living on that farm. The Fipese (stream, H.S.) is the boundary between my land and that of Mr. Chilemba (1C2).' (L)
4. I was unable to check this but I assume that Kash Chipilingu obtained a freehold, which in 1975 was changed into a leasehold for a period of 100 years.
5. Kash Chipilingu's reluctance to share Lubeya's land with his close matrikin is illustrated by the following remark made by Kasubeti (2D13), the son of Kash's sister, Maweta (2C8) (see Genealogy 12.2). A few years before the implementation of the village and farm regrouping policy (see Map 5.1), Kasubeti and Maweta were given a plot of land along the main road by Kash:
 'This farm is very small, we do not have enough land, but I doubt whether Kash would give us more land, and since I have no wife it's impossible for me to leave this place and make a new farm in the bush. You need a wife to start a farm, because making new fields and houses involves a lot of work. Without a wife, people are not going to allow me to settle in their section. And my mother doesn't want to live far away from her relatives. At the moment I am not in conflict with Kash, but I am afraid to ask him for more land. He does not like us, and he may become very angry. Kash is very selfish and wants to keep all that land for his children. All this land belongs to the people from Lubeya village. That's why I should be allowed to extend my fields, but Kash controls this land and refuses to share it with us: his nephew, his sister. He wants to keep it for his children. He has given land to people from other clans, but he is forgetting his own relatives.
 - So you think this land belongs to the *abena Lungu*?
 No, land does not belong to any clan. All land is from God. In the future, all the land will belong to those who believe in Jehovah. The land is also from the Government. Governments rule people here on earth. The Government can regroup people, divide the land and make boundaries. That's why Kash should act like a headman and allow us to settle on that land.
 - What do you think will happen with Kash's land and his farm when he dies?
 We, his relatives, will discuss what will happen, who should get the land and his property. We will discuss this with his children. I think the children should remain on the farm but the relatives of Kash and Lubeya (2B3) should have something to say about that land.
 - But suppose Kash leaves all his land to his children.
 Relatives cannot drive out those children, because children should have their share. But we, relatives of Kash, are not worried. We know that Kash's place is also our place. So we think: 'Let him continue farming. Kash's children will be given that land, but we will also claim part of that land. We should

- have a share because we used to live in the village before Kash's children were born'.⁹ (L)
6. Mupishi (2C6) Kunda, one of the key persons involved in this conflict, made the following remarks with regard to the behaviour of Mwape Kasungu (2D1) and Frank Senda (2D2) and concerning the use and inheritance of land. Mupishi Kunda (see also Map 12.2):
 'When my daughter came from town to buy sweet potatoes from other farmers, this man, Mwape Kasungu, caused problems. He told us that he wanted to sell some sweet potatoes, so I sent Langson (Mupishi's son, H.S.) to collect him. When Langson came back he told me that he had found Mwape building a farm on our land near Frank Senda's farm. So I went there to have a look. I collected Mr. Chikulu and from his farm we went to my land where we found Mwape cutting some poles. He told us the land had been shown to him by Frank Senda. After we spoke to him we went to Senda's place to find out what had happened, but we didn't find Senda there. So we came back here. Later Senda came home and was told about our visit. He got very annoyed and went straight to Chikulu's farm. He told the people he found there that, as he was the section chairman and from *abena Lungu*, he could drive the Chikulu's from their farm. He also said: "This is my land; I will drive Mupishi from this place. After all, Mupishi has got no house here since he lives near the road. He just wants his children to live here, but they are not from *abena Lungu*". That's why there will be an *akabungwe*. Everyone who has land there should decide upon this matter. But I think that land belongs to me because it's where our uncle, Ba Lubeya, had his village. When I was in town that land was kept for me by Kash. I started farming there in 1972 when I came back. At that time Senda was not living here. Saying that land belongs to people from *abena Lungu* does not mean anything any more. My children cannot be driven from that land by people like Senda who argue that the land belongs to Lubeya's relatives. I am also from *abena Lungu*. Lubeya (2B3) was my uncle (mother's brother, H.S.). So my children can also be called *abena Lungu*. Langson and Geoff should go and live there but the thing is they do not want to move from here. They want to live near the road. Now I want to keep that land for my daughters, but if one of us does not build a house there soon, we will lose that land. The place is very small. I made a field of 2 acres and a *katobela* and Langson has a small field with sunflower and only 1.5 acres of bushes remains between that field and the boundary with Senda. We agreed upon that boundary in 1984, and we cut some trees to mark it. But already, Senda's son is moving onto our land to make fields. Part of the land belongs to me and part of the land Senda showed to Mwape belongs to Chikulu, so he is involved as well. Senda had no right to give it to Mwape, but he wants to drive me away from there. He says that I should stay near the road and cannot have land at two different places, that I do not need it because I am not using all of it. That's our mistake; we have never used and demarcated that land properly. As far back as 1984, Senda warned us that conflicts would occur in the future.'¹⁰ (L)
 7. Pursuant to the Policy of decentralisation and the principle of participatory democracy (see also Ollawa 1979) it was decided in the early 1980's that on behalf of the Commissioner of Lands, the District Councils (see also Appendix 5) should participate in the administration of land. Nowadays, if an individual wants to acquire land on title, he has to be subjected to a very cumbersome procedure. The written authority of the chief and the resolution of the District Council, 'duly passed at a properly constituted meeting' (Lands Department Annual Report 1983: 3) are the basis for any approval of applications for land in the Reserves and Trust Lands. Like the Lands Act of 1975 this procedure was designed to protect the rural population from powerful and rich land seekers.
 8. In Zambia, the status of the land is divided into State Land, Reserves and Trust Land. Reserves were created by the colonial government to protect the interests of the native population. In 1983, the Department of Lands of the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources stated in its annual report that, for practical purposes, there was no need to maintain separate statuses for Reserves and Trust Land: 'The legal distinction between Reserves and Trust Land appears to be artificial for our needs in Zambia today. The attitude adopted by the colonialists in the creation of Reserves and Trust Lands has been rendered useless by political and economic development since independence' (Lands Department Annual Report 1983: 1).
 9. In the Lands and Deeds Registry, Chapter 287 of the Laws of Zambia, Section 35, it is stated:
 'After land has become the subject of a Certificate of Title, no title thereto, or to any right, privilege, or easement in, upon or over the same, shall be acquired by possession or used adversely to or in derogation of the title of the Registered Proprietor.'

10. Before an individual can be allotted a plot of land, or is allowed settle in an unoccupied area, s/he needs a farm licence from the chief authorizing the establishment of a farm. Such a farm licence is usually obtained after presenting to the chief a letter of recommendation from the section chairman or the section secretary. The chief can refuse to give out a farm licence if for some reason he considers a person incapable of running a farm and taking care of a family.
11. In 1983, probably not more than four farms were located in Kalemba section, whereas in 1988 I counted twenty-seven.
12. Later I discovered that a few days after the *akabungwe* Esther Mbeshi, accompanied by Lemson Chayi's wife, paid a visit to Matika's wife. Esther told the wife of the section chairman that her husband had to take measures to make sure that George would leave his new farm. This was necessary, she argued, because when George Bulwani's family left Lupalo village and settled at their new farm, developing more land and making more fields, conflicts would be the order of the day. On hearing this, Matika's wife became furious and replied that she refused to intervene with her husband on Esther's behalf.
13. The son of Mrs. Portie, one of the cattle owners, pointed out during the discussions at Chilemba's farm that his mother's animals were not accustomed to eating clothes but, for some reason, seemed to prefer a diet consisting of other people's maize and millet. He added, however, that his mother's animals formed part of a larger herd and if it was proved that cattle had eaten Champion's clothes his mother also had to contribute in compensating Champion because according to an old Lala saying: 'He who accompanies a thief is also a thief' (*'uwenda kabolala noa wine ni kabolala'*).
14. Mudala Chisenga (1D1), my research assistant and a son of Mr. Chilemba (1C2), made the following remarks on the Champion case:
 'The land where Champion has his farm belonged to *abena Mbulo*. But now the land belongs to him because, when he came here, there was only bush. He made his own fields. But Sainent and others want to drive Champion out because he set up his farm where their cattle graze. They also say they were the first to use that area and that Champion established his farm and his fields without their consent. But my father told them that they could not drive Champion away because he was given that farm by the *abena Mbulo* and because the chief allowed him to establish that farm.' (E)

Chapter 13

Jehovah's Witnesses revisited

Part I: Changes in ideology and social practice

Introduction

An important dimension of social change in the Nchimishi area has been the growing number of congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses who, by the mid-1960's, constituted 19% of the total adult population.¹⁾ The sect has a long history of proselytizing in Chibale stretching back to the mid-1920's and experienced its greatest expansion from the 1940's onwards (see Fields 1985). One striking feature of Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi in 1963-64 was their innovativeness. They were among the first to respond to new agricultural technologies and opportunities for generating a cash income within the locality. They were quick to separate from their villages to settle independently, and they were generally more literate. Proportionately more of them fell into the category of 'better-off' farmers and shopkeepers, or earned a cash income practising non-farming skills such as bricklaying, carpentry or tailoring (Long 1968: 245-9).

Membership of the Jehovah's Witnesses has continued to grow over the past two decades. Baptized and non-baptized members now make up about 30% of the total adult population and have founded several new congregations. Although they are considered to be good farmers, they no longer constitute the core of the economic elite: in fact, none of Nchimishi's large-scale commercial farmers belongs to the sect (see Table 13.1 and Appendix 6). On the other hand, they are as ready as ever to improve their agricultural techniques and to experiment with new crops. The recent development of irrigated gardens is an example of this. These gardens, where a range of vegetables is cultivated for sale in local and urban markets, were initiated by Jehovah's Witnesses who pooled their agricultural knowledge and experience. The Witnesses are also very active in the bean trade, buying from local farmers and selling on the Copperbelt, and many continue to derive a cash income from non-farming skills such as house construction.

This final part of the book, then, focusses upon the main themes of the Nchimishi restudy: processes of agricultural change, farm and resource management practices, changing patterns of economic differentiation and changing gender relations. In these last two chapters, however, I approach these issues from a different angle to show how, for instance, the religious ideology and ethic of the Jehovah's Witnesses influences the

way in which the members of the sect manage their farming enterprises, and how their ideology and ethic affects the relationship between spouses. In other words, I try to show how particular parts of the lifeworld which Witnesses in Nchimishi share are responsible for the fact that they form a distinct group within the area, and how this distinction finds expression, for example, in the way decisions are taken at the household or farm level, in the sexual division of labour and the present pattern of economic differentiation in Nchimishi. Apart from showing how the ideas and actions of the Witnesses give shape and direction to the various change processes mentioned above and elsewhere in the book, I also try to show how in turn these change processes have had their effect upon their religious ethic.

This chapter examines ideology and social practice among Jehovah's Witness farmers in Nchimishi. The original study undertaken by Norman Long in 1963-64 analyzed the differential responses shown by different social groups within the local population to changing circumstances and to agricultural development, and highlighted the important socio-economic role played by Jehovah's Witnesses in this process. An important focus was that of delineating Jehovah's Witness ideology and practice as compared with the world views, social conceptions and patterns of behaviour associated with other social actors (see Long 1968).

Table 13.1: Hybrid maize sales in 1988 by individual farmers who were older than 24 years of age (in December 1988).^{*1)} (percentages in brackets)

BAGS OF HYBRID MAIZE SOLD IN 1988	JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES (BAPTIZED AND NON- BAPTIZED)	NON- WITNESSES
0 BAGS	12 (23.5)	41 (35.7)
1-10	6 (11.8) ^{*2)}	25 (21.7) ^{*2)}
11-30	20 (39.2)	21 (18.3)
31-60	8 (15.7)	17 (14.8)
61-150	4 (7.8)	8 (7.0)
150+	1 (1.9)	3 (2.6)
TOTAL	51 (100.0)	115 (100.0)

^{*1)} If a farmer cultivated hybrid maize together with husband or wife the sales figure is divided by two

^{*2)} See also Appendix 6 tables 1-4

In addition to Jehovah's Witness ideology, Long (1968: 207-18) identified other clusters of norms and values that were also oriented towards interpreting and coming to terms with changes brought about by agricultural innovation, migration to the Copperbelt, and by the rise of UNIP as a local and national political force. Such normative clusters were often expressed by contrasting the cultural model of the 'townsman' (*mwina tauni*) with that of the 'villager' (*nchimishi*, or if used derogatorily, *kamushi*) (Long 1968: 163-99), or in terms of attitudes towards UNIP as the vanguard of political change as compared with the longer established role of Jehovah's Witness congregations in the area (Long 1968: 154-7). Weaving in and out of these differing social images and ideologies were ideas concerning Lala *amafunde* (rules of conduct) and notions about 'Lala traditions' and 'ways of doing things'. These various social perceptions of change and continuity did not constitute fully articulated and integrated systems of beliefs or values; rather their meanings emerged situationally through the strategic action of individuals.

This chapter takes up this issue of actors' models by analyzing the coexistence and interpenetration of various shared lifeworlds, of differing socially constructed conceptions of 'reality' as manifested by Jehovah's Witnesses on the one hand, and non-Witnesses on the other. Although, as I shall argue, Jehovah's Witnesses espouse a distinctive ideology which in many ways has remained the same as that described for the 1960's, its content appears to have become more differentiated in terms of the meanings which different categories of members attribute to it. At the same time, some of its central elements have spilled over to influence the behaviour and conceptualizations of non-Witnesses.

My argument draws upon theoretical contributions to the analysis of how cultural ideas constitute, and are themselves reconstituted by, social action (see Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979, 1984; and Holy and Stuchlik 1981). The argument is based on the premise that social events (whether composed of everyday routines or spectacular ritual performances) cannot adequately be understood simply as the 'enactment' or 'execution' of certain beliefs or social and moral conceptions (Kapferer 1983: 6-7; Fabian 1985: 146). Social interaction is at one and the same time framed by existing typifications and ideal conceptions shared by the members of a culture, and also the means by which new 'ways of thinking about things' or new social meanings are generated. Hence, ideas and actions are indivisible, making up a common ongoing discourse on and in the social world.

If we accept this line of argument, it becomes impossible to posit the relationship between beliefs or values and social action in a generalized way. The social meanings and coherence of particular world views can only adequately be understood through an examination of the ways in which culture is produced and reproduced or transformed in specific social situations. Hence, when characterizing particular cultural models and normative aspects, one must situate them in terms of their meaningful praxis, defined by reference to certain social encounters or problematic situations, and not treat them as abstract logical systems. The analysis, then, focuses upon the character and interrelationships of what Bourdieu (1977: 37-8) might call the 'practical' ideologies of Jehovah's Witnesses and non-Witnesses.

The chapter is organized as follows. I first provide a characterization of the four

dominant cultural models identified for the 1960's, arguing that over the past two decades they have become more sharply profiled and more evident in everyday discourse. Subsequently, I offer an account of the influence exerted by the Jehovah's Witnesses upon various processes of agrarian social and economic change that occurred between the early 1960's and late 1980's. This provides the backcloth for an analysis of the differences in farm organization, management and development among Jehovah's Witnesses as against non-Witnesses. I also explore how social divisions reflecting contrasting cultural configurations give rise to differing social networks and alliances, both within the 'community' of Jehovah's Witnesses and beyond.

The final section of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of changes in the ideological discourse of Witnesses. Here I argue that, in comparison with the 1960's, there is now greater use made of official authoritative literature on doctrine and ethic by those responsible for congregation affairs (i.e., by those whom I term 'the inner circle'). Paradoxically, however, this, as I show in Chapter 14, has undermined rather than furthered the development of consensus amongst members over the interpretation and significance of Biblical 'truths' and edicts, resulting in a pattern of socio-religious differentiation.

Contrasting cultural models

In *Social Change and the Individual*, considerable attention is given to showing how Jehovah's Witnesses adopt different cultural standards from others and rationalize these by reference to their beliefs (Long 1968: 200-36). Also, as pointed out earlier, Long describes other cultural models used to categorize different actors and forms of social practice (Long 1968: 163-99). The restudy revealed that the same models, albeit more explicitly articulated, continue to be relevant to the contemporary situation. An illustration of this is Jonas Benson Mwape's account of social and cultural change in Nchimishi. A retired miner, Jonas is now a successful farmer and an active member of the local congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses. According to Jonas:

'The most important change in this area has been that people moved from the villages to the farms. Most farmers are independent these days. In the villages there was no development, people had only one idea. Now people live on different farms and people think differently when it comes to farming. That is why new ideas come in. In the village there was no competition, so everybody stayed at the same level. Now there is a lot of competition. Everyone wants to start new things. Everybody works for himself nowadays, selling maize at the depot. People there compare their results with the results of other farmers. Also at the agricultural shows you can see who is a good farmer and pick up new ideas. Some places are backward. There, the people do not listen. But here people even get new ideas from as far away as Tongaland. Then other farmers start copying from you. In backward areas, people do not copy new things from each other, but here, if you visit other places, you bring in other ideas from other people, like beans from Tanzania. Money has changed everything. You can see the difference between Nchimishi and other places. Here people are always after money. Also the youth are different; they all want oxen. Before independence, people would help you free of charge. Beer drinking was free of charge. Now everything is controlled by money. Money has become the most

important instrument. The rules have changed because of money. Before independence, if a woman died when she was pregnant, you had to give her family a goat, but now people have to give money. Jehovah's Witnesses follow their own system, and they are different when it comes to the rules. Jehovah's Witnesses are united. Wherever they live in this world, they follow the same rules. We follow international rules. If my wife dies when she is pregnant, I cannot pay her relatives. I cannot follow that Lala system. Here we have different systems: the Jehovah's Witnesses have their system, but you can also find our traditional Lala rules, and also the rules of the Government. A lot of new rules were also introduced by people who had worked in town or in South Africa. Jehovah's Witnesses are different from people who follow other systems. I have been in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and I visited some white farmers who were Jehovah's Witnesses, like Mr. Goldwin and Mr. Parker. Their farms were different. The way they treated their workers was different. Like in Nchimishi, the way Jehovah's Witnesses manage their farms is different. You can see this when you visit their farms. The difference is that the Jehovah's Witnesses follow the rules of the Government when it comes to farming, but we also follow the rules from the Bible. We combine them, and this results in good farms going in a good direction. Jehovah's Witnesses do not need a captain. They just work on their own.' (E/L)

The English word 'system' used in the above text by Jonas Benson Mwape was also used by others when contrasting Lala *amafunde* with other normative domains. This notion of 'system' conveys the idea of a cluster of norms, values, conceptions and ways of behaving that are seen to stem from a common source. Jonas went on to explain this in more detail:

'Before independence, you got most of your guidance from the clan and Lala traditions. In those days, the clan was very important; it was like a shield for people which guarded you. But now, people, especially those who belong to a church, do not consider the clan to be important any more. Now there are so many different rules and different systems. There are different sources: rules can come from the church, from politics or from town. You can choose from different systems, because nowadays people live on farms and can decide for themselves.' (L)

Occasionally, respondents would point to particular farmers as examples of those guided by different normative conceptions; and the same four 'systems' (i.e. those linked to church, state, town and Lala tradition) cropped up in group discussions on morality and social standards.

Lala Amafunde and Traditions

The model that came most frequently to the fore in such discussions concerned shared understandings, values, norms, convictions and practices that were said to make up, and derive from, Lala customs and traditions. These latter comprise, among other things, the political organization of the Lala chiefdoms, certain agricultural methods, the ways individuals express themselves, discuss certain issues and greet each other, the ways they sit and eat together, the way people are related to each other, educate their children, bury their dead, inherit property and settle conflicts, but also the way a man 'keeps his wife' and pays respect to her, and to his or her relatives. When discussing these *amafunde*, people often associated them with the social space comprising the *nsaka* and the kitchen (*chikeni*).

In the villages, only the men would sit, eat and talk in the *nsaka*, whilst the women sat in their kitchens. As I stated in Chapter 11, the young men of the village received their education in 'traditional' matters in the *nsaka*, mainly under the tutelage of their grandfathers, although the mother's brother also played a role. The education of the girls took place in the kitchen under the guidance of the senior women. It was in the *nsaka* and kitchen, then, that *amafunde* were passed on, for instance through the telling of folk tales and proverbs. Older persons claim that now that people live on farms often consisting of a single conjugal family, this close contact between children and grandparents has in many cases become less frequent. Nowadays, it is a frequent sight to see the elderly sitting alone in the *nsaka* while the young gather together in a separate group with their age mates from neighbouring farms or they pass the time of day sauntering around Nchimishi Centre and along the nearby access road. In this way, it is argued, much knowledge concerning Lala traditions is being lost, and many youngsters are questioning the value of Lala customs.

The 'Town System'

In describing what a number of respondents called the 'town system', certain rules, values and practices said to be associated with life on the Copperbelt are pointed out. These ideas and standards are assumed to have been introduced by returned migrants. Notwithstanding the fact that labour migration to the towns has almost come to a standstill, a considerable number of Lala from Nchimishi still reside in town, although decreasing job opportunities in the 1980's have forced many young people seeking work to return to the countryside (see also Chapter 6). These returned migrants, together with those who decided against leaving for the Copperbelt, often present a different view of farming, considering it more a means of earning cash than simply a fact of rural life. As one young farmer with secondary education explained:

'Most people here were born farmers (cultivators, H.S.), but it was my choice to become a (cash crop, H.S.) farmer; it is my career. I could have worked in town. That is why we follow different systems and why we differ in ideas. They (local cultivators, H.S.) are afraid to take a risk. They have money but fear the weather.'(E)

Teenagers returning from town are closely questioned by their contemporaries about town life: about jobs, new fashions in dress, discos and music. And when describing the influence of town life on Nchimishi, the younger generation mostly emphasize the following: the freedom they have nowadays vis-à-vis the older generation as compared with a few decades ago; the opportunities that exist to develop their own individual life style without being bounded, brought 'back in line', by traditional rules; the similarity between the ways in which leisure time is spent in Nchimishi and in town (there are beer parties and *sundownis* where music and dancing takes place and where one can interact with one's peers); and the increasing similarity of the topics of conversation in town and country.

Older people often compare town ways with what they see as 'traditional' Lala

custom. Many of them share the conviction that social life in Nchimishi has become more individualistic and that there is no longer a place for helping others, such as neighbours, but especially clan members and kinsfolk. According to Jonas Benson:

'In the old days, people would help you freely, but now everything is controlled by money. Everything has to be paid for. Money has become the most important thing these days, and all this came from the towns, from the mines in Northern Rhodesia and South Africa.' (L)

As I show later, the 'town system' is often associated with a more progressive attitude or with younger persons irrespective of whether they have an urban or a rural background, whilst the 'Lala system' is often equated with a more conservative outlook on life and with the older generation. In other words, these two 'systems' are more frequently used to describe and summarize a person's ideas and behaviour rather than to refer to the personal history of individuals.

Previously, after marriage, a man would live and work at the village or farm of his in-laws, but nowadays he will normally continue to cultivate his own fields as well. In addition, the period during which he remains with in-laws is much shorter, and some rich farmers now give money to their in-laws so as to discharge themselves formally from the obligation of working for them. Marriages, it is said, were previously arranged by parents, but now young people choose their own partners, sometimes without even informing their parents. It is further argued that elders no longer receive the respect (*umushinshi*) they deserve and that the importance of matrilineal relationships has diminished, especially in regard to inheritance. Nowadays, the assets of a deceased father often pass to sons rather than to younger brothers or to sisters' sons. These and similar changes are usually explained by the encroachment of town values introduced by returning migrants.

One commercial farmer, who had lived some years in town, made the following observations on country folk as compared with those who, like himself, had recently returned from town:

'A lot of people here think their capacities are limited. They follow their traditions. It's a vicious circle: they follow their system, so they do not learn anything, so they remain poor. The farmers who are doing well have an 'upstairs' (mental outlook, H.S.) that is open. The others see things in a very limited way. The majority don't know much about farming, about anything. That is why we need basic education. A lot of people do not have broad ideas about the future. I do not know which way they are going, their ideas are limited.' (E)

These comments echo the account of the lively debate about the relative merits of rural versus urban values that erupted during the visit of Abel, the townsman, and his wife to Nchimishi in 1964, reported in *Social Change and the Individual* (Long 1968: 166-99; see also Chapter 6).

The 'UNIP System'

The concept of the 'UNIP system' is used to distinguish the rules that originate from

the Government, the Party or government agencies, although it may also be applied to the ways in which UNIP members and officials behave at political meetings and to the type of discourse or rhetoric they use. Rules relating to the sale of maize to the marketing cooperative and to the acquisition of loans from government credit institutions are included, since a link with the cooperative or any other government agency is associated in people's minds with the UNIP system.

The United National Independence Party is organized at the local level in sections comprising between ten and twenty-five households in Nchimishi and headed by a section chairman. Sections are grouped together to make a branch, in this case Nchimishi Branch, and several branches, in turn, constitute a Ward, headed by the Ward Chairman. Membership at the Ward level includes a women's league and a youth league. Yet, despite this organizational structure and a history of struggle against colonial rule, there is at present little active grassroots interest or participation in UNIP. Indeed, at times a degree of indifference or cynicism is expressed about the Party and its ability to make major improvements in the lives of local people. In fact, people usually make no clear distinction between the Party and the Government. When commenting on government-provided services, such as the school, the local maize depot and the farmers' cooperative, it is usually remarked that 'UNIP brought these things'. Similarly, they often do not discern the difference between the roles of government functionaries and party officials.

The Jehovah's Witnesses

Although one meets a substantial number of people living in Nchimishi who claim allegiance to the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), when talking of religious matters respondents usually have in mind the religious practices of Jehovah's Witnesses. The reason for this is not only because the Witnesses form the largest religious group in the area but also because their life style sets them apart from the rest of the population. Later, I shall describe in detail how precisely they differ. Suffice it to say here that the rules of the Jehovah's Witnesses originate from Biblical exegesis and are elucidated thematically in the magazines of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. For example, the 'proper' conduct of husband and wife in marriage is regularly discussed in *The Watchtower* and *Awake!* magazines and in book-length publications, where Biblical evidence is given for the views advanced (for a detailed description and analysis of the doctrine of the Jehovah's Witnesses, the history of the sect and its organization, see; Hoekema 1983: 223-371; see also; *Jehovah's Witnesses in the Twentieth Century*. 1978 and; *Jehovah's Witnesses - Unitedly Doing God's Will Worldwide*. 1986). Such texts serve to guide the attitudes and behaviour of Witnesses. As one Witness put it: 'A Witness tries as well as possible to live by the rules of the Bible, out of love for Jehovah and out of a desire to serve His name' (E). At the same time it is important to stress that even non-Witnesses - both non-churchgoers as well as those belonging to the UCZ - often use concepts, expressions and biblical sayings that derive from the Jehovah's Witnesses. Hence non-Witnesses may speak of 'Jehovah' and refer to 'the coming Armageddon' and 'the Last Days'.

'Systems': Their Sources and Social Space

The sources of these different codes of conduct are different. As I explained earlier, the primary source of Lala traditions and *amafunde* is the knowledge and authority of the elders who are charged with the task of transmitting them orally to the younger generation, whereas for the Jehovah's Witnesses the legitimate source of all rules is the words of Jehovah that reach Witnesses through the Bible, the publications of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society which has its Head Office in Brooklyn, New York, and the Branch Office in Kitwe. It is via this formal network of communication that Jehovah's Witnesses are instructed on how to use Biblical sources as a guide to dealing with the dilemmas of everyday life. The Society does not in this sense make new rules; rather it explains, through its publications, how Witnesses should deal with the changing world around them and with the turbulent 'Last Days'. On the other hand, UNIP members look to 'the Party and its Government', the President, and the ideology of 'Humanism' embodied in the speeches of important party officials, as the source of party commitments, guidelines, rules and law.

In contrast, town values and life styles are not so closely tied to specific formal institutions. Instead they are associated with a broad urban arena embracing the towns of the Copperbelt, Lusaka and Central-Southern Africa, where migrants acquire new ideas, norms and values and learn about the life styles of different urban and rural groups. It is here too that they are exposed through mass media to international cultural repertoires. Hence, it is important to acknowledge that when people speak of town life or a 'town system' they do not link this concept to a specific life style or precise set of values. On the contrary, it remains loosely defined as a kind of negative image of all that could be considered 'Lala' and 'indigenously rural', and functions to depict the reshaping (or as many respondents would put it, 'the breakdown') of social life brought about by the incorporation of the population into urban economic and cultural networks.

These different 'systems' or normative domains are often mentioned in connection with particular demarcated social spaces. The Kingdom Hall and its surroundings is the domain of Jehovah's Witnesses; the primary school, the local maize depot and other government buildings nearby, often referred to as 'Nchimishi Centre', the 'homeground' of UNIP; and the ribbon development of settlement along the dirt road near Nchimishi Centre leading to the Great North Road, the place that shows the greatest resemblance to town, since, as one teenager explained:

'When I want to meet my friends I check the roadside. Walking along the road (near Nchimishi Centre where settlement is dense and where important services, such as a grinding mill, are concentrated, H.S.) is like being in town, especially when you meet somebody who is walking with a radio. At the road you meet different people, like those who have been travelling. From them you hear a lot of new things or they give you a newspaper to read. It is always busy there, and you can buy bread or hear where beer has been brewed. Living near the road is different from living in the bush.'(E)

As I mentioned earlier, it is the *nsaka* (and, by extension, the local homestead scene) that is most intimately associated with Lala traditions. It is also the place where people



Plate 13.1 **A Bible study group**

come together and beer parties are held, and so represents an important locale where normative and cultural elements are brought to life and debated in relation to particular social events and dramas. In this sense, the *nsaka* constitutes the meeting place or arena where these various 'systems' intersect.

In concluding this section it is important to stress once more that these so-called 'systems' or normative domains should not be visualized as having a life of their own or as disembodied moral orders upon which actors simply draw in an attempt to put 'order' into their social worlds. Rather they must be considered in relation to the minutiae of social action since they only become meaningful as they are defined and given content in the ongoing processes of everyday life.² Also, although it is of interest ethnographically that Jonas and other local actors tend to reify and over stress the coherence of these contrasting normative 'systems' when explaining the pluralism of local society and the changes taking place, we should not thereby assume that normative definitions and boundaries are clear and unambiguous. Indeed, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter 14, the very ambiguity and flexibility of these normative concepts and domains create room for differential interpretations and strategies that, paradoxically, are the *sine qua non* for the continuing viability of the Jehovah's Witness ideology in Nchimishi.

The Jehovah's Witnesses and processes of agrarian, economic and social change

From village to farm

The above discussion on 'systems' and social space would not be complete without an account of a major change which has occurred during the past twenty-odd years, namely the breakdown of the village as a residential unit in favour of the individual farm settlement.

In the original study, Long concluded that individual Witnesses used their religious affiliation and ethic to justify some of their actions, such as, for example, moving out of their village to establish an independent settlement and refusing to allow matrikin to settle at their farms (Long 1968: 217). In 1963, 74.7% of the Witnesses lived outside the village as against 40.1% of non-Witnesses (Long 1968: 37). At present, only one village remains and over 95% of the total population live on farm settlements.

The Nchimishi Jehovah's Witnesses had religious motives for detaching themselves from the village, for separating themselves spatially from matrilineal kin who did not belong to the faith (see also Chapter 4). The 'official' ideology strongly emphasized the conjugal family, the bond between and the living together of husband, wife and children, disapproving of matrilineal forms of descent and inheritance (Long 1968: 78; *Making Your Family Life Happy*. 1978). To many Witnesses in Nchimishi, living on their own farm with spouse and children meant being able to practise their religion

freely without interference from matrilineal kinsmen and the village headman, and standing less chance of becoming involved in witchcraft cases, fighting, heavy drinking sessions and other practices which they consider to be inspired by Satan. Living on a farm also meant being more independent economically and free of 'traditional' obligations to share with kin, affines or village neighbours the rewards of their agricultural and other forms of labour.

However, it would be too simplistic to attribute changes in the pattern of settlement in the Nchimishi area entirely to the influence of Jehovah's Witnesses, to the impact of certain religious values and convictions. Being among the first to leave the villages, the Jehovah's Witnesses, who often became successful farmers and shopkeepers within a few years, appear to have served as an example to many non-Witnesses. The latter were often persuaded to leave their villages following conflicts with other residents. Long argued that new economic inducements resulted in an increased economic differentiation within a village which in turn often gave rise to tensions and conflicts among its inhabitants. According to Long, matrilineal descent groups, which made up the core of all villages in Nchimishi, were incompatible with cash-crop farming and the accumulation of wealth above subsistence needs. The farm, often based on the conjugal or three-generation extended family, proved to be a more appropriate residential unit for those who wanted to exert more direct and better control over their productive resources and who wished to make their own decisions regarding cash-crop production, exchange, consumption and investment. In other words, the disappearance of the villages in Nchimishi cannot be entirely explained by approaching this issue from an 'idealistic' perspective, by pointing to religious motives, to the religious ideology of the Witnesses. When we examine the fission of villages from a more 'materialistic' perspective, it is clear that the economic aspirations of non-Witnesses and the conflicts over resources and other material assets between matrikin have equally served as important motives to leave the village and establish a farm.

According to many respondents, migration can also be regarded as an important cause leading to the fission of villages. Even in the 1960's, many migrants (both Witnesses and non-Witnesses) who had plans to return to their villages in Chibale feared that their savings would vanish within a matter of months. Apart from that, most migrants had become accustomed to town life and to a greater degree of freedom in the domestic sphere. They had also been used to interacting with people from other tribes. Many townsmen (*mwina tauni*) had then become critical of life in the village which they associated with interference, conflicts among relatives, narrow mindedness and poverty. According to these respondents, the shift in residence patterns must also be analyzed in terms of the opposition between the Lala way of life and that of the town.

Most farmers with whom I discussed the issue agreed with the statement made by Jonas Benson I quoted earlier where he concludes that this breakdown of the village into smaller residential units was one of the most important changes in Chibale Chiefdom. During interviews, it was often emphasized that people have much greater choice when living on their own farms. This is summed up in the words of one commercial farmer who argued:

'The world has changed; nowadays people live on farms. On the farm you can make your own rules, you can be independent. In the village there was one big *nsaka* for all the men so there was only one idea. In the village one was forced into doing things; it was a bad system. The village headman could say tomorrow we are going to the *nkutus* (the temporary shelters in the bush where villagers lived when cutting their new *fiteme*, H.S.) and then we stayed three months in the bush. There was no development in the villages. Now everyone can make his own decisions.' (L)

The issue of choice was further elaborated by Kaulenti Chisenga, a young married Jehovah's Witness farmer:

'Nowadays, it just depends on how you think, the way you take those Lala rules. Everyone can pick rules from different systems and you can make your own rules since you are living on your own farm. You can come up with something new. On your own farm, you are free.' (E)

As Long (1968: 216) documents, the composition of Jehovah's Witness farms was mostly confined to a single conjugal family, sometimes including the parents of the farmer or those of his wife. This contrasted with larger family groupings, based upon uterine siblings or other matrilineal kin, for non-Witness farmers. This trend has continued into the 1980's with a general reduction in the size of settlements as families have continued to split off from each other to form their own independent farms, especially if divided by religion. Fission, or the internal division of the farm into distinct sections, is all the more likely to occur then when activities and priorities draw them apart. This process is illustrated by Kaulenti Chisenga and his wife, Ireen, both of whom are Jehovah's Witnesses, who in 1987 lived together with their three small children at a distance of some ten metres from the settlement of his mother, Kasubika Mandabe, who is a non-Witness. Kaulenti is closely involved with the local congregation of which he is the secretary. As I explain later in more detail, the farming enterprise of Kaulenti and his wife was rather small, at least until 1988, and in 1987 they produced no hybrid maize for sale, though Kaulenti's mother did sell several bags. Kaulenti elaborated, in the following manner, changes in the organizational set up of his farm and the difficulties he encountered living in the same settlement as a non-Witness:

'When you talk about farms, I can say my farm is made up of my fields, my domestic animals, in my case chickens, and my fruit trees. But you can also speak of a farm, meaning a house. You can say: "That house is my farm." Some people say: "That is the farm of Kaulenti and his mother", but that's not correct. We have separate houses and kitchens, but we also have our separate fields and chickens. Some years ago we had one farm, which means, one field, one place to cook, one bathroom and we used the same pots. We always ate together. But now everything is separate. My wife, my children and I are separate from my mother, we only live on the same site. We found that it was very difficult to live as one farm. We have different schedules. My mother is involved in UNIP. She often goes to UNIP meetings, and she also likes to go to beer parties and funerals where she dances. We Jehovah's Witnesses can't do those things. We often go to conventions, and I often sleep at the Kingdom Hall. When we go to these conventions, we need the pots for cooking. Also when we are ready for dinner, my mother may be at a beer party. I get a lot of visitors from my congregation and then we decide to do some work here, so it is good that we can decide on our own eating time instead of waiting for each other. So, as you see, we had a lot of small problems which together made one big problem. There were no (overt, H.S.) conflicts but we decided to separate, also because we just follow different

systems. When my mother receives visitors they are not Jehovah's Witnesses, and there is not much we can talk about. When I receive visitors, my mother is not interested in what they are saying. We are very different. So now that we have separated, everyone is free. Of course we still often help each other. I can work in her fields, make a barn for her. She can give my wife money for the milling machine or to buy salt. We also exchange relish. My wife can draw water for my mother and my mother often takes care of the children. But we like the rules of Jehovah, that is why we like to live on farms where we can be free.' (E)

This example shows how difficult it can be for Witnesses and non-Witnesses to live together since their personal lifeworlds, their time scheduling, leisure pursuits, beliefs, values and interests differ markedly.

Kaulenti tried to create a 'distance' between his family and his mother not only

these persons to reason, to steer the discussion, to change the discourse, the subject and place it in a Biblical context, as it was obvious that Satan controlled the setting. The presence of Satan at, for instance, beer parties and political meetings can be deduced, according to Kaulenti and many other Witnesses, from the fact that these gatherings, contrary to those held at the Kingdom Hall, are often characterized by disputes, conflicts and fights. By instituting a kind of separation, by becoming more independent from his mother, Kaulenti and Ireen hoped to establish a greater degree of control over part of the farmyard, the kitchen and the house which would enable them to invite their own friends whenever they wanted and to avoid uncontrollable situations in which they were confronted with large number of non-believers.

Jehovah's Witnesses explain that, just as Adam and Eve lived alone with their own children, so they too regard their conjugal families as more important than any of their relatives. Kaulenti emphasized that marriage and being together as man, wife and children is the cornerstone of society.³⁾ Most respondents tended to identify the village with Lala *amafunde* and traditions and the hegemony of elders and the village headman (groups of older matrikin) who 'ruled from the *nsaka*' and controlled resources in the village, despite the fact that the basic unit of production was the individual household (see Long 1968: 86-98). In contrast, the farm is mostly identified with a greater degree of freedom, that is, control over resources, the ability to devise independent farming strategies, and the space within which to develop one's own life style. It is also sometimes seen as representing a break with Lala customs, such as inheritance rules, and as creating distance from matrilineal kin.

As I showed in the chapters devoted to gender issues, the transition from village to farm has resulted in an extreme form of individualism as far as agricultural production and household consumption is concerned in the case of many non-Witnesses. In the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses, the establishment of farms has certainly been instrumental in helping them to create stronger conjugal families. According to the Witnesses, it is the Bible which advises them to leave the communities of non-believers (see, for example, 2 Corinthians 6: 14-18). Most Witnesses argued that leaving the villages has helped them to break away from, and express their condemnation of, beliefs and practices which are incompatible with their faith and being a good Christian (see also *True Peace and Security: From What Source?* 1973: 120-31). Creating such a spatial distance between themselves and non-believers, according to these Witnesses, has been instrumental in creating a spiritual distance between themselves and those who, since they were members of the Party or adhered to certain Lala customs or practices, 'followed' other, this-worldly, 'systems'.

Limits to freedom

The freedom gained by the inhabitants of Nchimishi when they started living on farms has resulted in increased agricultural, economic, cultural and religious differentiation. But of course the freedom that people enjoy on their own farms has its limitations. Choices do not take place in a vacuum, and some preclude others. For example, for a Witness it is forbidden to join any political party or to seek political office. But most

farmers are of the opinion that they have considerable freedom in defining their own livelihood strategies. This arises not only because of the multiplicity of alternative normative standards, but also because changes in agriculture have expanded behavioural choice. Despite the thrust towards the adoption of hybrid maize as the dominant crop, a wide range of other crops are grown in a variety of garden types using different cultivation methods. These conditions allow farmers to combine elements in a variety of ways and to take advantage of both old and new technologies. In so doing they, of course, contribute to the further increase of behavioural alternatives. On the other hand, the existence of a wider spectrum of choice leads to a certain sense of uncertainty, a feeling one farmer expressed as follows:

"This is a good chiefdom because there is a lot of development. But where this development will take us I don't know. We are leaving our Lala traditions and we have started to follow the road of development, but the future is not certain'. (E)

This uncertainty can result in conflict or negotiation between individuals or groups, or, alternatively, may give rise to the formation of new groups and new types of cooperation.

Farmers are faced with a diversity of social interests, both internal and external to the farm household. Thus, any decisions they make can have consequences for other members of the farm as well as for neighbouring farmers or more distant kin. The widespread occurrence of land disputes, which are now much more prevalent as good agricultural land becomes scarcer, underscores this point by indicating that the decision to extend one's area of cultivation necessarily affects the interests of neighbours. Moreover, friendships between farmers involving, for instance, the exchange of farm products, labour, capital and knowledge create mutual obligations. Therefore, although farmers, including those who belong to the congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses, may live more independently than previously, they remain enmeshed in complex social networks involving co-residents, neighbours, friends, relatives, co-religionists or party members, and locally-resident school teachers and government officers. This intricate pattern of social relationships both enables and sometimes hinders or prevents particular courses of action. Farmers share and obtain knowledge and try to reduce the feelings of insecurity and doubt when they meet each other at gatherings, such as funerals, political meetings, the Kingdom Hall, informally when visiting each other.

Alongside these social claims and commitments, there exist other factors that facilitate or limit choice. For example, many management decisions, such as the timing of agricultural tasks, are strongly affected by the weather conditions, with many farmers choosing not to seek loans for fertilizers due to unpredictable rains which can seriously reduce maize yields. In addition, farmers have to contend with rules and standards laid down by Government. The price of maize and fertilizer, and the conditions for obtaining credit were mentioned as the most important of these. Farmers also stated that they are dependent on government agencies for the timely arrival of fertilizer, maize seed, empty grain bags, and for the dissemination of information on new maize varieties and crops. Finally, many farm decisions are precluded by the lack of essential resources

such as land, labour, capital and specific agricultural knowledge.

Some other changes

Besides their impact upon the important changes in the settlement pattern, the Jehovah's Witnesses seem to have had a substantial bearing upon some of the other striking change processes that have taken place in Nchimishi over the last decades. In Chapter 4, I mentioned the fact that the Witnesses, through being the first to adopt these new technologies and crops and by serving as an example to many non-Witnesses, have played an important role in the diffusion of the plough and the cultivation of cash crops. The Jehovah's Witnesses have also played and are still playing an active role in the gradual dismantling of the traditional matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance.

Long shows that even in the early 1960's the Witnesses used their religious ethic in many situations to justify the repudiation of ties with their matrikin and to shirk traditional obligations towards these relatives (Long 1968: 239). Moreover, even in those days, Jehovah's Witnesses vigorously rejected the traditional practices concerning the inheritance of property. At present, the Witnesses continue to refer to official church publications (see for instance; *True Peace and Security: How Can You Find It?* 1986: 165-8) to explain to others their conviction that one has to respect the individual ownership of property and land, that matrikin cannot claim property and that every man has the right to appoint his own heirs and leave all his assets to his wife and children.

Although the religious ideas of the Witnesses have had (and still have) a profound impact upon the socio-economic behaviour of the members of the sect and although the Jehovah's Witnesses have played an important role in bringing about and giving direction to processes of change, the previous chapters have shown that besides the religious ideology of the Witnesses a wide variety of factors have played a role in changing the agrarian, social and economic landscape in Nchimishi: factors and processes such as population growth, ecological change, formal education, migration to the towns of the Copperbelt, urban employment, the availability of investment and

should be treated as specific historical events with multiple and cumulative causes: causes (as they have had an effect upon the actions of individuals and groups) which, as the settlement example shows, may lie in the domain of religious values and ideas, but at the same time also in the domains of economic change and (structural) conflict. Later in this chapter I try, drawing on Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber 1989), to analyze in more detail the influence the ideology of the Witnesses has had upon the non-Witness population, and the way these men and women run their enterprises. In other words, I intend to analyze the more indirect impact of the ideology of the Witnesses upon the agricultural and economic development of the area.

Jehovah's Witnesses and their farming enterprises

I now try to answer the question posed implicitly at the outset of this chapter, namely why Jehovah's Witnesses over the last decades seem to have lost their prominent agricultural and economic position within Nchimishi. I shall approach the problem from two different angles. First I examine the impact of the religious ideology upon the farm management practices of the Witnesses. In Part 2, I discuss the significance of UNIP membership and having access to certain social networks.

PART I. Choosing between farm and congregation

The 1960's : Reaching the Level of Basambashi

The reason for the Jehovah's Witnesses' innovativeness and success in farming (see, for instance, Chapter 7, the Blaison Makofi case) lay in the fact that they were convinced that through hard work, the use of improved methods of cultivation and by raising their standards of living materially and spiritually, they were preparing themselves for their life and tasks within the New Kingdom of God (Long 1968: 210; see also Hoekema 1983: 223-344; *Our Incoming World Government - God's Kingdom*. 1977).

Commercially-oriented farming enabled them to aspire to a life style which set them apart from those who had failed to respond to the message of the New Kingdom. Such a life style they characterized by reference to the concept of *basambashi*, which was used to describe someone who had reached a reasonably high standard of living, who dressed well, ate well, possessed plenty of furniture and other items of property and who was attentive to the spiritual and material needs of his family (Long 1968: 209, 215). They emphasized that all Witnesses should struggle to reach the level of *basambashi*. Their prominent economic position in the community was witness to their success in this aspiration. For example, individual Jehovah's Witnesses owned the only two diesel engine grinding mills and four out of the six motor vehicles in the parish.

Also, proportionately more of them possessed cattle and farming implements and various consumer items, such as radios, Western type furniture, sewing machines and brick houses. (Long 1968: 38, 247-8).

In trying to characterize this orientation of Jehovah's Witnesses, Long spoke of a 'this-worldly' ethic which focused on individual achievement and self discipline, an ethic which held all Witnesses responsible for their own actions. Yet although the Jehovah's Witnesses did not consider wealth in itself to be evil, farming was not viewed simply as a means to support a life of luxury and self-indulgence. Indeed the ethic of the Witnesses also contained ascetic elements: money, instead of being wasted on cigarettes and beer, had to be invested wisely and used to improve the spiritual, social and economic situation of the family. Hence, Jehovah's Witnesses did not consider their secular life style as being separate from, but rather as an extension of, their religious ways.

The 1980's: finding the right 'balance'

By providing a case study, I show the impact of the religious ideology of the Jehovah's Witnesses upon farm management practices. The account that follows also shows why it has become more difficult, compared with the early 1960's, for many young Witnesses to establish commercially-oriented farming enterprises and to become owners of cattle and 'modern' farming implements.

Laying a foundation: Kaulenti Chisenga's farm

Kaulenti Chisenga was baptized at the age of seventeen in 1975 while living in Kabwe with his mother and father. In 1977, Kaulenti's mother, Kasubika Mandabe, decided to divorce her husband and return to Mukopa (see Map 1.1). Besides helping his mother to stump and prepare her gardens and fields on the new farm, Kaulenti managed to stump a small field for himself in November 1977, and he started cultivating hybrid maize. With money given to him by his mother and money which he had earned in Kabwe, Kaulenti bought three bags of fertilizer and some maize seed. In July 1978, he sold eight bags of maize to the local depot. He planned to extend his fields the next season and buy a larger quantity of fertilizer and seed with the K58 he had received for his first crop. After Kaulenti's mother remarried, however, she and his stepfather decided to move to a new farm site, and much time had to be spent stumping new fields and preparing new *dambo* gardens. At the new farm site, Kaulenti, who while living in Kabwe had become very interested in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits, decided to make an orchard with mango, banana and guava trees close to the nearest *dambo*. In March 1979, at the start of the dry season, Kaulenti and his stepfather started to make bricks for the new farm buildings, and in April Kaulenti was asked to go to Kabwe to buy the nails needed for the construction of the roofs. Upon his return, he was informed by his mother that they had changed their plans and instead of building the new farm they had decided to make an *nkutu* somewhere in the forest and cut a *citeme* garden. Although he considered the production of crops by using *citeme* methods a sheer waste

of time, Kaulenti followed his parents. The family stayed for a whole year at their *nkutu* and in that period Kaulenti managed to cultivate six tins of groundnuts for sale and also sold small quantities of rape and tomato which he had cultivated in a small *dambo* garden. That year, 1979, Kaulenti married Ireen. Instead of turning the *nkutu* into a permanent farm as they had told Kaulenti, his parents decided in 1980 to move to a new site where they intended to stay for a prolonged period and where Kaulenti could pursue his objectives of stumping a large field where he could cultivate hybrid maize and making a large vegetable garden near the *dambo*. Since Kaulenti and Ireen did not have the money to hire labour and oxen and to purchase seed and fertilizer, the couple decided that while Ireen would remain in Mukopa to harvest their *citeme* garden and *katobela* and to sell the tomatoes from their vegetable garden, Kaulenti would seek employment on the Copperbelt. He left for Kitwe where he worked for National Breweries for two weeks after which he managed to obtain several other temporary jobs. Kaulenti Chisenga:

'I worked for several private industries. When I was working for one of these companies, the owner, a white man, asked me if I could paint a very large water tank. He gave me money to buy paint, oil, brushes and steel brushes. I worked very hard and finished the job in just a few weeks. My boss was very happy. He gave me K10 and allowed me to take the paint that remained and all the other things a painter needs. That's how I became a painter. I bought some colour powders to make different colours and then I started going through town, shouting: "Painting, painting". I made a lot of money, more than K200. When the paint was almost finished, I was asked to paint my uncle's house. I was living with him. He is one of Jehovah's Witnesses too. Then a good friend of my uncle who worked for the City Council asked him if he knew somebody who could make concrete blocks. My uncle said: "Yes, I know just the man you need". But the fact was that I knew how to make traditional bricks (made of clay, H.S.) but nothing about making bricks with cement. That's why my uncle quickly taught me how to do it. My uncle's friend asked me to make 70 bricks each day, but I made 150. So he was very pleased. He paid me K300 and asked me if I was interested in becoming a bricklayer. He asked another bricklayer who worked for the Council to train me. I learned how to place door and window frames, to mix cement, and to fix galvanized iron sheets. Then I continued working for the Council. The street where I was working was busy, so I met a lot of people who wanted me to work for them. I even bought a diary to write down all my appointments.' (E)

After ten months, Kaulenti received a letter from his wife who asked him to return home and bring with him various household goods. Instead of returning with enough capital to engage in cash-crop farming, Kaulenti complied with his wife's request as he felt that, being a Witness, he first had to take account of and fulfil the immediate needs of his family, his wife and first born child. Having bought a bed, a mattress, blankets, a cupboard, a radio, a wheel barrow and finally shoes and clothes for the whole family, he spent a great part of the remaining cash on transport. Soon after his return to Mukopa in September 1981, Kaulenti and Ireen settled at Ireen's mother's farm. With their remaining K70, the couple intended to cultivate hybrid maize, but unfortunately, just after Kaulenti had prepared a large *cisebe* where he had interplanted hybrid maize and tomatoes (a very unusual combination), Ireen's mother decided to move to her brother Matika's farm in Nchimishi (see also Chapter 5). Matika promised to assign Kaulenti a large enough tract of undeveloped land for the couple to start cultivating hybrid maize in November 1982. However, Matika, who apparently feared that his

sister - with whom he did not get along very well - Kaulenti and his niece would become permanent residents of his farm and in the future possibly occupy large parts of his farm land, only showed them a small plot which formed part of one of his old fields.

In March 1983, Kaulenti asked Matika for more land. This time he was shown quite a large tract of undeveloped bush land. Soon after he had started stumping trees, Matika's neighbour Musonda Six came over to Kaulenti to tell him that apparently without Kaulenti's knowledge and certainly without Musonda's consent, Matika had shown Kaulenti a part of Musonda's land. Kaulenti had to withdraw from Musonda's land and decided to cut a field somewhere 'deep in the bush' where no one could trouble him. In the meantime, the K70 was used to pay the mill owner and to purchase various household necessities. To earn the cash they required to purchase inputs, Kaulenti started making bricks for Chilindi Swiss who had recently returned from Ndola. Chilindi, a Jehovah's Witness, needed 10,000 bricks since he intended to build a large urban-style house. After completing the job, Kaulenti was paid K40. A few weeks later, he was asked by Chubeck Mabweshi, another Witness, to build a small house for which he was paid K15. With this amount of money, Kaulenti and Ireen purchased two bags of fertilizer in October 1983. Since they did not have enough to buy hybrid maize seed as well, the couple was forced to plant Lala maize. As a result, the harvest was low and only seven bags, which realized K135, were sold to the Nchimishi depot in August 1984. Before the start of the rainy season in November 1984, Kaulenti was asked to make 8,000 bricks for a man called Jackso Chibuye, a retired miner who had just returned from the Copperbelt. Part of the K106 Kaulenti received was used to buy goods for the kitchen. In April 1985, a few months after moving from Matika's farm to Lupalo village where the group had joined the farm of Kaulenti's mother (Kasubika Mandabe), Ireen and her mother told Kaulenti that they had the intention of returning to Mukopa. This time, however, Kaulenti, who had become 'sick and tired' of having to move all the time following either his mother or mother-in-law, refused. Earlier that season (in November 1984) Kaulenti had bought six bags of fertilizer with the money he had earned through brick making and now in April the maize was growing extremely well. In the end, only Ireen's mother returned to Mukopa.

In August 1985, the couple produced thirty bags of maize of which twenty-five were sold to the depot. The remaining five were retained for home consumption. The harvest of beans had also been rather good, and the money obtained from the sale of the three tins was used to buy a blanket from Musonda Chunga's shop in Kofi Kunda.

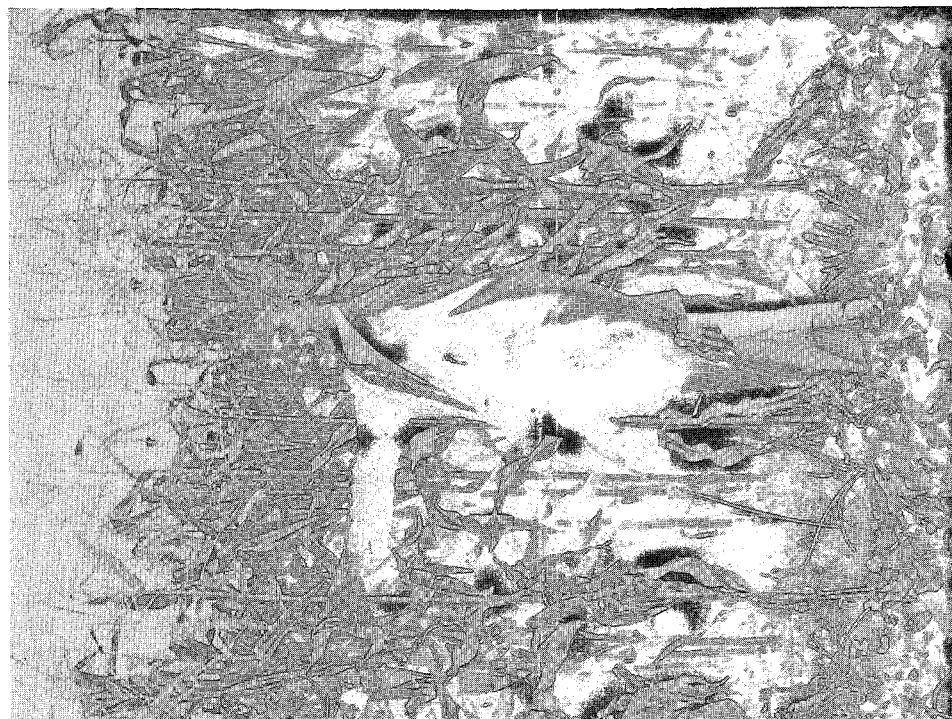
After receiving their maize cheque in September 1985, Ireen and Kaulenti sat down together to discuss the investments and expenditure they had to make. Kaulenti wished to invest their income in fertilizer and seed so that within a few years they would achieve their goal and be able to buy their own oxen and a plough. Ireen, however, asserted that a large part of the money was needed to buy clothes for herself and the children, and she added that Kaulenti also needed some new shirts and ties because he - as is required of all Witnesses - needed to look smart and clean when going out to preach from door-to-door. After long discussions, the couple decided to spend their money on clothing with the result that at the start of the rainy season no money was left

to purchase fertilizer and seed. The next season (1986-87) also, the family lacked the means to buy any agricultural inputs.

Bricks, bread and beans

In early February 1987, Kaulenti told me that respecting the wishes of his mother and mother-in-law and following them whenever they had decided to shift to a new farm site had prevented him from 'laying a good foundation' for his farming enterprise and from saving enough capital to engage in the cultivation of hybrid maize and to fulfil the immediate needs of his family. But the fact that he and his wife were both Jehovah's Witnesses also formed part of the explanation. Instead of keeping their cash to make investments in their farming enterprise and to buy inputs, Kaulenti and Ireen at times had decided to purchase consumer durables, neat clothes and necessary household goods. Although in general Jehovah's Witnesses were thrifty, Kaulenti argued, they also honored their (short-term) responsibilities towards their families and the congregation.

With their decision to remain in Lupalo village, he and his wife had finally become more independent. Lupalo had shown them a large enough tract of land for them now to formulate their own strategies without any outside interference. Now they had the chance to 'lay a strong foundation' (later in this chapter I explain the concept 'foundation') so in the not-too-distant future they could achieve their (long-term) goals: the purchase of iron sheets for roofing, cattle, a plough and if possible an ox cart. Kaulenti and Ireen developed several strategies, a set of activities that would help them to raise the capital they needed. First of all, Kaulenti continued to use his special skills in 1987 and occasionally made bricks and worked as a bricklayer for other farmers. He expected that with the deepening of the economic crisis in Zambia a lot of migrants would return to Nchimishi, migrants who would all be in need of houses. A second activity in which both he and his wife were engaged was the cultivation and sale of runner beans. In 1987, Kaulenti also got involved in the bean trade. In February, he started exchanging K36 worth of soap, salt or cooking oil for one tin of beans (normally sold by farmers for K50 to traders from the Copperbelt). The salt, soap and Saladi (cooking oil) were bought in Serenje, while the beans were later sold in Kitwe. Kaulenti, using his own money and K500 he borrowed from a few friends (all of them Jehovah's Witnesses), managed to buy twenty tins from different farmers in the area. In Kitwe, he sold thirteen of these at K80 per tin. With part of the profit of approximately K175 (after repayment of loan and deduction of K188 transport costs) Kaulenti purchased wheat flour and yeast and started baking bread for sale. With the proceeds, he again bought salt and cooking oil in Serenje and once more these supplies were exchanged against beans. In April, he sold these tins, together with the seven tins remaining from his first exchange, to Musonda Chunga in Kofi Kunda. As the 'bread business' started booming, Kaulenti even considered making an arrangement with Mupishi Kunda, a fellow Witness and the only local shopkeeper, to sell his bread through Mupishi's shop. Kaulenti also experimented with the sale of tea (for 10 Ngwee per cup) and a home made soft drink he called 'Fanta' (also for 10 Ngwee per cup) and which was made out of water, sugar and the passion fruits he cultivated. In front of his



house he installed a table and several chairs where customers, in most cases young piece workers who had finished work for the day, could sit to eat some bread and have a drink. The idea of earning cash by selling home-made omelettes filled with rape and groundnuts did not turn out to be a success since, with the exception of some returned migrants and the school teachers, people did not, according to Kaulenti, have a refined taste and refused to spend much money on something that could not even 'satisfy' them. A shortage of yeast and wheat flour of sufficient quality (according to Kaulenti some of the shopkeepers in Serenje mixed the wheat flour with the much cheaper maize mealie meal) and the fact that he could no longer borrow a friend's bicycle to get new supplies in Serenje, forced him to abandon the 'bread business' as well as the sale of tea and 'Fanta'. Ireen continued earning some cash by occasionally selling another soft drink, *munkoyo*, to women and children who had to wait in line to get their maize ground at the nearby hammer-mill. Being a Witness, Ireen (who was baptized in 1983) felt she could not engage in the more profitable beer-brewing business.

In 1987, horticulture proved to be a reliable source of income. Although the garden, where such vegetables as tomatoes, rape and cabbage were cultivated, was rather small and each day had to be watered by hand, Kaulenti hoped in the not-too-distant future to make a larger furrow-irrigated garden. Such a garden would not only produce a larger variety and quantity of vegetables but also considerably reduce the required labour input.

Part of the proceeds from the various income-generating activities were used to buy an axe, a hoe, a new pounding mortar, small quantities of food (mainly millet, cassava, Irish potatoes, mangoes and bananas) (all these items and the food were purchased from or exchanged with other local farmers), and clothes and household necessities such as an extra blanket for the children and pots for the kitchen (all bought in Serenje). Nevertheless, enough money was raised and retained (approximately K900) in 1987 to hire labour and oxen, purchase hybrid maize seed and six bags of fertilizer (three bags of D compound [3* K80] and three bags of urea [3* K65]) towards the end of the year. An additional nine bags were bought with money that Kaulenti borrowed from one of his friends (see also Note 9 in Chapter 5). The 1988 harvest in Nchimishi was extremely good and Kaulenti and Ireen also had a good harvest of which they sold 58 bags to the Nchimishi depot (see also Chapter 5 and Table 13.2).

The Fipese congregation and the outside world

Although they had become independent and able to make their own decisions, several new problems arose which once more made it difficult to generate more capital by continuing to cultivate hybrid maize. As I explained in Chapter 5, the family had to leave Lupalo village in 1988, thus forcing Kaulenti and Ireen to develop new land, prepare new fields and build new houses. Another reason why Kaulenti and Ireen continued to face difficulties developing their farming enterprise is that while Ireen needed time to devote to their young children, Kaulenti became increasingly involved in the Fipese congregation. He had become not only a pioneer minister, which involves devoting at least 90 hours each month to the ministry, and an elder, but later also the

secretary of the Fipese congregation, the reading instructor of one of the Bible study groups and the coordinator of the congregation for the District Convention. At one point the couple even considered not continuing to cultivate hybrid maize in the future, since this activity demanded too much of Kaulenti's time, especially during the ploughing and harvesting season, and tended to interfere with his obligations to the congregation. Even the daily maintenance of the vegetable garden sometimes proved to be difficult to combine with his various responsibilities towards the congregation to which he devoted, depending upon the amount of work that had to be done, between 20 and 45 hours a week. For instance, when Kaulenti and his family spent a week in Serenje at the Jehovah's Witness District Convention in 1987, most of his vegetables withered.

Table 13.2: Hybrid maize cultivation: income and expenditure for Kaulenti and Ireen (August 1987 - August 1988)

Income	K	K
58 bags (90kg) maize @ K80		<u>4,640</u>
Expenditure		
Fertilizer	1,015	
Seed	183	
Hiring oxen	140	
Hiring labour	50	
Transport costs:		
1) from field to farm	150	
2) from farm to depot	150	
Empty bags	50	
Total	1,738	4,640

Kaulenti and Ireen regarded hoe agriculture and the hiring of others to plough for them as a kind of transitional phase in the development of their enterprise. As said earlier, their long-term goal was to purchase their own oxen, a plough and an ox cart. Having their own oxen and ox cart had the advantage that it would enable them to bring the vegetables Kaulenti would cultivate in his large irrigated garden (see Chapter 5) to the main road or even to the Great North Road immediately after harvesting.

Kaulenti provided different explanations for the fact that he and many other young Witnesses had such difficulty accumulating the capital needed to purchase cattle and 'modern' farming implements, why they had difficulty 'laying a strong foundation' for

their farming enterprises. He pointed to some causes which, so to say, lie outside the group of Witnesses and their doctrine. It was (at least until 1988, see Chapter 6) more difficult for Jehovah's Witnesses to obtain a loan from one of the parastatal institutions. This, according to Kaulenti, is mainly due to the fact that it is local party officials who make a first selection among all applicants and who often remove applications made by Witnesses, as they consider Witnesses to be against the policy of UNIP and the Zambian Government. According to Kaulenti, however, by discriminating against the Witnesses, who are not allowed by their religion to join political parties or vote in elections, it is these party officials who act against the policy of the Government which aims at making the country self sufficient in food and which tries to make farmers increase their marketable production. Kaulenti emphasized that, as far as agricultural loans are concerned, there exists a marked difference between young Witnesses and young farmers who belong to UNIP, as these farmers usually face few difficulties obtaining loans and other kinds of government assistance.

Kaulenti also argued that some Witnesses felt that they were sometimes discriminated against by the party members who ran the local farmers' cooperative. I indeed found that Witnesses, when compared with non-Witnesses and party members in particular, often faced more difficulty buying fertilizer and empty grain bags when these were in short supply. In 1988, for instance, Kaulenti and Ireen finally obtained the empty grain bags they required only because Kaulenti's mother, an active member of UNIP and like Kaulenti a member of the cooperative, approached some of the party members in charge of dividing the recently arrived consignment.

Young Jehovah's Witnesses, according to Kaulenti, also face more problems finding land as some section chairmen, in some cases staunch members of UNIP, do not allow 'Watchtowers' to settle in their section, especially if these Witnesses are very active within their congregation.

Rich parents, poor parents

The lack of time available to them for farm work and the lack of cash needed to purchase inputs is, Kaulenti often argued, in particular felt by those young Witnesses who, like himself, have no wealthy parents to whom they can turn for assistance (see also Chapter 7). Unlike some young farmers who receive financial assistance and learn sophisticated farming knowledge from their parents who also allow their children to use their oxen and farming implements, many young Witnesses as well as non-Witnesses have to rely upon their own strength, their own 'power'. Moreover, in his case, Kaulenti asserted, his parents had often, albeit unintentionally, 'destroyed' the plans he had to establish a foundation for his farming enterprise.

Although many young farmers cannot fall back upon the capital and assistance of their parents, brothers, matrikin or parents-in-law, most non-Witnesses can at least devote a lot of their time to farm work. Time available for carrying out farm work is a resource lacked by many young Jehovah's Witnesses who were baptized before they were able to generate capital, before they established a 'foundation' for their farming enterprise. This is especially true for those Witnesses, such as Kaulenti, who are heavily

involved in their congregation. Kaulenti Chisenga:

'In the past, Jehovah's Witnesses were the best farmers because they did not fully understand the Bible. But now we have more books so we can really follow all the rules. People like myself who are pioneers do not have very big farms. They find it difficult to make a good foundation and to buy cattle or a scotch cart. They spend a lot of time in the field ministry (preaching from house to house, H.S.) and at the Kingdom Hall. They do not have the time to become big farmers. If I had been helped by my parents, or if I had prepared my foundation before I was baptized, I could have become a big farmer. Kalunga (a young commercial farmer, H.S.) has always been helped by his mother and some of his rich brothers and sisters. Agnes Changwe (Kalunga's mother, see Chapter 8, H.S.) has oxen and a lot of farming implements and she has always allowed Kalunga to use them. You see, if people such as Kalunga or Kashulwe (see Chapter 6, H.S.) decide to become Jehovah's Witnesses, their business can continue to prosper because they have a lot of money in the bank and can hire others to do much of the work for them. They are like managers of a firm, but my wife and I have to do all the work ourselves. When you have children, when you are baptized before you have made a foundation and when you feel there is a lot you can do within the congregation, it's difficult to become a big farmer. You spend a lot of time on the congregation and the little money you get you need to spend on your family. That's why we (Kaulenti and Ireen, H.S.) have nothing: no cattle, no plough, no money.' (E)

Finding a 'balance'

Apart from using such shared concepts as 'power' (a concept which I discuss later in this chapter and which can best be described as a person's physical and mental force or energy) and 'foundation', Kaulenti Chisenga tried to explain, by reference to the concept of 'balance', the fact that he, his wife and many other young Jehovah's Witnesses had relatively small farming enterprises and faced difficulty developing these. According to Kaulenti, time is a scarce resource which needs to be divided carefully in order to be able to meet the social, economic and spiritual needs and obligations of the family. Parents have to spend time with each other and their children, and have to reserve time to educate these children and to fulfil various social obligations towards family members, neighbours, friends, relatives, etc. A family also has financial obligations (for example school fees), needs shelter, food and clothing, and therefore needs to spend time on income-generating activities. Finally, a family who belongs to the congregation has spiritual needs and obligations towards Jehovah and the congregation. A person, a family, therefore, has to balance, to measure carefully, the time spent on these various activities. Spending a lot of time on farm work and other income-generating activities is, Kaulenti argued, good only as long as it does not have a negative repercussion on the time one has available to spend on the family or the congregation. Finding this balance in life has become more difficult in recent years according to Kaulenti. As a result of commercial agriculture and the competition which exists among farmers, many women and men, most of them non-Witnesses, feel tempted to spend 'too much' of their time on the cultivation of cash crops, sometimes even neglecting the cultivation of non-marketable food crops which keep the family diet varied. Many parents, and fathers in particular, do not take proper care of their families as they are preoccupied with their personal economic and social interests, spending their money at beer parties together with friends instead of buying clothes for their children.

The attention they pay to their family and their congregation, according to Kaulenti, to a large extent explains why Jehovah's Witnesses cannot be found either among the group of very poor farmers or among the group of very rich and successful ones, but it also explains why he and many other young Witnesses - when compared with non-Witness age mates who equally do not have parents or relatives who provide assistance - take longer to develop their farms and encounter more difficulties. This applies especially to those young Witnesses who have taken up many responsibilities within the congregation. If he and the other young pioneers and elders used much of their 'power' to become successful farmers, Kaulenti pointed out, they would become unable to serve Jehovah as they did and take proper care of their families. During some conversations Kaulenti even went a step further, arguing that by attempting to become rich, irrespective of whether one could maintain a 'balance', one was in danger of gradually, maybe unintentionally, turning away from Jehovah, getting caught up in the competition that exists among farmers and slipping into a materialistic outlook and approach to life.

According to Long, male Witnesses who started farming in the early 1960's when they were in their twenties or early thirties soon joined the ranks of the most successful Nchimishi farmers who owned and used oxen and ploughs. When I asked Kaulenti to compare himself and the other young Witnesses with Jehovah's Witnesses, such as Blaison Makofi (see Chapter 7 and Long 1968: 67-72; Long uses the pseudonym Daiman), who appear in Long's case studies, he confirmed the conclusion I reached in Chapter 6, namely that in the 1960's it was relatively easy for a farmer or someone who possessed special skills, such as bricklaying or carpentry, to save enough money over a period of two to three seasons to purchase a pair of oxen and a plough. He added that most members of the congregation were not very aware in the 1960's of the importance of finding the right 'balance' in life as, at that time, there were far fewer publications available to the Witnesses in Nchimishi and only a few elders could read. As a result, many of them were 'too much' involved in farming and many even believed that achieving economic success was a way to prepare themselves for the New Life (see also Long 1968: 207-11 and *Look! I Am Making All Things New* 1986).

Today, the Witnesses who started farming in the fifties, sixties and early seventies, that is before the economic crisis that struck Zambia towards the mid-1970's, are often the most wealthy and, as far as farming is concerned, the most successful members of the congregation. They share this position with some elderly Witnesses who returned home from town in the seventies or early eighties with considerable savings, with some farmers who established successful enterprises before they were baptized and finally with a number of young Witnesses who established their farms with the assistance of parents, matrilin or parents-in-law. Unlike many young Witnesses, such as Kaulenti Chisenga and Ireen, they can fulfil all their religious and social needs and obligations without jeopardizing the further development of their farming enterprises as they often have the money to hire others (Witnesses as well as non-Witnesses) to work for them.

Like many other poorer Witnesses, Kaulenti often emphasized that in the eyes of Jehovah it does not matter whether a person is rich or economically successful or not, as long as s/he takes proper care of her/his family and fulfils her/his religious duties. However, as I show later there exist within the local congregation of Witnesses different

ideas with regard to what constitutes a 'balanced' division of time.

Commentary and analysis

The account presented shows, as I already concluded on the basis of quite different material in Chapter 5, that farm and farm management strategies and decisions are not informed only by ecological, agricultural or economic factors (for instance market incentives), as various social and (in this case) religious considerations and factors may play an important role as well. Moreover, the case study shows that if a person is baptized prior to having laid a 'foundation' for his farming enterprise, the fulfilment of religious needs and duties may seriously affect the further development of the farm.⁵

When Jehovah's Witnesses were asked in 1987 to explain why they now occupied a relatively lower position on the agricultural and economic scale than they had in the 1960's, a number of explanations were offered. Besides pointing to external causes such as the inaccessibility of certain networks or lack of useful contacts, many respondents sought, as Kaulenti did, for answers within the boundaries of their doctrine and congregation.

According to the younger generation of Witnesses, many brothers and sisters had, in the past, given too much time and attention to secular work; in their quest for tangible assets they had wittingly or unwittingly neglected their religious duties and had spent too little time building up their family spiritually. They argued that many Witnesses had in fact not lived according to the principles of the Bible during the 1960's. They pointed out, for example, that although Witnesses have a strong ban on smoking (in this context Witnesses often referred to 2 Corinthians 7:1 and Romans 12:1; 6:19), many of them were among the largest Turkish tobacco growers in the 1960's (see also Long 1968: 246). These statements were often meant as a direct criticism of living members of the older generation and especially of those who at that time had been elected as congregation servants and who were thus expected to set a good example.

Another point of criticism was that the older generation had been not only too involved in worldly affairs but also unable to detach themselves from the Lala *amafunde* and traditions. Hence, it was argued that those who had been responsible for the affairs of the congregation, the so-called 'Three Committee' (Long 1968: 204-7), often ruled over the congregation rather like a village headman would over his village. As one Witness, named Dennis Changwe, said:

'A servant, for that was how an elder was called previously, could say "This congregation is mine", and whatever he intended to do to any member, he could do it. He could, for example, give an office to a relative who belonged to the congregation. You see, in those days they were not only guided by the Bible but also by Lala traditions. They did not realize that Jesus is the owner of the congregation. At that time, they misinterpreted the Bible since they were illiterate. Because they could not read very well, they could not run the congregation according to what the Bible says. They just followed what they thought was best, and since others could read even less, no one could point out to them that they were just doing their own thing. That's why quoting from the Bible is encouraged. For example, lesson 24 from the *Theocratic Ministry School Guidebook* (1971: 122-6) tells us that quoting from the

Bible helps us to remain in close contact with the truth. But in those days they did not know how to express themselves, they used the wrong language, their own language, their own interpretation and in this way they were misinterpreting the Bible.'(E)

These critical remarks of Dennis Changwe underline the fact that, due to higher levels of education, the Witnesses of today have much better access to official doctrine, and, what is more, they have a much larger body of literature at their disposal. Since the 1960's, a large number of books have been published by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society in English and Bemba. Also, magazines like *The Watchtower* and *Awake!* regularly carry articles based on Biblical exegesis that discuss social and moral issues such as those relating to the family and the relationship of man and wife (*Making Your Family Life Happy*: 1978).

According to some elders of the Fipese congregation in Nchimishi, these changes now make Jehovah's Witnesses much more knowledgeable of the Bible and more able to find what they call the right 'balance' between providing for the material, social and spiritual needs of their families, and between work on their farm and their obligations towards the congregation.

In trying to demarcate and clarify this balance, Jehovah's Witnesses often use and even quote passages from the Bible and other publications of the Society. The following passage from the publication *Making Your Family Life Happy* was used frequently:

'A husband who is a good provider of material needs will reflect upon such Scriptural admonition, and besides providing the things needful in a material way will devote time to making spiritual provisions for his family. What's the good of spending so much time on secular work to obtain the material things of life that you do not have sufficient time and energy left to build up your household in a spiritual way?' (*Making Your Family Life Happy* 1978: 46).⁶

Dennis Changwe defined this concept of balance more concretely by arguing:

'There is a difference between someone who has got one acre and someone who has got six acres. The person with six acres will have to spend more time in his fields. So maybe he is not going to have enough time to go preaching from door-to-door, and when it comes to his other duties he will say: "Sorry, but I was busy in my fields". That's not the solution. We Jehovah's Witnesses have to plan and divide our time between our family, our farm work and the congregation. In many Asian countries, such as Taiwan, people carry their luggage in two baskets and they use a stick to maintain the balance. But what do you think happens when the basket in front is heavier? You lose balance and both baskets drop to the floor. The same goes for us Jehovah's Witnesses. We have to balance things and divide our time. Our work should give us food, shelter, clothing, that's enough, and our work for Jehovah should never suffer because of our work on the farm. But if you spend too much time on your work for Jehovah, you will suffer and end up not taking good care of your family. In this way, your work within the congregation will suffer as well. A man should also have time to sit around the fire with his wife and chat about the children.

But twenty, thirty years ago, they paid too much attention to farm work, since they did not have a good understanding of the Bible. They thought that by becoming big farmers they were preparing themselves for life in God's Kingdom, but when you read 1 Timothy Chapter 6 verses 6 to 10, you will see that trying to become wealthy is not the way to prepare yourself. There is no point in trying to become a better farmer than your friend or your neighbour. The competition going on between farmers here is even dangerous, because the Bible says if you think too much about money, it can get

you into trouble. You can even lose faith. It is like in that song of ABBA: "Money, money, money, it's a rich man's world" (Andersson and Ulvaeus 1976). When you talk about money, think and dream about it, you end up with problems. If you have a few acres and if you can take care of your family that should be enough. As one reads in... Hebrews Chapter 13 verse 5, your way of life should be free of the love for money and be happy with the things you have. But even within our congregation there are some who prefer working on their own farm instead of working in the fields of the congregation or going for Bible studies. We try to discuss this with them because everyone should know how to find this balance. If someone has the ability, and he has enough energy, enough power, then he can become a successful farmer, but when a person has not the strength or is very much involved with the congregation it is difficult to develop the farm.' (E)

This account shows some striking resemblances to the comments Long recorded during the early sixties; then, as now, love and desire for money, the pursuit of wealth for its own sake, was found reprehensible (Long 1968: 210). But, on the other hand, when reviewing the attitude Dennis expresses concerning the relationship between farm work and religious activities, between the material and spiritual needs of the family, we detect a change in favour of the latter. Most Witnesses attribute this change to higher literacy and a better understanding of official doctrine.

Balance: farming, social obligations and congregation activities

Present-day Jehovah's Witnesses, when questioned about the fact that they are surpassed, as far as the level of agricultural production is concerned, by a growing number of farmers who do not belong to the faith, not only condemn the element of competition which exists between farmers and criticize the older generation of Jehovah's Witnesses, but also tend to emphasize different parts of the Bible which do not focus so much on secular life styles and individual achievement as on how a Witness should divide his time between, on the one hand, his farm work, his obligations towards his family and his other social obligations, and, on the other hand, his 'work for Jehovah', in other words, on finding the right 'balance' between religious activities and secular life.

It was also often stressed by Witnesses that farming has become a more time-consuming operation now, as compared with the 1960's. The big farmers of today have much larger enterprises and spend more time on farm work and related activities. Time at the farms of non-Witnesses also has become a limiting factor, and many farmers in the area complain about the fact that they have difficulty finding time, especially during the rainy season, for their social obligations (such as going to funerals and beer parties and visiting sick relatives) and for their farm work. According to some Witnesses, these changes explain why the discussion about finding the 'right balance' between the religious and secular aspects of life was bound to arise at some point in time.

The following description, again by the Witness Kaulenti, gives an impression of the heavy commitments of Witnesses, and shows how these can in fact restrain the development of the farming enterprise:

'We Jehovah's Witnesses spend a lot of time at the Kingdom Hall or at our Bible studies. On Sunday, we go to the Kingdom Hall, where we read *The Watchtower*. On Tuesday, we go preaching from

door-to-door. On Wednesday afternoon, we go to our Bible studies. Thursday is the day that we work (in Jehovah's Witness work parties that hire themselves out, H.S.) to earn money for the congregation. We work from seven o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon. Sometimes we work on the farm of a Jehovah's Witness, but we also work for others, and there is plenty of work to do. Especially in the rainy season, we often work two days a week. We never say no to anybody, and people like to see us working for them, because it's very cheap and they know that we work very hard. We want to show to others what it is like to be a Jehovah's Witness and work with other brothers and sisters. Of course we (also, H.S.) have to work in the fields of the congregation. At home you have to prepare for Bible study, especially when you are, like me, the reader of a group. So you see, it is very difficult to find time for your farm. If you have a big family with sons-in-law, then they can help with the work when you are at the Kingdom Hall. If you have enough capital, you can of course hire people to work for you. But only those (Witnesses, H.S.) who stayed many years in town have enough money and can have big farms.' (E) (see also: *Jehovah's Witnesses - Unitedly Doing God's Will Worldwide*, 1986: 14-5).

Differentiation within the Nchimishi congregation: 1) The 'inner circle'

Besides the activities mentioned by Kaulenti Chisenga, in which in principle all Witnesses take part, there are various offices within the congregation that have to be filled, such as secretary, treasurer, instructor for the Theocratic Ministry School, and the person responsible for organizing the schedule for door-to-door preaching. These 'elders' are expected to be 'moderate in habits, sound in mind, orderly, hospitable, qualified to teach, and reasonable; not being a lover of money; presiding over [their] household in a fine manner' (*Jehovah's Witnesses - Unitedly Doing God's Will Worldwide*: 12; see also: *The Watchtower* September 15, 1989: 10-25; and Long 1968: 201-7).

The so-called 'pioneers' also belong to what might be called the 'inner circle' of the congregation and, like the elders, are expected to spend more time on activities connected with the congregation than other baptized members (called 'ministers' or *bakasabankanya*). Although it is recognized that ministers might have obligations which prevent them from devoting a lot of time to the congregation, they are encouraged to aim at becoming 'pioneers' (i.e., those that dedicate themselves to at least 90 hours of door-to-door preaching per month). Neither elders nor pioneers receive any salary or allowance, and these Witnesses usually do not have as much money to spend on themselves, but,

...they receive many blessings. Just being able to talk to others about God's Word for 90 hours or

argued that these older Witnesses were able to invest in farming implements and cattle because they had amassed, in many cases before being converted to the faith, sufficient capital during their stay on the Copperbelt. They were now able to combine a successful farm with their duties towards the Congregation. In contrast, this group of young Witnesses are in a different position. Some specialize in the cultivation and sale of runner beans, and each of them earns additional income from non-agricultural skills (bricklaying, carpentry, tailoring, baking bread, etc.) and from trading or working for other farmers. Since job opportunities in the urban areas are greatly reduced, such local income-earning activities - which require little or no financial investment - are the only way for farmers to save enough capital to purchase oxen, farming implements, and other inputs such as fertilizers and seed.

A majority of the congregation's younger elders and pioneers share similar socio-economic characteristics. They are well educated, they do not receive much assistance from parents, close matrin or parents-in-law, most of them have an urban background and run small farming enterprises. They produce only small quantities of crops for sale (mainly beans and vegetables) and have, due to their religious obligations and responsibilities, problems in achieving their long-term objectives with regard to farming: to become engaged in the large-scale cultivation of hybrid maize (many of them share the opinion with most other farmers that maize is an ideal crop which offers good returns and which, at the same time, can serve as a staple food crop); and to own cattle, a plough and an ox cart.

Differentiation within the Nchimishi congregation: 2) Jehovah's Witnesses and the 'work-ethic'

Of course, not everyone is so motivated by their responsibilities as a Witness. Indeed, there are Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized) who regularly give priority to work on their farm, and many young Witnesses who are not pioneers or elders spend most of their time trying to 'lay a foundation' for their farming enterprise (see also Chapter 14). Only when a Witness repeatedly neglects his or her religious duties does this give rise to discussions within the congregation, between the elders and the Witness concerned. But as Dennis Changwe put it, if someone has enough 'energy' and wishes to work hard s/he can become a successful farmer. And there is a substantial number of quite successful farmers to be found within the group of Witnesses.

Within Nchimishi, Witnesses are known for being hard workers, and they themselves (often by quoting Biblical texts such as 2 Thessalonians 3: 10) frequently refer to the kind of 'work ethic' described by Long (1968: 209-18). 'Jehovah's Witnesses are good farmers.', said one female Witness:

'They depend on the teachings of the Bible. God said to Adam in Genesis, "By the sweat of your brow shall you eat." So we Jehovah's Witnesses receive encouragement at conventions where they discuss such issues and in the Kingdom Hall we are often asked, "Isn't it better to give than to beg?" So we know that we have to work and sweat. If someone begs for something he hasn't worked for, it causes hatred. People who beg very often also start stealing from others. They are lazy and steal the crops they don't have' (L) (see also Genesis 3:19: 2 and Note 6).

'Balance', 'power' and 'laying a foundation' for the farm

In conclusion we may say the concept of 'balance' has two different consequences for the economic position of the Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi as well as for the pattern of economic differentiation in the area. First, because Witnesses value hard work and are urged to take part in the cash economy (by cultivating crops for sale or by developing and using special skills) in order to be able to provide for their families, none of them belongs to the category of subsistence cultivators without a regular source of income. Many Witnesses by reference to Proverbs 30: 7-9 gave expression to the dangers they saw in living in poverty. A poor person not only is unable to take proper care of his or her family, but also may feel tempted to rely upon theft in order to obtain the things for which s/he has not worked. Second, since time is a scarce resource, Jehovah's Witnesses consider it important to achieve a balance between farm work, social obligations and religious duties. This in part explains why there are no Jehovah's Witnesses who belong to the category of largest commercially-oriented farmers in the area. It does not follow, however, that there exists no economic differentiation within the community of Jehovah's Witnesses (Figure 13.1 and Appendix 6 provide some indication of the differentiation among Witnesses and non-Witnesses).

In order to understand these differences in income and farm production it is important to realize that this balance between the physical and spiritual needs of the family is seen as the responsibility of each individual and is a matter to be discussed with members of the family. Only in cases where a Witness is clearly neglecting his or her religious or secular responsibilities is the congregation brought in. Thus the Witness clearly has room for manoeuvre to pursue his or her goals.

Another important concept Witnesses use to explain economic differentiation within Nchimishi or within the congregation is the concept of 'power' or 'energy'. These words are shared and used synonymously by Witnesses and non-Witnesses (see also the description of the *cibunde* garden in Chapter 3, the remarks made by Paul Lushwili and Kaulenti Chisenga in Chapter 5 and finally Chapters 6 and 7) to refer to the amount of physical energy an individual has at his disposal to carry out his work. Hence the amount of 'power' determines the amount of work someone is able to do. The same words, however, are also used to describe a person's mental energy, that is, the devotion and dedication with which an individual pursues his goals. Power is considered one of the most fundamental resources. Just as Adam, on leaving Paradise, had to work in order to obtain bread, so hard work enables a person to obtain all other necessary resources such as stumped fields, farming knowledge, capital, and, where necessary, the labour of others.

Another notion which is often used in this context is the idea of 'developing the farm' or 'laying the foundation for the farm' (see the remarks made by Kaulenti Chisenga in Chapter 5, the statements made by Kashulwe in Chapter 6 as well as some of the remarks made by Frank Mumbulu in Chapter 9). In Nchimishi, a majority of the younger farmers, Witnesses and non-Witnesses, have the objective of purchasing cattle and farming implements such as a plough. But before being able to make these investments, and to change over to the cultivation of hybrid maize on a larger scale, an

individual or a family has to 'lay the foundation'. The often-used phrase 'laying a foundation', according to Kaulenti and other respondents, means saving enough money to purchase cattle and 'modern' farming implements, or at least saving enough to engage in income-generating activities, such as the cultivation of hybrid maize, which enable a person or household to purchase within a relatively short time period (say between three and seven years) all that is necessary to establish a 'modern' farming enterprise. Laying a foundation, according to many respondents, implies that the members of the household establish a kind of routine with regard to their major income-generating activities and that they develop a stable consumption pattern. In other words, it means developing a set of recurring income-generating activities that gradually become more adjusted to each other and the consumption needs of the household. Only by establishing a kind of (weekly, monthly or yearly) routine can individuals and households plan ahead and make sure that each time (say each season) more financial resources can be devoted to the most important and profitable activities. Apart from its financial dimension, the concept 'laying a foundation' also refers to the process of finding and developing fertile farm land, constructing houses, a kitchen and an *nsaka* and to the process of acquiring farming knowledge.

Whereas Witnesses of the older generation were able to lay part of the foundation for their farming enterprises during their years on the Copperbelt, young Witnesses, and especially those who belong to the 'inner circle' of the congregation, no longer have that opportunity.)

The relationship between 'power' and 'balance' is interpreted differently within the local congregations. Many zealous Witnesses, again especially the younger Witnesses holding posts within the local congregation, are of the opinion that, under present conditions, it is almost impossible to find enough time to create a solid 'foundation' to start and run a large-scale farming enterprise without neglecting spiritual commitments.

Some Witnesses go even further and not only highlight the inability of responsible Witnesses, given that time is a scarce resource, to start from scratch and become large-scale commercial farmers, but stress the danger of a one-sided emphasis on career, the single-minded pursuit of economic activities, personal achievement in worldly activities. Trying to become a successful farmer, according to these Witnesses, entails the risk of being caught up in the 'bags race' (see also the remarks made by George Kapi in Chapter 5 and those of Kashulwe Kayumba in Chapter 6). Every attempt to 'catch up' with farmers who do not belong to the faith and who do not have to worry about spending time making spiritual provisions for their family may, according to these Witnesses, lead to the same pre-occupation with numbers, the same materialistic outlook on life as found among these non-believers. It is this fear of being caught up in the competition between farmers that has led to the conviction among this category of Witnesses that ideally a Witness in Nchimishi should not attempt to become rich. Instead of extolling the virtues of being *basambashi* and adhering to a this-worldly ethic which focuses on individual achievement, Witnesses point to the dangers of being dominated by the production of cash crops, the making of money as the ultimate purpose of life. They stress the virtues of not being rich and use the Bible and other publications to support their views.⁹ Some Witnesses of the 'inner circle' went so far

as to state that the devotion of some Witnesses to their worldly activities, their single-minded pursuit of economic status through agricultural production, poses a serious threat to the spiritual well being and thus to the survival of the congregation.

Jehovah's Witnesses and the Weber thesis

In his earlier work, Long concludes 'that, like the correlation that Weber suggested between the Protestant ethic and "the spirit of capitalism", there existed in Kapepa (Nchimishi, H.S.) a close correspondence between the religious ethic of the Jehovah's

(Nchimishi, H.S.) a close correspondence between the religious ethic of the Jehovah's

can only secure a place for himself in Paradise if he keeps the rules of the Bible. Doing the will of Jehovah God is what is required of him. In our religion we do not have the same doubts as these Protestants. How can someone serve Jehovah when he is having serious doubts? God is not cheating us. He asks us to follow his will and if we do just that we can expect to be rewarded. Revelation 1: 3 tells us: "Happy is he who reads aloud and those who hear the words of this prophecy and who observe the things written in it, for the appointed time is near." So the Bible speaks of being happy because those who follow the prophecy are assured of entering Paradise. That's why trying to become rich, working hard to earn more money, and producing more maize and beans, means nothing. It's not a sign of being elected. Following what the Bible says is the only thing that counts. That's why being a Jehovah's Witness is also not a guarantee that one will enter Paradise. The Bible tells us in Matthew 7: 21 that not everybody who says Lord, Lord to Jehovah will enter the Kingdom of heaven, only those who are doing his will. Galatians 5: 19 and 1 Corinthians 6: 9 show very clearly that people with loose conduct, drunkards, fornicators or those who practise spiritism will not inherit God's Kingdom. So just becoming one of Jehovah's Witnesses is not a guarantee. Sitting in the classroom is not a guarantee that one will pass the examination. But God is not examining people through their achievements in business or farming, that's why being a good farmer or business man is not a sign. On the contrary, this competition between farmers you find here is even quite dangerous. This is the time of year people bring their maize to the depot. There you can find people asking each other how many bags of maize they produced this season. These people clearly lack foresight, because they are only interested in bringing a lot of bags to the depot forgetting about the food he, his wife and children need at home. Therefore, I can say this so-called race has got complications in itself. It's meaningless and dangerous. People just think about production, production, wanting to surpass each other forgetting about consumption. At some farms where they produce a lot of maize, there is starvation because parents sell all the crops they have and do not want to waste much time on crops that cannot be sold (this conclusion is supported by an IRDP report on the nutritional impact of agricultural change; IRDP 1986). But we Jehovah's Witnesses through reading the Bible are well aware that we have to think about the needs of our family, the material, spiritual and nutritional needs.' (E)

According to Geertz, an ideology is simultaneously a model of 'reality' and a model for 'behaviour' (Geertz 1973). The Jehovah's Witnesses of Nchimishi indeed use their doctrine to analyze, explain and respond to phenomena and various processes of change. On the other hand, these changes may also have an impact upon the relationship between the doctrine and its adherents. I have shown that Jehovah's Witnesses began emphasizing other parts of their doctrine in an attempt to come to grips with certain changes. Moreover, the Watchtower Society is constantly trying to forge a stronger bond between the doctrine and its believers. By offering an increasing number of publications, such as *Awake!* and *The Watchtower*, in which a large number of social, economic, religious, medical, ecological and cultural changes are discussed, the Society, according to Witnesses, offers them the tools to analyze and respond to the changes they encounter in Nchimishi and the wider world. These publications, and of course the Bible itself, offer the Witnesses the tools to defend themselves against the malicious influence of other 'systems', against the forces of evil, the order of Satan.

As a result, nowadays many Witnesses tend to pay more attention to the spiritual needs of their families and place less emphasis on their farm work. Moreover, many of them reject the religious ethic of the Witnesses studied by Long: an ethic which was oriented towards the practical affairs of everyday living and placed a great emphasis on the need to prepare oneself for the new life by engaging in certain forms of socio-

economic action (Long 1968: 241). It is this transformed ethic that, according to many Jehovah's Witnesses, explains why today members of the local congregation are not among the most successful farmers of the area and why many young Witnesses face difficulties developing their farming enterprises.

However, besides arguing, as Weber does, that a religious doctrine determines the ethic found among believers and therefore has an impact upon their socio-economic behaviour, one could also reverse the chain of causality and assert that the socio-economic situation in Nchimishi, the changed socio-economic position of the members of the sect, has inspired them to look for an explanation in their doctrine, in the Bible. This search has resulted in an emphasis on other aspects of the doctrine and a modified ethic that stresses religious devotion, the virtue of not being rich and maintaining a balance between spiritual, social and economic activities, rather than economic achievement. In other words, the changed ethic can also be regarded as a response of the Witnesses to the actions of non-Witnesses, a response to, for instance, the adoption of the plough and the engagement of increasing numbers of non-Witnesses in the 'bags race' and commercially-oriented farming.

Such an analysis somehow resembles more a materialist or Marxist approach since it implies that the religious ideas found among a group of people are to a large extent determined by the material conditions under which they develop (Kunneman 1985: 53). Indeed this hypothesis seems to receive some confirmation in the next part of this chapter where I argue that certain, what we might call, 'external' circumstances or factors that lie outside the control of the Witnesses, such as, for instance, the discrimination against Witnesses and the fact that they do not have access to UNIP-related networks, can to some extent be held responsible for the fact that the Witnesses are gradually being surpassed in respect of farming by increasing numbers of non-Witnesses.

I agree, however, with some Witnesses who argued that the emergence of a new religious ethic can be regarded as a result of both: A) better access to the doctrine and B) the changed socio-economic position of the Witnesses and the behaviour and actions of non-Witnesses. This section has shown that a religious doctrine may have a profound impact upon the interpretations and ideas but equally upon the social and economic actions of the members of the sect. As I pointed out at the outset of this chapter, however, social events and action cannot adequately be understood simply as the 'enactment' or 'execution' of certain beliefs. As I explained earlier and shall show in the remaining part of this chapter, the social actions of both Witnesses and non-Witnesses do influence the meaning that is attributed to certain aspects of the doctrine. In other words, social action influences the way in which a doctrine is interpreted and reproduced at the local level.

In *Social Change and the Individual* Long, taking the Weber thesis as his point of departure, tries to show how religious ideas influence socio-economic behaviour and the aspirations of the members of the sect (Long 1968: 201). The comments presented earlier show that the Witnesses of today believe that a few decades ago the Witnesses in Nchimishi clearly had the 'wrong' ethic since they were too much oriented towards worldly affairs, towards achievement and success in farming or business. According to

some members of the Fipese congregation, the older generation of Witnesses, due to the lack of publications and the low level of literacy, saw the adoption of new agricultural technologies and success in farming as ways to distinguish themselves from non-believers and to show non-Witnesses what it meant to be a member of the congregation. The religious ethic and socio-economic behaviour Long found to exist among the Witnesses, an ethic which to some extent resembled the ethic and economic behaviour Weber had discovered among the Calvinists, probably obscured the need for him to analyze the more fundamental differences between the doctrines of Calvinists and Witnesses, differences which are crucial if we are to understand why the present-day ethic and socio-economic behaviour of the Witnesses no longer resemble the Protestant ethic of the Calvinist sects in Europe and why the Witnesses today occupy a less prominent economic position in Nchimishi.

The Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi share with the Calvinists in Europe the conception that the moral value of work does not lie in the possibility of enjoying the fruits of one's labour (Abrams 1982: 95). Contrary to Calvinist sects in Europe, the doctrine of the Jehovah's Witnesses does not contain the idea of predestination (*Awake!* October 10, 1987: 6). As a result, the Witnesses do not regard worldly activity as a medium whereby the surety of being one of the elect can be demonstrated. Unlike the Calvinists, the Nchimishi Witnesses do not adhere to the idea that life is a tool to be rationally and methodically used (Abrams 1982: 95), and their ethic does not contain: 'a drive to mastery in a quest for virtue in the eyes of God,' (Giddens 1989: xvi). Therefore, Witnesses are not dominated by the making of money, by the idea that labour must be performed as if it were a calling (Abrams 1982: 95). Nor do they regard acquisition as being the ultimate purpose in life. The reactions to the Weber thesis clearly show that their detailed knowledge of the Bible enables a number of Witnesses in Nchimishi to describe at a rather abstract level the dangers of materialism and of regarding farm work or any other kind of labour as if it were an absolute end in itself. Their ethic stresses the importance of finding a 'balance' in life. But the ethic goes further in setting limits to the expansion of the farming enterprises of the members of the congregation. Witnesses who are able to fulfil the economic, social and spiritual needs of their families are encouraged to become 'pioneer ministers' instead of successful capitalist entrepreneurs. By reference to certain aspects of their doctrine, many Witnesses in Nchimishi repudiate the love for numbers, for money or maize bags, they reject a materialistic outlook and approach to life, and believers often warn each other by reference to the writings of Paul that,

'...those who are determined to be rich fall into temptation and a snare and many senseless and hurtful desires, which plunge men into destruction and ruin. For the love of money is the root of all sorts of injurious things, and by reaching out for this love some have been led astray from the faith and have stabbed themselves all over with many pains.' (*Making Your Family Life Happy* 1978: 45).

'It is not good for the man to continue by himself. I am going to make a helper for him, as a complement of him.' (Genesis 2: 18)

In Chapter 8, I showed that a common arrangement within single family farming enterprises is the separation between the spouses as far as incomes and income-generating activities are concerned. Many Jehovah's Witnesses, however, opt for joint household and farm management and joint decision making. For a better understanding of the relationship between husband and wife and its consequences for farm management practices, we need to look again at the religious doctrine, the way in which Witnesses in Nchimishi interpret certain aspects of this doctrine and how in turn these interpretations are 'used' in, or given form by, everyday life on the farm. Several publications of the Society deal in detail with the relationship between the members of the conjugal family and with the contacts these members (have to) maintain with the outside world, with friends, other members of the congregation, relatives, strangers, etc. The following remarks are made in the publication *Making Your Family Life Happy* (1978), which was often quoted by Witnesses when they tried to explain to me their point of view regarding the way the marital union should be and is given content:

'You will gain respect from your wife if you show yourself steady and strong and able to make decisions. But that does not mean that no one else in the household is to be consulted or that your wife's opinion is not to be given serious consideration just because it does not happen to agree with yours. Early in the Bible record we read about a serious problem in the household of Abraham and Sarah, involving their son Isaac and the son of their servant girl Hagar. Sarah recommended a solution that did not coincide with Abraham's feelings on the matter. But God told Abraham: "Listen to her voice." Genesis 21: 9-12. We are not to conclude from this that a husband should always accede to his wife's wishes. But it can be beneficial to discuss with her those decisions that affect the family, encouraging her to express her thoughts and feelings freely. Keep open the lines of communication, always be approachable, and weigh carefully her preferences in the decisions you make. Never be bossy or tyrannical in exercising headship but manifest humility. You are not perfect, you will make mistakes, and when you do, you will want your wife's understanding. When those situations arise, the wife whose husband is humble will find it easier to respect his headship than will one whose mate is proud.' (*Making Your Family Life Happy* 1978: 43-4).

In the same publication we read:

'Basically, women like to work under a ceiling of authority, provided that it is exercised properly. This is the way Jehovah God created them. Woman was made to be "a helper for the man, as a complement of him." (Genesis 2: 18) But if the supervision is too close, if there is no room to take initiative and use her own abilities, a woman can begin to feel that the enjoyment is being squeezed out of her life, and resentment may develop.' (ibid: 50).

During a discussion with a number of male Witnesses on farm management and the social and economic ties between husbands and wives in Nchimishi, one of them referred to a recent article in *Awake!* that discusses the contemporary crisis in the women's movement (*Awake!* July 7, 1988: 3-8). According to this Witness, the article clearly shows that most women in Europe and the United States have found it impossible to combine the building of a professional career with the care of husband and

children, that many women upon gaining economic independence had lost the feeling of security and that many of them had turned their backs on feminism as they wished to be taken care of again. He continued by saying that, since they all followed the Bible's principles, Witnesses the world over had strong marriages characterized by love, respect and mutual trust. In Nchimishi, many Witnesses indeed have very stable marriages when compared with non-Witnesses, not only, as he explained, because they reject polygamy (see also Genesis 2; 18, 22-25) and adultery (Matthew 19: 9), but also because husband and wife instead of competing, assist each other and always aim at reaching a common understanding. In Jehovah's marriage agreement, he further argued, husband and wife 'become one' and a wife recognizes the headship of her husband. But any attempt by women to become economically independent is clearly not in accordance with the will of Jehovah. This point of view was shared by a large majority of the male and female Witnesses in Nchimishi.

Their religious doctrine thus has important consequences for the way in which farming enterprises of Witnesses are managed. Most Witnesses reject the idea of men and women having separate fields and incomes, each running their own farming enterprise.⁹⁾ Instead, Jehovah's Witness couples, as I pointed out earlier, generally prefer to manage the farm jointly, and, although the husband/father has the responsibility of deciding on questions involving the overall welfare of the family, each member of the household may have areas where his or her decision merits special consideration (see also: *Making Your Family Life Happy* 1978: 109). Kaulenti Chisenga explained this by reference to the Old Testament figures of Abraham and Sarah:

'A husband and wife should decide together on important farm or family matters, but if they disagree it is the man, being the head of the family, who decides. But he should always listen to her. A husband and wife should not fight, and because a woman is weaker than a man he should always help her. That's why marriages of Jehovah's Witnesses are very strong. Like Abraham and Sarah, they keep each other well. We should follow the Bible and this example. When others see me collecting firewood some say: "Ah, your wife must have strong medicine that she can make you do that kind of work". Then I tell them that the woman is her husband's helper, but I should also help my wife. We should be like a team and not work separately. This does not mean that my wife cannot make her own decisions. She makes a lot of decisions about the kitchen, about our children, but if there are problems she should discuss them with me.' (E)

This passage brings out the way in which a rather conservative view of male-female relations with the man assuming the position of authority is combined with a commitment to joint farm development and, where necessary, interchangeable work roles. Although their doctrine emphasizes that a husband and wife have complementary roles, and although on the farms of Witnesses women take care of much of the household work and men usually carry out all heavy farm and construction work, there existed at the farms of most Witnesses a less marked sexual division of labour compared with the farms of many non-Witnesses. Indeed, a lot of Witnesses maintain that there is no work that cannot also be done by men. Even 'traditional' female tasks and responsibilities, such as collecting firewood and water, washing clothes and even cooking, are sometimes carried out by the husband. Another Witness, Kanyanta,

explained this as follows:

'Yes, there are differences between Jehovah's Witnesses and others when it comes to work. A Jehovah's Witness cannot leave all the work to his wife. Husband and wife have to work together and decide together. A man can also do the cooking or sweep the floor. We have learned this from the Bible and the Europeans. On this farm we work together and decide together how we are going to use our money. Besides, we have a lot of children so it would be useless to have separate incomes. Keeping money separately can bring conflicts within the family; it becomes a kind of competition between husband and wife. But the Bible tells us that we should work as a team. A lot has changed. In the villages, men and women lived separate lives. Now they stay together on one farm. In the villages, men had their own knowledge and women, their knowledge. But now husband and wife can exchange knowledge. Nowadays, women know a lot about farming and myself, I very often do the cooking.' (L)

Within the household of Kaulenti and Ireen, when compared with the households of many non-Witnesses, there existed a much less clear sexual division of tasks with regard to domestic work. Although Kaulenti took care of low frequency tasks such as building and maintenance and repair of farming tools and although Ireen often was responsible for, and took care of, high frequency work, Kaulenti also was often involved in taking care of the children, fetching firewood, preparing food, washing clothes and sweeping the house, kitchen and farmyard. In relation also to household income and decision making, the household of Kaulenti and Ireen differed markedly from those of most non-Witnesses. First of all, as within most other households in which both husband and wife belonged to the congregation of Witnesses, there existed no separation of fields and incomes. In addition, the earnings from the commercial activities undertaken separately by Ireen and Kaulenti (for example the sale of *munkoyo* by Ireen and Kaulenti's bean trade) were treated as joint family income. Second, all decisions with regard to the spending of the family income were taken jointly, albeit that in case of disagreement Kaulenti usually had the last word.¹⁰

Female Witnesses in most cases are not as independent economically and socially as many women who do not belong to the congregation. Nevertheless, the religion of the Jehovah's Witnesses has, according to many respondents (Witnesses as well as non-Witnesses), definitely had a positive effect upon the position of women in Nchimishi as it has contributed, together with other factors such as the introduction of cash-crop farming, migration and the changed pattern of settlement (see Chapters 8-11), to a gradual dissolution of the strict sexual division of labour by gender which in the past characterized the household and agricultural sphere. Many women added that the attitude of the Witnesses with respect to farm work seen in relation to gender had also played an important role in motivating a number of *single* female Witnesses such as Agnes Musonda Kalaka (see Chapter 8) to engage in farming and business in order to be able to take good care of their families.

Although they form a small minority, I found, as I explained in Chapter 8, a number of families of Jehovah's Witnesses where husband and wife did maintain separate fields. However, these separations had often not come as a result of misunderstandings between the spouses, but the maintenance of separate fields was seen by them as a useful strategy to safeguard the family from outside threats and intimidations. Some male and

female Witnesses believed that certain forms of separation or concealed cooperation permitted them to live more in accordance with the Bible's principles. Other Witnesses, however, interpreted the separations existing at a number of Witness farms as being proof of the fact that faith among some fellow brothers and sisters was still rather thin on the ground. In their eyes, such an attitude showed that a person or a family was still partly captured by Lala tradition and therefore apparently not able to protect the interests of the family by simply withstanding what they perceived as unrightful claims of matrikin.

Jehovah's Witnesses, the inheritance of property and farm management practices

The attitude of the Witnesses towards the traditional system of kinship and inheritance also has some repercussions for the way in which many Witness farms are managed. Most Witnesses tend to adhere to a form of individual or joint (conjugal) family ownership of land and material assets. They also tend to reject the matrilineal inheritance system and feel that a person has every right to leave his or her property to the remaining members of his or her conjugal family. According to the Bible, parents are responsible for the instruction and spiritual training of their children, but they also have to provide for the physical needs of their children and assist them to build their own future. Outsiders are not supposed to meddle in family affairs.¹¹⁾ Many Witnesses in Nchimishi therefore believe that the traditional system of kinship and inheritance, since it emphasizes relationships and solidarity among close matrikin, is a threat to the sacred institution of marriage and a threat to the conjugal family. The traditional system assigns an important role to maternal uncles (mother's brothers) in the education and care of children and does not recognize the central position of the father as head of his wife and children. Moreover, the system denies parents, and fathers in particular, the right to leave their assets to their own children, in this way helping them to build a more secure future for themselves and their families. According to Dennis Changwe:

'Jehovah's Witnesses feel that when someone dies people should sit together and decide how they will divide the assets. We are against relatives grabbing property. A wife and children should be enabled to receive property so that they can continue to lead a normal life. The Bible tells us that a father should prepare a good future for his children. This implies that he should be allowed to leave his property to them, and his relatives (matrikin, H.S.) should respect this. The Lala rules and customs differ quite a lot from what the Bible says. Here we have these extended families; the uncle (mother's brother, H.S.) and brothers and sisters are important. But the Bible places more emphasis on father, mother and children. That's why a Jehovah's Witness should first of all look after his children properly and not be after the property of his uncles (mother's brothers, H.S.). Parents have to look after their children, not after their clan. But even many non-believers feel they have the right to leave their property to their children. Nowadays, people are being educated by the Bible but also by modern regulations made by the Government. Regulations that consider those belonging to his conjugal family to be the owners of a deceased man's property. When in town a man dies, the Government or his employer is going to compensate his wife and not his (matrilineal, H.S.) relatives. Therefore, town life has also contributed to these changes. People who return to the rural areas are spreading these new ideas. They explain things to the people here and even cite some examples. That's how changes take place. The coming together of town and rural life results in a new way of life, a new culture. That's why people are beginning to realize that children and wives should inherit. Modern regulations

and evolution itself are making some of these changes. Only if property has been circulating within the clan for some generations have children no say. If a gun was left to a person by someone of his own clan, then it should remain within the clan. But even within the congregation we can find different opinions. Some older people still feel very much attached to Lala tradition. They feel they should inherit when one of their close relatives dies. I think it's because the truth of the Bible is not very much alive in their heads. But the Bible in 2 Corinthians 12: 14 talks about the children not the relatives. If one of Jehovah's Witnesses grabs all the property from his deceased brother, he acts against what the Bible says. Proverbs 20: 21 reads as follows: "An inheritance is being got by greed at first, but it's own future will not be blessed".'(E)

According to some respondents, the fact that Witnesses reject many aspects of the matrilineal system of inheritance forms part of the explanation of why at the farms of many Witnesses one often finds farm management practices and working relationships that differ markedly from those encountered at the farms of non-Witnesses. Since a man's wife and children know that he, being a Witness, will do everything possible to make sure that his family has access to his productive resources and will eventually inherit his assets, they usually feel less reticent to assist him carrying out all sorts of farm work, and to put much effort into developing the (joint) farming enterprise. I must add that a few Witnesses criticized this analysis and argued that a man was often unable to give his wife and children a guarantee that they, upon his death, would inherit his estate, as it was not at all hypothetical that his close matrikin, especially if they were non-believers, would attempt to 'grab' his property. Indeed, the remarks made by the Witness, Blaison Makofi, in Chapter 7 show that at times even Jehovah's Witnesses have to revert to such strategies as 'anticipatory inheritance' (see also Long 1968: 122-3). Working relations and management practices at farms of Witnesses, therefore, cannot be seen, according to these respondents, as resulting from the fact that Witnesses reject the inheritance of property by matrikin but are explained by the fact that the Bible orders family members to work as a team.

PART II. Discrimination against Jehovah's Witnesses

In Part 1, I have explored the differences that exist between Jehovah's Witnesses and non-Witnesses with regard to farm management practices by analyzing the doctrine and changing religious ethic of the Witnesses. I now wish to examine some, what we might call, 'external factors' that together with the religious ethic of the Witnesses can be held responsible for the fact that most Witnesses are of medium economic status as far as farm production and the pattern of economic differentiation are concerned (see Figure 13.1 and Appendix 6). This is in contrast to the 1960's when the Witnesses as a group occupied a much more prominent economic position, and many individual Witnesses were of high economic status (Long 1968: 37-8; 245-9). In other words, the factors I examine to a large extent lie outside the control of the Witnesses themselves but they help to explain why Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi are not found among the relatively small group of commercially-oriented farmers. I also show that some of these

factors explain why, compared with their non-Witness age mates, many young Witnesses - and especially those who cannot rely upon the assistance of wealthy parents and matrikin - face more difficulty generating enough capital to engage in the cultivation of hybrid maize, let alone to purchase their own oxen and plough.

The character and effectiveness of social networks

On several occasions, Long (1968: 218-36; 239-40) discusses the networks of Jehovah's Witnesses, their functions and effectiveness. He describes two kinds of networks: those concentrated within Nchimishi and those that link Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi to Witnesses living in the Copperbelt towns. The latter networks, he suggests, were especially useful in the 1960's for securing work and finding a place to stay.

Although networks that stretch into the urban areas are nowadays substantially less important than they were (due to the stemming of migration), locally-based networks among Witnesses continue to be important. Apart from the more formal assistance provided by the local congregation to its members (for example in cases of sickness), Witnesses can usually rely on the help of church friends to obtain agricultural information (for example, on new maize varieties or on where to purchase vegetable seeds) and to recruit workers for such activities as the preparation of fields, harvesting or construction work. These kinds of assistance are particularly important for those Witnesses who do not have a large enough labour force on the farm and have few contacts outside the congregation.

While useful for the exchange of information and for solving certain farming problems and scarcities, such networks are nowadays insufficient for successfully managing commercially-oriented farming enterprises. The switch to animal traction, the use of fertilizer and the cultivation of hybrid maize also necessitate close contact with outside government agencies and personnel. Farmers need spares for ox ploughs and ox carts, and seed and fertilizer should be available on time. Some will also require loans from government credit institutions or from commercial banks; and they will want to keep up-to-date on new methods of cultivation, new crops and new outlet possibilities (see also Chapters 6 and 7). All government agencies and parastatals that are 'present' in Nchimishi or Serenje township are controlled by members of UNIP, and gaining access to the scarce facilities, goods and services provided by these institutions often depends upon whether or not a person is a party member, but also upon the skill of farmers to develop good contacts with the responsible UNIP officials and government staff.¹² Witnesses are in most cases not interested in spending much time or effort in developing good relations with persons who, in their eyes, should be impartial and not give preferential treatment to those who are willing to give some kind of compensation. But what is more, Jehovah's Witnesses who do appeal to government institutions, to parastatals like the LIMA Bank, to the farmers' cooperative, or even to the local UNIP Branch or Ward often find that their requests or applications are either ignored or refused. This attitude of UNIP members towards the Witnesses can be attributed to a long standing controversy between the members of the sect and UNIP, a controversy which can be traced back to the period preceding independence. But, even before the

rise of UNIP, as early as the 1930's there existed severe tensions between the Witnesses and the colonial authorities of Northern Rhodesia (Fields 1985; *Northern Rhodesian Advertiser* 31st August and 4th September 1935). Also, in Serenje District in the 1930's

addition, seeds for experimental crops such as rice, cotton and soya beans that interest some farmers are unobtainable at the depot, and the demand for loans for hiring labour and purchasing farming equipment and inputs often outstrips supply. This is compounded by the fact that the number of agricultural assistants stationed in the chieftdom is inadequate. Given these shortcomings, many farmers try, where possible, to establish direct contacts with local party officials. As I show in Chapter 6, some farmers who wish to become commercial farmers even consider it critical for the development of their farming enterprises to build networks which include government officers and development agency personnel at the district, provincial and national level. In what follows, I show that not having access to the local UNIP network makes it much more difficult for Jehovah's Witnesses to engage in plough agriculture and the cultivation and sale of hybrid maize. But even those Witnesses who work with their own oxen and ploughs and who produce maize for the market are, compared with farmers who do not belong to the sect, in a disadvantageous position. Not having access to a network that is built around one of the commercial farmers in the area makes it almost impossible for Witnesses to become commercial farmers.

'The cooperative is a baby of UNIP'

That Witnesses usually have more problems obtaining agricultural inputs is illustrated by an account which was provided by Mushili Mukangwe, the secretary of the local farmers' cooperative, and responsible for the distribution of empty grain bags in which all maize has to be delivered. At the beginning of the 1988 marketing season which started around mid-July, these were in short supply, since only 4,000 grain bags were delivered by the CPCMU (Central Province Cooperative Marketing Union), while more than 16,000 were requested by the local farmers' cooperative. Officially, the bags had to be distributed among farmers following a list on which farmers were ranked according to the date they had registered and subscribed for the number of bags they required. But as Mushili Mukangwe pointed out to me, apart from the 'official list' he was forced to work with a number of 'other lists'. Mushili felt that he could not ignore the interests of his fellow party members, not only because some of them were his friends, but especially because, after all, the members of UNIP were responsible for running the cooperative. He therefore issued some of them with empty grain bags without considering their position on the list. Subsequently, he favoured some of his close matrikin, since, as he explained, he was not only a member of UNIP but belonged to a particular clan as well. Some Witnesses expressed their dissatisfaction with the whole matter. Although many of them had been among the first to register, they had in most cases not received any empty grain bags. If they did not receive their bags in time, as some Witnesses explained to me, they would be forced to spend much time shelling and delivering their maize at a time when they should have started preparing their *katobela* gardens (see Chapter 3). When I confronted Mushili and some other party members with the remarks made by these Witnesses, they replied by saying that since the 'Watchtowers' had always been against UNIP they were not in a position to make any complaints. They had just joined the cooperative to reap the benefits apparently

without realizing that it was UNIP which stood for development and that the cooperative was founded and run by members of the party, whereas the Witnesses refused to take any responsibility. One party member added that the CPCMU would probably make another delivery and that even the 'Watchtowers' would be able to sell their crop before the start of the rainy season. All Witnesses finally managed to sell their maize to the cooperative before trucks of the CPCMU arrived to collect the Nchimishi maize harvest, but some were forced to make smaller *katobela* gardens because they were caught by the rains and had to start preparing their hybrid maize fields. Others received their maize cheques late and were not able to buy sufficient fertilizer for the next crop.

The social network of commercial farmers

As I stated in Chapter 6, the most important network for large-scale farmers is that built around Musonda Chunga, the most successful of them. During the past two decades, Musonda Chunga has managed to build up an impressive network at the local, district and national level. Although he is heavily involved in local affairs and has many contacts in the Masaninga Ward, his network is externally oriented, and Musonda Chunga regularly travels to Serenje, Mkushi, Kabwe and Lusaka in order to renew these ties which he considers to be crucial for the maintenance and further development of his farming enterprise. In addition to Musonda himself, a number of relatively successful young farmers make use of his network. This he explains by suggesting that, by introducing some younger commercially-oriented farmers to his principal contacts, he is able to advance his political career and at the same time 'bring development to Masaninga'. A good example of such a young farmer is Kashulwe Kayumba. As he explained in Chapter 6, Kashulwe attributes a great deal of his knowledge about new crops and new cultivation and animal husbandry methods and techniques to his friendship with Musonda Chunga. A closer look at this network consisting of commercial farmers in Nchimishi reveals that practically all of these farmers are UNIP members, and none is a baptized Jehovah's Witness. The contacts Musonda maintains in Serenje, Kabwe, Lusaka and other towns are also affiliated to UNIP.

This group of farmers regard themselves, and are regarded by others, as 'hard working', which they often explain or justify in terms very similar to Jehovah's Witnesses, even using the same Biblical examples and apocryphal vocabulary. Although a few read *Awake!* and, like many other non-Witnesses, visit the Kingdom Hall on special occasions, and some call themselves Jehovah's Witnesses, they have their reasons for not becoming baptized members of the sect. Kashulwe explained this as follows:

'I often attend the meetings at the Kingdom Hall, and I am a Jehovah's Witness in mind but I cannot give up my UNIP card. Because through UNIP people I get a lot of support for my farm. My farm would suffer if I joined the Watchtowers. Jehovah's Witnesses would come here to ask for my time, and I would lose a lot of time to the congregation. I even know some Jehovah's Witnesses who left the congregation because they could not find enough time for their farms, and could not make good plans for their families and future. It was only after they left that they were able to produce for the market. When such people join the party they can get a lot of help. When they were Watchtowers,

they had a lot of trouble getting fertilizer loans, because Musonda Chunga could not sign their applications since they were not members of UNIP. I read a lot of magazines like *Awake!*, but I think it is wrong only to look at those things which have been written in the past. They (Jehovah's Witnesses, H.S.) compare the old scriptures and apply this to what is happening today, and that makes them inflexible. From other farmers and from the Government you can learn new methods of farming; you can get new ideas and they can teach you how to apply new things. But when you only read the Bible, you do not learn things that can help the future generation.' (E)

The above text underlines the advantage that an external, UNIP-related network can bring farmers, providing they have the necessary initial resources and local contacts upon which to build. Even though farmers' aspirations concerning family welfare and farm progress are often expressed using concepts derived from Jehovah's Witness ideology, many draw the line at active church membership. Networks of the kind operated by Musonda and Kashulwe are virtually inaccessible to Witnesses since the party and government agencies normally require clients to prove themselves to be card-carrying members of UNIP. Whilst some Witnesses hedge their bets by obtaining UNIP membership cards, many refuse to commit themselves in this way since they view it, in line with the doctrines of the church, as akin to serving 'two masters' and making a pact with Satan. Friends, they argue, are to be selected on the basis of their attitude towards the faith and not on account of their position in 'the world' (see also: *The Watchtower* September 15, 1989: 28). As a result, most Witnesses are unable to benefit

'Paradise on earth'. Some men and women, although not baptized, feel an affinity with the Witnesses, maintain good relationships with some members of the congregation, read publications like *Awake!* and *The Watchtower* and attend meetings at the Kingdom Hall. Like the Jehovah's Witnesses, these farmers, often referring to the same passages from the Bible, emphasize hard work and the importance of the relations between parents and children and the independence of the family vis-à-vis the matrilineal kin of both man and wife. They also resemble the Witnesses in their rejection of the influence of the clans and in their condemnation of other Lala *amafunde* and customs, such as polygyny and positional succession whereby the successor inherits the name, the 'spirit guardian' (*umupashi*) and the genealogical position of the deceased (Richards 1950 and Long 1968: 110-1).

Jehovah's Witnesses appear to have been responsible for initiating a process of social and religious change which stretches far beyond the boundary of the congregation and has had some far reaching consequences for the development of agriculture in Nchimishi.

Under the traditional matrilineal system of kinship and inheritance, a man's children are not his heirs, but will inherit from their brothers and their mother's brothers. The relationship between a man and his sisters' sons is considered to be more important than that between a man and his own children. It is a nephew's duty to help his mother's brother who, in turn, is responsible for his socialization and education. The condemnation and rejection of these aspects of matrilineal ideology and the emphasis that the doctrine of the Witnesses puts on the conjugal family has resulted, as I indicated earlier, in stronger ties between a man and his own children, often at the expense of his relationship with his sisters' children.

This change is important in understanding the early success of the Jehovah's Witnesses in farming and for understanding the functioning and stability of their present-day farming enterprises. A male Jehovah's Witness, since he considers his children to be his heirs, is more likely to succeed in securing the assistance of his children once they have reached an age to play an important part in the further development of the farm. Compared to relying upon the help of matrilineal kinsmen, who often prefer to work on their own farms or who demand direct compensation, the cooperation between father and children allowed for the development of more stable farming enterprises.

I discovered that today also a large number of non-Witnesses, often by reference to the religious ideology and social ethic of the Jehovah's Witnesses, repudiate ties with matrikin and emphasize the importance of the conjugal family and the right of children to inherit their father's property. But we must be cautious. It would be wrong to suggest that the latter is the only factor responsible for the changed nature of the relationship between the members of conjugal families at quite a number of non-Witness farms in Nchimishi. When questioned upon this issue, most respondents, besides pointing to the religious doctrine and ideology of the Witnesses, tended to hold several factors responsible for this change. For instance, a prolonged stay in the urban areas away from the influence of matrikin was also generally regarded as having been instrumental in forging stronger ties between the members of those conjugal families who had migrated to the towns of the Copperbelt. Some argued, however, that the 'town system' had

added certain new elements to 'life in Nchimishi' which not only placed in question certain Lala customs but which also, to some extent, conflicted with the values and norms emphasized by the Witnesses. According to these respondents, selfishness, a preoccupation with one's own personal affairs and interests, the refusal to share with others, to help others without receiving any remuneration, the love of money and the wish to have a regular and personal cash income, and the competition among farmers can all be attributed to urban life and traced back to the Copperbelt or towns such as Lusaka. These elements, instead of resulting in stronger ties had led to economic separations between the members of the family.

In general, the Jehovah's Witnesses feel sympathy towards those who show interest in their faith, and it is mainly from within this category that the new members of the sect appear. But many of these non-Witnesses also see disadvantages in becoming a full and baptized member of the congregation. To some Witnesses, these non-believers are still captured by other 'systems'. The bond they have with the doctrine is often much looser. They know less about the Bible and tend to give broader interpretations to the knowledge they do have. If they think at all about maintaining a balance between the religious and secular aspects of life, they usually place more emphasis on the latter. Some stress the importance of taking part in social life: visiting friends and relatives; attending beer parties, *sundowns* or political meetings; and spending time with family and close matrikin. Others fear that membership of the congregation might hamper the development of their farm. They are aware of the lack of access to certain UNIP-related networks, of the increased obligations and commitments after baptism and of the aversion many Witnesses have towards becoming a commercial farmer and competing with other farmers. These farmers see the development of an enterprise and success in farming as a goal in itself. As the Kashulwe example shows, this looser bond with religious ideology leaves room for a more flexible style of farm management, which may result in larger enterprises.

There are, however, a number of persons in the Nchimishi area, among them a number of commercially-oriented farmers, who do not feel themselves attracted to the sect at all. Some are even fiercely against 'the Watchtowers'. In some respects, these farmers resemble those whom Weber refers to as 'the people filled with the spirit of capitalism' who 'tend to be indifferent, if not hostile to the Church.' It seems that in the case of these Nchimishi farmers also: 'The thought of the pious boredom of paradise has little attraction for their active natures; religion appears to them as a means of drawing people away from the labour in this world' (Weber 1989: 70). These farmers regard farming as a way to take care of themselves and the other members of their household, but also as an opportunity to make money and a career. Although these farmers, like the Witnesses, attach high value to hard work, for them the connection between work and religious devotion obviously does not exist.

Long shows in *Social Change and the Individual* that the Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi were among the first to adopt the plough and to start producing crops for the market. Quite a number of Witness farmers are known for having transferred the knowledge they had with regard to 'modern' farming techniques and methods to other farmers including many non-Witnesses. Moreover, as Long shows, the doctrine and

ideology of the Witnesses can be held responsible not only for the rise of a kind of work ethic, but also for the creation of a more involved nexus between what a man or woman did and his or her reward for it (Long 1968: 127-9, 208-17, 240-1; see also Poewe 1978: 303-21). Some respondents, when discussing the impact, the social and economic consequences of the spreading of the doctrine of the Witnesses, added that the sect can also to some extent be held responsible for the increased economic differentiation in the area (see also Chapter 7). This is because Witnesses were among the first to advance the idea that, in the past, fear of sorcery and other 'wrong' beliefs and traditions had held people in a web of fear. Moreover, they were among the first to show that one could resist those forces of evil that were directed at keeping people 'in line', at the 'same level', simply by not giving in to feelings of fear and by not letting the possibility of sorcery being practised by envious relatives or neighbours affect one's plans and goals with regard to the development of the farming enterprise (see also: *Unseen Spirits: Do They Help Us? or Do They Harm Us?* 1978: 36-9). In other words, the Jehovah's Witnesses have played a role in removing one of the obstacles to what Weber describes as the rationalization of economic life (Abrams 1982: 98-100) simply by disregarding the fact that those who stepped 'out of line' by adopting certain innovations or by seizing new opportunities were likely to be victims of sorcery and all kinds of accusations (see for example the Kash Chipilingu case in Chapter 4).

To sum up the argument, in the last four decades the Jehovah's Witnesses have played an important role in transforming agriculture from an activity which merely served to satisfy the direct nutritional needs of the household into a job opportunity, into an enterprise that can help to provide for both the material and spiritual needs of the conjugal family. If we look at the present situation in Nchimishi from a Weberian perspective, we can conclude that, contrary to the situation as it existed in the 1960's, nowadays the attitudes and economic behaviour of many commercially-oriented farmers are not informed by any 'Weltanschauung', by any religious doctrine and ideology. For these farmers, hard work is not a sacred calling.

One could argue that the present situation in Nchimishi - characterized by an increasing number of non-Witnesses becoming engaged in commercially-oriented farming and by the fact that the ideology of the Witnesses is setting limits to the further expansion of the farming enterprises of the members of the sect - can perhaps best be described by what Weber depicts in relation to the capitalist system and the post-Protestant period in Europe. Weber points out that with work regarded as a religious and moral duty, material reward is, at least ideologically, displaced. A disinterested commitment is established. But once in certain parts of Europe new work dispositions had been established, and society had been resocialized for a new work order, the religious agent of this change was no longer necessary for its continuance. Role performance, in the post-Protestant society, comes to rely on a secularized value structure in which work is no longer a sacred calling and man works without the higher sense of purpose which the Protestant ethic communicated (this passage is based on Wilson 1969: 159-60). Religious devotion as a motivating force is being replaced by an orientation towards, a preoccupation with, quantitative bigness and a desire for the power and recognition that the mere fact of wealth brings (Weber 1989: 71). The

Jehovah's Witnesses have played an important role in bringing about a process of agricultural and economic change in the Nchimishi area - albeit that other factors ('systems') and categories of the population (migrants, UNIP members, etc.) equally have played their part - but it seems that the Witnesses as religious agents of change no longer play a crucial role in the further economic development of the area. Their role as innovators appears to have been taken over by a new generation of non-Witness farmers who, to a greater or lesser extent, are devoted to the calling of making money (Weber 1989: 71-2), or, more correctly, to the calling of producing bags of hybrid maize. Indeed one could argue that this new devotion finds its expression in, is symbolized by, what some English speaking respondents called the 'bags race'. We may therefore even ask ourselves whether, in the case of Nchimishi, we may speak of a post-Witness society, a society which, insofar as the various values and norms surrounding all agricultural and economic activities are concerned, is not only characterized by what some respondents described as the traditional idea of 'one line' or 'the same level' (see Chapter 7) or by the concept of 'balance', but which is increasingly dominated by the concept of 'power' and competition among farmers.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have examined the complex relationship that exists between: 1) the religious dogma of the Jehovah's Witnesses, 2) some of the cultural models I described at the outset of the chapter, and 3) various patterns and forms of social behaviour.

The social practices dealt with in this chapter were all related to farming and farm management. I showed that the Witnesses try to explain the loss of their prominent economic position by pointing to particular elements of their doctrine and by emphasizing their improved access to the doctrine, the latter being a result of education and the large number of publications that are available nowadays. These changes - the improved access to the doctrine and the fact that, when compared with the early 1960's, the Witnesses nowadays tend to emphasize other parts of their doctrine - have led to a changed religious ethic among many Witnesses, an ethic which has a significant impact on the way in which these Witnesses manage their farming enterprises. Their search for balance, their attempt to provide for the material, social and spiritual needs of their families, prevents most Witnesses, and those belonging to the 'inner circle' in particular, from spending as much time on their farming enterprises as many non-believers do. A number of Witnesses, when explaining their economic position, even go a step further and emphasize that, in order to avoid slipping into a materialistic outlook and approach to life, one should not aim at becoming rich and successful in farming, even if one can achieve this without jeopardizing the social and spiritual needs of the family.

By explaining the attitude held by many party members towards Jehovah's Witnesses and by providing a short description of the UNIP-related networks, I have shown that the reason why the Witnesses face more difficulty in developing their farming

enterprises and do not belong to the small group of large-scale commercially-oriented farmers is also found outside the congregation, within, so to speak, the other 'systems'. Also, the Witnesses themselves attribute their present economic position partly to the fact that non-Witnesses, and UNIP members in particular, have better access to the scarce agricultural inputs and services provided by the Government and government controlled institutions. Nevertheless, I have the impression that the changes in the ethic of the Witnesses, the increased emphasis on the spiritual aspects of life, may to some extent also be a result of their attempt to find some kind of explanation or answer for the changed agricultural and economic circumstances with which they are confronted.

Notes:

1. This figure of 19% includes both baptized and non-baptized members.
2. See also some of the comments made with regard to 'systems' in Chapter 5 (remarks made by Kaulenti Chisenga), Chapter 8 (Commentary and analysis) and Chapter 12.
3. When discussing marriage and family life many Witnesses referred to the publication *Making Your Family Life Happy* (1978). This and other publications (in English and Bemba) of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society are widely available in Nchimishi. Indeed, there has been a veritable explosion of literature since the 1960's.
4. I found, for instance, that the fact that UNIP and the Zambian Government are also in favour of a system of inheritance whereby wife and children inherit a man's property (see, for instance, The Law Development Commission Report on the Law of Succession, 1982) was frequently used during discussions by men and women to defend their opinion.
5. I found no proof that many poor farmers of the younger generation felt attracted to the faith of the Witnesses because they regarded occupying functions within the congregation as a way of obtaining social prestige.
6. This text was often read in combination with 1 Timothy 5: 8 which reads as follows: 'Certainly if anyone does not provide for those who are his own, and especially for those who are members of his household, he has disowned the faith and is worse than a person without faith.' See also *Awake!* September 8, 1987: 14-5; *The Watchtower* September 15, 1989: 12-3).
7. A passage in *Jehovah's Witnesses - Unitedly Doing God's Will Worldwide* (1986: 22) reads as follows: 'All of Jehovah's Witnesses who are dedicated and baptized are ministers, but the greater number have family or other obligations that prevent them from devoting more than a few hours a week to their ministry. However, thousands of Witnesses the world over have cut back on their standard of living so they can cover their reduced expenses with part-time work and then devote 1,000 hours or more a year to the ministry.
True, the full-time pioneer ministers do not have as much money to spend on themselves, but to them this is a way of seeking first God's Kingdom.'
8. Witnesses in Nchimishi in support of this view often cited the following Biblical texts: Ecclesiastes 7: 12; Matthew 6: 19 and 21-24; 1 Timothy 6: 6-12. They also referred to the publication *Making Your Family Life Happy* (1978: 44-7).
9. On one occasion, Dennis Changwe made the following comment regarding separations between husband and wife:
'There was one time when I was talking to an old woman who has her own fields, separate from her husband's fields. I asked her: "Why should you have a separate field, because the Bible says woman is a helper to the man?" She explained that if she worked with her husband, his relatives would grab things from her after his death. That's why she had decided to have separate fields. But we Jehovah's Witnesses learn that husband and wife should work together. When we get our cheques, we should sit down together and decide how we are going to use our income. We have to make a budget and consider what our children need and what we need. Among many non-believers husband and wife do not sit down together, and often you hear that husbands are misusing the money. That's how the wife gets frustrated, because all her work has not resulted in any gain for the family. But the families of Jehovah's Witnesses are one.' (E)
10. During one of the conversations I had with him, Kaulenti made the following remarks regarding the relationship between husband and wife and the differences that exist between the families of Witnesses and those of non-Witnesses:
'A wife should be free to express her problems and wishes, also when it comes to money. A woman must be allowed to make certain choices and decisions. Husband and wife should work together. But some of Jehovah's Witnesses have separate fields. It just depends on the arrangements you make with your wife, it does not matter as long as there is a good understanding between the two of you. But many separations come as a result of bad understandings. Having separate fields is a new thing, ten years ago

people worked together in the same fields. You do not find many separations among Jehovah's Witnesses, because we men know we first have to think of our family, our children and wife before we buy anything for ourselves. That's also what we will tell our relatives (matrikin, H.S.) when they ask for assistance. We (husband and wife, H.S.) work as a team, we decide together, that's why our marriages are stronger. When we have money, my wife and I sit around the table and discuss what we need for the children or for the farm. The relationship between husband and wife is different among Jehovah's Witnesses. The Bible says that the husband is the head and that the wife is the helper of her husband, but the Bible also tells us that women are weaker and that a husband should always assist his wife. When a woman is tired she should rest, but if a woman feels strong there is no rule preventing her from doing certain jobs. She can plough, cut trees. According to our tradition, cooking is the work of a woman, but we have learned from the Bible that there is no rule preventing us men from doing that work. That's why you have found me cooking. At this farm we follow the Bible, not tradition. (E)

11. One passage in *Making Your Family Life Happy* (1978: 175) reads as follows:
 'There are some countries where long-established custom places the bride under the supervision of her mother-in-law. Elsewhere, in-laws exert strong influence in family affairs. But does this really result in happiness? The Creator of the family knows what is best and says: "A man will leave his father and his mother and he must stick to his wife." (Genesis 2: 24) The responsibility for decisions now rests, neither with the parents of the husband nor with the parents of the wife, but with the husband. "A husband is head of his wife as the Christ also is head of the congregation." '
12. It should be noted that this chapter was written prior to the important political developments that took place in Zambia in 1990 and 1991, developments that resulted in the abolition of the so-called 'one party democracy' and in the free elections that took place in November 1991.
13. Another factor which explains why this antagonism between Witnesses and Party members persists is the inability of UNIP to mobilize and organize large sections of the population. When men and women compare the two 'systems', a frequently-heard comment is that unlike the Witnesses, who each year organize several meetings at the Kingdom Hall that are attended by several thousands of interested non-Witnesses, UNIP has often proved unable to organize any large-scale activities in the area. For instance, when the Dutch Embassy provided funds in 1988 for building a self-help clinic, conflicts soon emerged among the local party leadership over who was to assume overall responsibility for coordinating the construction activities in which all inhabitants of Nchimishi were to take part. At one point, when conflicts seemed to jeopardize the whole project, the UNIP Ward Secretary told me that the best thing would be to hire the 'Watchtower congregation' since they, unlike UNIP, were used to working as a team and had more experience solving all kinds of organizational and logistical problems. Later, when the conflicts were resolved and building activities had resumed, a number of Witnesses - some of them skilled bricklayers - were only willing to join the work party of their section after they had been given the assurance that the remarks made by some important UNIP members were not correct. Apparently these UNIP officials had told others that 'Watchtowers' and others who were 'against UNIP' would not be admitted to the clinic.

Chapter 14

Jehovah's Witnesses revisited

Part II: Differentiation within the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses: the drawbacks of success

Introduction

Until now I have discussed the ideology of Jehovah's Witnesses in relation to the development of their farming enterprises. Also, the comparisons I made between them and non-Witnesses related to differences in farming strategies and practices (differential access to resources). In this chapter, the different cultural models I described earlier (and which were used situationally by actors) will reappear both in accounts made by actors and in my own analysis. But this time I wish to analyze how these different models help to explain why some Witnesses are more dedicated than others, why different Witnesses respond in different ways to the same doctrine.

Jehovah's Witnesses possess certain shared interpretations of the world around them which are to a large extent consistent with the ways in which they act. Nevertheless, certain differences with regard to the interpretation of certain elements of the doctrine and with regard to (social) behaviour do exist among members of the Fipese congregation in Nchimishi. By analyzing these differences, I intend to shed more light on the complex relationship which exists between a religious ideology and the social practices of the members of the sect.

Let us now analyze in more detail the variations in the interpretations of religious dogma within the congregation, and the degree to which these different ideas and conceptions affect the way in which the reproduction of this institution takes place.

The 'inner circle'

This sub-group I call the 'inner circle' consists of about sixteen male baptized Witnesses who are, as I explained in Chapter 13, heavily involved in congregation work. All of them are either pioneers, elders or both, and many hold one or more positions of responsibility within the Fipese congregation. Those who are concerned with education (especially with increasing the literacy of members) and dissemination of ideology speak

English. They also maintain administrative contact with the Branch Office in Kitwe. Most of these functionaries possess special non-agricultural skills, such as bricklaying and carpentry, which they often use for the benefit of the congregation.

These Witnesses, often described by non-believers as 'full-time Watchtowers', have a more extensive and detailed knowledge of the Bible and the other publications of the Society than most rank-and-file baptized and non-baptized Witnesses. They try to live strictly according to the 'rules of the Bible'. As I have already indicated, they do not consider farming and living on a farm as a way of amassing wealth but as a way of taking good care of their families, and of practising their religion freely without outside interference.

Most members of this 'inner circle' regard each other as good friends and normally spend on average about three to four days a week on the congregation.¹⁾ On the other hand, they maintain hardly any close social relationships with non-Witnesses as they consider it wrong to associate with those who are non-redeemed, who are godless and follow 'evil systems'. In this context, these Witnesses often referred to 1 Corinthians 15: 33 and Romans 12: 9 (see also *The Watchtower*: September 15, 1989: 24-30). They rarely take part in the social life that takes place outside the confines of the congregation. When attending funerals, for example, they often sit together, apart from groups mainly consisting of non-Witnesses. They practically never participate in beer parties and remain fanatically teetotal. This separates them markedly from the rest of Nchimishi society since it is principally at beer parties that people, non-Witnesses as well as Witnesses, meet. These gatherings are held at various farms where, apart from drinking and dancing, much information is exchanged, conflicts are fought out, and debates take place. Beer parties fulfil an important social function, especially in a society where people live on farms, often at a considerable distance from each other.

Naturally, members of the 'inner circle' do, from time to time, run into non-Witnesses on the paths that link the settlements of the area or at the cooperative depot, and sometimes they find themselves working together as kin or neighbours. They may also come into conflict with non-Witnesses over land or be drawn into quarrels involving sorcery accusations; and of course they necessarily meet non-Witnesses when they are out preaching from door-to-door. But, in general, contacts with non-believers who do not show any interest in the faith and who lead a kind of life that seems to be guided by Satan are, if possible, kept superficial and of short duration. Most of them even try to limit contacts with close matrikin who do not belong to the congregation or do not seem to be interested in the doctrine. Jehovah's Witnesses from the 'inner circle', then, attempt to narrow their social worlds to encompass little more than the Kingdom Hall, other members of the sect, their own immediate families and their farms.

These Witnesses justify their attitude towards non-believers by referring to the words of Jesus Christ when he said that his followers must be 'no part of the world'. (John 17: 11-14; see also: *True Peace and Security. How Can You Find It?* 1986: 117-8). This does not mean that the Witnesses have to isolate themselves completely from others. They are supposed to help non-believers and fellow Witnesses to find the way to spiritual health and survival in God's new order. And besides: 'They cannot entirely

"quit mixing in company" with people of the world. But they can and must keep the wrong ways that the majority of mankind practice from infecting them and the Christian congregation. -1 Corinthians 5: 9-11' (*True peace and Security. From What Source* 1973: 121).

'Those brothers and sisters who follow different systems'

Besides this subgroup and what we may designate 'ordinary' or 'rank-and-file' baptized and non-baptized Witnesses, there exists another distinct category composed of a number of small, informal groupings consisting of baptized and non-baptized Witnesses who are much less involved in congregation activities partly because they often prefer to work on their farms. Many Witnesses belonging to this category are aged between 50 and 75 years and have been members of the sect for many years. Most of them have worked for prolonged periods in the urban areas and at present produce substantial amounts of hybrid maize and other crops for the market. They maintain close contacts with other Witnesses, including those belonging to the 'inner circle', but in addition keep up fairly extensive contact with kin and affines and with many friends, neighbours and other non-redeemed. Although Witnesses strongly disapprove of drinking in public, they can often be found at beer parties. At these and other gatherings they mix easily with non-believers thus maintaining informal contacts with, for example, active UNIP members. These contacts tend to give them much better access to certain services (such as agricultural loans) and facilities provided by the Government or other institutions that are run and controlled by members of UNIP. Some of them occasionally even attend political meetings. These Jehovah's Witnesses are, therefore, far more integrated into local society than other members of the Fipese congregation, and they share many experiences and even ideas, norms and values with non-believers. During interviews with them, it appeared that, compared with other Witnesses, their Biblical interpretations and use of official Society publications are much more flexible and negotiable. In an attempt to explain his more compliant stance vis-à-vis the doctrine, one of these Witnesses commented:

'There are Jehovah's Witnesses who are lazy. You cannot keep to all the rules. Some rules are important, others are not. Not to kill somebody is a rule which should always be followed. The drinking of beer is not prohibited. There are more important rules than that. Beer is food, you can eat it. You can drink at beer parties, but you should not get drunk. Drinking is not a problem.' (L)

In general, these Witnesses have more respect for certain Lala customs and traditions. Some emphasized the importance of maintaining good relationships with close matrikin and other clan members. I found that even with regard to inheritance matters opinions often differed markedly from the views of the other Witnesses, as many of them supported the idea that when dividing the heritage, besides the claims of wife and children, the rightful interests of the deceased's close matrikin had also to be taken into

account.

Witnesses belonging to the 'inner circle' in most cases thoroughly disapprove of the ideas and behaviour of these Witnesses, arguing that they often cannot be distinguished from the convictions, attitudes and actions of non-believers. Dennis Changwe, a very active and dedicated member of the Fipese congregation and a fulltime pioneer and therefore belonging to the 'inner circle', expressed this as follows:

'Within our congregation, there are different groups. Some brothers and sisters are following different systems. They visit the Kingdom Hall, but they also go to a lot of beer parties. It's dangerous to attend these beer parties because you stand a chance of becoming involved in evil things, such as fighting for instance. Even if you're just watching. We have a saying in Lala that "He who watches a fight, is a fighter himself". You can avoid bad things by not going to beer parties. But some of Jehovah's Witnesses continue to go there. They do not follow the principles of the Bible. They drink or smoke and some even have girlfriends. Others use witchcraft. But these things are done in secret, because they are afraid of being disfellowshipped. They are leading two separate lives and try to serve two masters. But that's impossible. Galatians 5 : 19-24 explains that those who do evil things will not inherit God's Kingdom. That's why we have a lot of discussions with those brothers and sisters. You see, if someone commits adultery, becomes a polygamist, or buys a UNIP membership card, things are very clear: that person must be disfellowshipped. But going to beer parties and having contacts with non-believers is a more complicated thing. In 2 Corinthians 6: 14-19, the Bible warns us against living with non-believers, marrying them and spending time with them. But these things are not forbidden. Also when it comes to other things like going for beers, it is more difficult to find a dividing line between good and bad. Some will say: "Why are you against me going to a beer party? Even Jesus drank wine". That is why it is necessary to consult the Bible and to have discussions, because we have the same doctrine but we differ in the way we see things in this world' (E) (see also: *Reasoning from the Scriptures* 1985: 250-251).

These remarks show that Witnesses create room for manoeuvre especially with regard to those aspects of daily life which are not regulated by clearly defined unambiguous Biblical norms. Indeterminacy with regard to social action is also produced because Witnesses manipulate the norms that seem to contradict each other to further their own social and economic objectives and interests. Most Jehovah's Witnesses denied the existence of any ambiguities and contradictions in the Bible but did offer various explanations for the fact that differences exist within the Fipese congregation. Some Witnesses ascribed these disparities to different levels of education. The majority.

little or no education had impeccable records, because all members of the congregation, whether they were able to read or not, were taught how to live according to the rules of the Bible by well educated men. Therefore, a person's educational background was not to be isolated but all aspects of a person's past, all his or her experiences, had to be considered. As one Witness voiced it:

'We all had our own pasts before we became Jehovah's Witnesses. Hence in some respects we are totally different and therefore some Jehovah's Witnesses understand the Bible differently than others.'
(E)

According to the Witnesses, it would be unrealistic to expect that the unchristian values

and norms a person had internalized before s/he became a Witness, previous ideals and goals, her or his habits and relationships would be washed away with baptism. Becoming and being a Witness is seen as a process and not as a state (see also Long 1968: 208), a process involving spiritual advancement and leading to a detachment from those aspects of the personal lifeworld, those convictions, attitudes and relationships that are incompatible with the Bible's principles. It is this imprint of the past which is seen as partly explaining why Witnesses may differ in their interpretation of religious dogma and why different individuals may attribute a different value to certain principles of the Bible. The same imprint, therefore, is also held partly responsible for the fact that different individuals in a given situation may reach, and justify, different decisions, explaining why different religious ethics and patterns of behaviour exist within a single congregation.

Although a person's past is important in explaining the differential responses of the Witnesses to their own religious doctrine, the past is not seen as determining the present. An individual is not considered to be a slave of his/her own past, nor of the present situation in which a Witness finds him or herself. The idea that being a Witness is a process implies that, through Bible education, a Witness will be handed the tools to break away from what is called 'the spirit of the world' and the hurtful ungodly pressures imposed upon him or her by, for instance, certain customs and traditions, the state and other denominations.²⁾ But a thorough knowledge of the Bible and the acceptance of God's divine rulership will also help a Witness to make the right decisions, to obtain a new personality and to break away from certain old desires, convictions and habits. The same tools can also help a Witness to avoid those gatherings and situations where s/he might be tempted or pressured into taking part in unchristian activities inspired by Satan (*Reasoning from the Scriptures* 1985: 390).

It is those who belong to the 'inner circle' who are and feel responsible for looking after the spiritual needs of the Fipese congregation. The elders who supervise the congregation: 'Also have the responsibility to reprove and administer discipline to any who may be following a wrongful course and who may present a danger to the spiritual and moral cleanness and the unity of the congregation.--1 Corinthians 5:4, 5, 7, 11-13; Titus 1:9; 2:15; 3:10, 11.' (*Jehovah's Witnesses - Unitedly Doing God's Will Worldwide* 1986: 12-3). By showing good example and monitoring the conduct of others, they try to help the other members on their way to salvation and to prevent them from giving in to 'the spirit of the world'.²⁾ To the inner circle, Witnesses who follow different 'systems' are not moulding their lives to God's ways. They have never been able to detach themselves completely from their past, and still are, or have become again, partly encapsulated by other ideologies, habits and traditions.

According to the doctrine, every human being has a choice between becoming a friend of the world, or gaining the friendship of God. To have the world's friendship means sharing the worldly desires, ambitions, prejudices and philosophies of non-believers, people who, since they manifest 'the world's spirit', are turned towards the desires of the flesh. Only the friendship of God leads to survival into the new order (see also *True Peace and Security -How Can You Find It?* 1986: 117-28). Referring to this dualism, Witnesses belonging to the 'inner circle' maintain that some Witnesses in their

attempt to serve 'two masters' have given in to 'the spirit of the world'. Having friends outside the congregation, maintaining close links with relatives or even members of UNIP, in the view of the 'inner circle', explains why some Witnesses have become materialistic, take part in the bags race and tend to neglect their religious duties; why some frequently attend beer parties and feel they have the right to claim the property of their deceased brothers and mother's brothers.³⁾ Subjecting oneself to the influence or pressures of the clan, matrikin and friends who do not belong to the faith, according to the 'inner circle', also explains why some Witnesses do not pay enough attention to the material and spiritual needs of their wife and children and sometimes even end up being involved in cases of adultery.

Tensions and conflict within the congregation

Not surprisingly, these 'brothers and sisters who are tempted to follow different systems', because of their involvement in unchristian activities and their disloyalty to Jehovah's organization, frequently run into problems with the 'inner circle'. Being responsible for maintaining discipline and the spiritual and moral cleanness of the congregation, the elders of the congregation try to correct those who deviate from the faith. Dennis Changwe:

'Jehovah's Witnesses who are not a good example to others, who are always breaking the rules, we (elders, H.S.) try to help them through the Scriptures. If we hear that a brother is over-indulging in certain things, we call him. For example, if someone is always listening to the radio, we will warn that person and explain that some songs may contain texts which go against what the Bible says and that singing with the radio has the danger that it may draw someone away from the faith. It is not forbidden to listen to the radio, but one has to be careful (see also *Awake!* May 22, 1991: 3-11). But if a person does not listen to what has been explained to him and does not stop taking part in evil things, if he or she does not live according to the Bible's principles, we have to disfellowship such a member. If, for example, drinking or fighting has become a habit and discussing the matter does not lead to a change, a person cannot remain within the congregation.' (E)

The elders of the Fipese congregation to whom I talked, emphasized that the decision to disfellowship a baptized member is not always an easy one, since it is not always an easy task to detect whether they are dealing with an incident or a 'bad habit'. In some cases of deviant behaviour, however, the elders do not have to worry about defining this dividing line between incident or habit. When a Witness for instance commits adultery or joins UNIP, s/he has to be disfellowshipped. It occurs quite frequently that members of the congregation are disfellowshipped. Some of these ex-Witnesses turn their back on the congregation. The majority, however, continue to identify themselves with the faith and the Fipese congregation, and continue attending the meetings at the Kingdom Hall. Those who have proved sufficiently that they have renounced the 'spirit of the world' and have started living again according to the principles of the Bible are allowed by the elders to become full members of the congregation again.

I found that the tensions which clearly exist within the Fipese congregation in Nchimishi between the 'inner circle' and Witnesses who tend to have a more flexible stance towards the doctrine, sometimes contained elements of a generational conflict. In these cases, differences were expressed and explained in terms of the opposition between town and rural life, between the 'town' and 'Lala system'.⁴⁾ Older Witnesses argued that although these young town dwellers had spent most of their lives in town and had received a good formal education which indeed enabled them to read the Bible more carefully, they obviously lacked a 'traditional education' in the *nsaka*. As a result, they had not learned to respect the older generation, their relatives and certain customs and traditions.⁵⁾ Witnesses of the 'inner circle', most of them aged between 25 and 40, maintained that in the urban areas congregations were made up of people from many different populations. Dennis Changwe:

'In town in your congregation you meet people from different walks of life. You cannot accept the traditions from all these different tribes, so we meet through the Bible. But here in the rural areas the old still cling to their traditions. Here it used to be a congregation of relatives. They mixed up the Bible with their traditions.' (E)⁶⁾

The differential responses to the Jehovah's Witness ideology, the various interpretations and attitudes of individual Witnesses towards the ideology, have their consequences for the reproduction of the ideology at the local level and, as I have shown, have resulted in a more differentiated religious ethic. The fact that different Witnesses attribute a different meaning to certain elements of the ideology also has consequences for the way in which the congregation itself is reproduced. According to some Witnesses, notably those of the 'inner circle', the existence of: a) a category of baptized and non-baptized Witnesses who have for various reasons not been able to detach themselves from other 'systems' and; b) a large number of non-Witnesses who are clearly influenced by the faith, who often attend meetings at the Kingdom Hall, call themselves Witnesses and when discussing religious issues use the same concepts, vocabulary and jargon as the Witnesses, have resulted in a extremely vague boundary between the congregation and the outside world. The boundary is vague because the life styles of some Witnesses and non-Witnesses gradually shade off into one another. Some Witnesses go so far as to state that one of the harmful side effects of the success of their religion in Chibale Chiefdom has been that the congregation risks becoming to a large extent encapsulated by the 'Lala system', because important parts of the ideology (such as the concept of 'Jehovah', 'the last days', 'Armageddon', and 'Paradise on Earth'), have, as they rightly concluded, become part of local discourse, part of 'Lala tradition', or what I would call the lifeworld shared by Witnesses and non-Witnesses in the area.⁴⁾ The elders of the Fipese and other congregations in the area do everything possible to make sure that the Witnesses remain a distinct group which differs from non-believers in the way they dress and express themselves and the vocabulary they use.⁶⁾ Moreover, they try to create a spatial separation between the members of their congregation and the non-redeemed by emphasizing that the way to avoid contact with 'the unclean'⁴⁾ is not to enter certain arenas; not to enter the *nsaka* when those seated there use abusive

language, discuss 'evil things' or display 'ungodly behaviour'; and not to attend beer parties or political meetings. Witnesses are encouraged to communicate with non-believers or have friendly relations with them only if they expect to find the opportunity to relate the topics discussed to the Scriptures, only if they are allowed to talk about the 'Truth'. But if it can be foreseen that they will not have any control over the events, the encounter, the issues that are being discussed or the vocabulary used, Witnesses are advised to stay away and abstain from interacting with the non-believers. Finally, the leadership of the congregations in Nchimishi try to make sure that all members live according to the same Biblical norms, and that they all use the Bible as their only guide when interpreting and responding to certain phenomena and processes or when

'It is very difficult to have a friend who is not a Jehovah's Witness. Sometimes people follow other systems. They drink or smoke, so I cannot join them. Sometimes people can be against Jehovah's Witnesses. But a friend who is not a Jehovah's Witness can also complain about the time I spend at the Kingdom Hall, or the rules I follow, so he leaves me. Within our congregation we have different groups. Some like to go and drink beer, like George, Sirus and Chubeck, you know them. George and Chubeck are my neighbours, but I cannot join their system. George can make up a group with Chubeck, and they can sit together and drink at a beer party. Jehovah's Witnesses take part in different systems. Some people say to me: "Ah, but I cannot join your religion. There are too many rules, don't smoke, don't drink, no girl friends, do not eat blood, do not eat an animal that died by itself". And they say: "You are always working in the congregation's fields or in the fields of other people. When do you find time to earn money?" But then they can see those Jehovah's Witnesses, their friends, who drink and they see: "That man is not very much in congregation works, I can become like him, that's an easy way to pray to God", and so they join us. But for them it's difficult. They want to follow two systems. Some of them leave but the others, we teach them the rules and we encourage them. You see, those Jehovah's Witnesses such as George make it easy for a lot of people to join our religion.' (E)

This brief discussion underlines the fact that holding strictly to the Biblical rules and remaining strongly attached to the congregation can lead to a certain degree of isolation from the rest of society. Therein lies the importance of those Witnesses who belong to the 'outer shell' of the congregation. These, what Geertz (1969) would probably call, 'mixed-type individuals' maintain contact with the world outside the boundaries of the congregation, accept parts of 'other systems' and prevent the Jehovah's Witnesses from becoming an isolated group rejected by the rest of society. It would appear, therefore, that the pattern of internal differentiation documented above, although it certainly represents a problem to the leadership of the congregation, is at the same time an important factor explaining the continuing success of the doctrine in Nchimishi.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I paid attention to the various patterns of social behaviour and attitudes towards farming found within the congregation. Although it seems that, as a result of the increased body of literature available and the higher level of education of both elders and ministers, the room for manoeuvre for individual Witnesses has become less and one might expect a greater concordance between norms stemming from the Bible and (social) behaviour, paradoxically I encountered within the local congregation more differentiated patterns of behaviour, a more differentiated ethic and more tensions between different individuals and groupings within the congregation. Some Witnesses are clearly not only inspired by the Bible and their fellow Witnesses, but also by other 'systems', by other normative domains, by other groups to which they belong, by other arenas in which they act.

In attempting to explain the differentiation, the different patterns of behaviour within their congregation, the different attitudes towards farming and the fact that different individuals may give different interpretations to certain elements of the doctrine, or

attach different value to particular norms, the Witnesses with whom I discussed these issues usually considered various factors. Apart from her or his knowledge of the Bible and the doctrine, an individual's past and the social milieu in which s/he finds her or himself are elements that are given consideration. In other words, an individual's personal lifeworld, her or his past experiences, the knowledge, the values, norms and ideas s/he developed or acquired before baptism, but also the influence of, or the pressures exerted by, matrikin, friends, neighbours and the example given by fellow congregation members, may influence her or his present decisions and behaviour.

Like many Jehovah's Witnesses in Nchimishi, I think that one cannot fully grasp the various forms and patterns of behaviour that exist within the congregation by pointing only to the 'official' doctrine and by providing a description of the organizational/institutional aspects of the sect. Therefore, in my attempt to analyze the shared and personal lifeworlds and the social practices of Witnesses in comparison with those of non-Witnesses, or when looking at the differentiation within the congregation, I have adopted an actor-oriented approach (see also Chapter 2).

In practice, this means that apart from citing passages from various publications of the Society, which reflect what we might call the official ideology, I presented statements made by a number of Witness informants, statements which not only reflect the ideas, values and norms that are shared by certain sections within the congregation, but also show how individual Witnesses or certain categories within the congregation interpret, and translate to their own situation, certain parts of their doctrine and how they use the doctrine to explain their own behaviour and the behaviour of others. Some of the statements presented also show how cultural models, how the various 'systems' of which I provided a rather static description at the outset of the chapter are reproduced, (re-)defined, given content and meaning, and used situationally by individuals, groups or categories within or outside the congregation to interpret, understand, to create order in (for instance by classifying behaviour or individuals) and respond to particular contexts, to concrete situations.

As the sub-title of this book suggests and as I have pointed out in earlier chapters, the various processes of change that have taken place in Nchimishi are interwoven such as to make it impossible to identify a prime mover that could be said to have caused change in the area. In the last two chapters I have tried to show that the processes of agricultural, social, political and economic change that have taken, and are still taking place, in Nchimishi cannot be understood without considering the role played by the Jehovah's Witnesses. At the same time, however, these processes have, in turn, had profound effects upon the community of the Witnesses and upon their religious ethic.

Although the ethnography and analysis presented in Chapters 13 and 14 may at times seem to be somewhat removed from the other main topics of the study, these last two chapters certainly do not stand separately from the rest of the book. They show that we cannot grasp factors and processes such as the spreading of the plough and hybrid maize, the changed patterns of migration, settlement and economic differentiation, but also the changing gender relations in Nchimishi, without considering the personal and

shared lifeworlds and the actions of the Jehovah's Witnesses or certain sections within the congregation and comparing them with the lifeworlds and actions of non-Witnesses.

Notes:

1. In what follows, I present some of the critical comments Dennis Changwe made with regard to an earlier version of this chapter which I asked him to read:
 'Yes, it's correct to talk about these systems. They do exist. We have these different groups here. I am one of Jehovah's Witnesses but others believe in what UNIP has to say. But you also speak of different groups that exist within our congregation. I would not call them groups, because they all have the same doctrine. They only differ in their behaviour and the way they interpret what they read. As is shown on page 46, some brothers, such as Kanyanta, drink and will even quote from the Bible to defend their bad habits. But I would not say there are different groups within the congregation, we only differ in the way we behave. On page 45 you talk about an 'inner circle', 16 male Witnesses. But who are these Witnesses? Am I one of them? It's difficult for me to know if they are a group. You probably refer to the elders and pioneers. Why not specify it? Kanyanta differentiates between important and less important rules, between rules that have to be followed and those that do not necessarily have to be followed. But how do you differentiate? This kind of behaviour is not good. All rules in the Bible have to be followed. If you make your own choices with regard to the rules you will have a case with God. I would also like to comment upon what has been written on page 48. There you say that people such as George Bulwani, who are not very active members, encourage others to join his religion when they meet non-believers at beer parties. But I think that's not true. I don't think people like George recruit a lot of new members just because he visits beer parties where he meets a lot of non-believers.' (E)
2. The publication *Reasoning from the Scriptures* (1985: 389) provides the following definition of the 'spirit of the world':
 'The impelling force that influences human society made up of those who are not servants of Jehovah God, causing such people to say and do things according to a characteristic pattern. Although people act on individual preferences, those who manifest the spirit of the world give evidence of certain basic attitudes, ways of doing things, and aims in life that are common to the present system of doing things of which Satan is ruler and God.' (see also: *ibid.* 390-3).
3. Dennis Changwe expressed his view with regard to 'brothers' and 'sisters' who 'serve two masters' - a view which was shared by others belonging to the 'inner circle' - as follows:
 'Yes, we have the same doctrine and in theory we should be one, but we differ according to the way we see the things the world is showing to us. Some are used to drinking. Of course, when such a person becomes one of us, he is not going to change his drinking habits easily. Wrongful behaviour can and should be corrected, but it takes time. We have to talk to people who like to go to beer parties and we have to explain that they have to stop leading two separate lives, serving two masters. Some are haunted by old habits, by their past. Some of Jehovah's Witnesses will mix with others when they are at a funeral, but the Bible says that bad associations spoil good habits. Jehovah's Witnesses should differ from others. So if you have a lot of contacts with a relative who is a non-believer, in the end you will be attracted to the things he is doing, like having girl-friends. When on a Monday you meet your relative and tell him about a good speech which was delivered by a brother at the Kingdom Hall, saying that drinkers and fornicators will not inherit God's Kingdom, and your relative who belongs to that category asks you to go for beers and visit some nice girls at the farm of Mr. so and so. How are you going to communicate with such a person? Instead of listening to him because he is your relative, you ought to stop seeing him. 2 Corinthians 6: 14-17 tells us that we should stop touching the unclean things, separate ourselves from them.' (E)
4. According to Dennis Changwe:
 'Here in Serenje, the Society came in very early, back in the 1920's. In town, Witnesses get difficult questions from all kinds of people belonging to different religions. When I lived in town, this really motivated me to study the Bible so I could answer all these questions. But here we are the No. 1 religion so some of the older elders have become easy-going. Here people we visit often make very easy statements such as: "Okay, I'll be a Jehovah's Witness." Everybody here is already convinced that Jehovah is there, but they do not realize what being one of Jehovah's Witnesses involves. Because they

are not critical, people do not get a clear picture of the organization and of the faith. They see Jehovah's Witnesses all the time, and many become members without really thinking about the consequences. But in town, becoming a Jehovah's Witness is not something that happens almost automatically. It is a conscious choice, because you are faced with many choices. I found that in town people ask very critical questions about the faith and the way in which the congregation is run, because they want to compare the different religions. But here people always say: "Okay, okay, I'll come to the Kingdom Hall tomorrow". They join us, or leave the congregation without giving it careful thought. Because of those Jehovah's Witnesses who engage in drinking and witchcraft, our religion has in a way become a part of Lala tradition. That's our problem. We have become too large a group, and a lot of people who are not really members of the congregation call themselves Jehovah's Witnesses. We should start to apply the rules more strictly. Jesus said that if we want to follow him we should be really aware of what that means. Many believers here are not interested in fully participating in the congregation, and many fall into inactivity, and many are disfellowshipped. Some non-believers who join us are misinformed by people who are not very active and who are trying to serve two masters.' (E)

5. The foregoing discussion might have given the reader the impression that tensions within the Nchimishi congregation only occur between the 'inner circle' and those who were often labelled as 'the brothers and sisters following different systems'. Indeed, it is within this latter section of the congregation that I found many persons who had been disfellowshipped several times in the past. But differences with regard to the interpretation of the dogma exist not only between the two extremes that characterize the congregation, but also within the 'inner circle' itself. This is illustrated by the account of a discussion which took place near the Kingdom Hall when a number of Witnesses were busy repairing the roof of a kitchen that was normally used by the circuit overseer and his wife when visiting the Fipese congregation. The account also shows that the so-called 'systems' or normative domains, as I said at the outset of this chapter, should not be visualized as having a life of their own or as disembodied moral orders upon which actors simply draw in an attempt to put 'order' into their social worlds. They only become meaningful as they are defined and given content in the ongoing process of everyday life. In this chapter I have shown that in some contexts the Jehovah's Witnesses and their 'system' are compared or contrasted with 'Lala traditions or the 'town system'. This account shows that sometimes within the group of Witnesses also, concepts like 'town', 'town life' and 'Lala tradition' are used to differentiate between Witnesses, norms and forms of behaviour. The story is told by Dennis Changwe, one of the elders who was present during the discussion:

'Nowadays, we have more publications to sharpen our knowledge. In the past, many Witnesses here used to misinterpret God's word. Elders could say that the congregation belonged to them. In that respect, there is progress because as time went by the Branch Office faced a lot of problems because they found out that elders, or servants as they were called in those days, were acting on their own judgement, not informing the Office. But nowadays all are aware that it is not man but Jesus who is head of the congregation. But in those days they were illiterate, so they could not run the congregation according to the Scriptures. But even nowadays you see that traditions bend more on what the Bible says. Traditions overcome what people learn. But in town it's quite all right. As I told you last week, in town you meet different people. People from Chipata, Livingstone, from all over the country. Now, being a Lala, I cannot accept the traditions of a Tonga or an Ngoni, or impose my own traditions. So we only meet through the Bible. That's the important thing we have in common. But here in Nchimishi my uncle, my nephews or in-laws can be in the same congregation. That's how problems arise, because people start to mix different systems, mixing religion with Lala tradition.

For example, I heard that in the past elders found it very difficult to disfellowship a father-in-law, or brother, even if the Bible ordered them to do so. So here we had a congregation of relatives, and people felt forced to make their own rules instead of following strictly what the Bible says. In the past, elders were more inclined to follow tradition, but now you will find that even here elders only follow what the Bible says. You can see this change through observation. Young people who came from town and who became elders have brought this change, they introduced the idea that only the Bible has to be emphasized. But the older elders who remained here still have difficulty leaving their traditions behind. They say that they have run the congregation for a long time and therefore know

what is best. They are not willing to change with time. Such problems of course always arise.

We have also learned a lot through the Theocratic Ministry School. We learned that instead of just talking off the top of our heads we must always quote the Scriptures. The school came here in 1958 or so, but before that the elders just used their own language, they made their own interpretations. We all should be aware of the fact that an old man, just because he has founded the congregation or has been an elder for a long time, cannot do his own thing. Like what happened that time, there was a difference of opinion. We were putting up a roof on a kitchen at the Kingdom Hall. There is a house there for our circuit overseer. We were repairing that roof. Now this old man, Zebron Bulwani, said: "We are hungry, let's knock off and go home". But the others said: "No, let's just finish this job instead of coming back each time." Then Zebron replied: "You town-dwellers have messed up things in this congregation. In those days we used to have a meal each time we were doing congregation work, but ever since you youngsters came into the congregation things have been messed up. You show no respect for us. We founded this congregation." He said this because in the past he was a big name within the congregation. He was feared by all other Witnesses because he said: "I am the owner of this congregation." But things have changed and some people asked themselves: "Why did this Zebron use such words?" And Marikent Changwe said to him: "No, you are always fighting progress and blaming things on town dwellers. Why?" Then someone else came in and said: "Why do you home-dwellers always refer to us as town-dwellers? We are all Jehovah's Witnesses."

In the past, Zebron was a big name in the congregation. He was one of the first Witnesses. He was much respected because in those days a person who could read and speak a bit of English was an exception and was seen as an educated man who held the key to the Bible. People like Zebron think things have changed for the worse. When it comes to teaching techniques, they are being taught now and they don't like it. He should not be given special treatment because of what he did for the congregation in the past. We are all the same, and we should all follow what the Bible says. That man, Zebron, has had problems all along, he is still captured by tradition. He is hated by most people here in Nchimishi because they say he is a witch who has killed a lot of people, a lot of his own relatives (*). He has given the congregation a very bad name. Some people have asked me: "Why are you keeping sorcerers in your congregation?"

You mention this opposition between the old and the young, between the town-dwellers and those who have lived here most of their lives. But weren't older people, elders like Zebron Bulwani, town dwellers in the forties and fifties? Yes, but Zebron, for instance, came back in 1940. In those days, the towns were much smaller and people were not as educated as today. Moreover, people did not stay there very long but, for instance, myself I was born there, I grew up in town.' (E)

(*) Zebron Bulwani (see also Chapter 12), one of the first Witnesses in the area and co-founder of one of the first congregations, after being accused of the death of his sister and a few other close matrilineal kinsmen, gave in to the pressure exerted upon him by his close matrikin, and by his brother George (who until 1989 was a member of the sect) in particular, to visit a sorcerer in order to find out whether or not he was guilty of having used sorcery to kill some of his close matrikin. However, it is strictly forbidden for Jehovah's Witnesses to engage directly or indirectly in spiritism, sorcery and witchcraft (see also: *Unseen Spirits; Do they Help Us? or Do They Harm Us?* 1978). When the congregation found out about Zebron's visit, he had to resign as an elder. Most remaining elders maintained that through his actions Zebron had severely damaged the good name of the Fipese congregation, but it was also acknowledged that Zebron at the time had been aware of his wrong doing but had been under enormous pressure from his matrikin who on several occasions had threatened to kill him. In 1989, one year after this incident, one of his close matrikin hired a poacher to have Zebron liquidated. On an evening in March, while sitting in his *nsaka* with his wife Peleshi, Zebron was shot. The bullet hit his shoulder, and Zebron survived the assault.

6. According to Dennis Changwe:

"You can recognize one of Jehovah's Witnesses through his language, through his haircut, the way he is dressed, the way he smiles. Also the language somehow differs. A lot of people today use abusive language, and of course when you hear somebody using bad language you know he or she is not one of Jehovah's Witnesses. We learn to use good language and to remain humble and composed, even during disputes or conflict situations. We have our Theocratic Ministry School. That's where we learn

how we should talk to a person, address a crowd. You can easily tell if a person is a Jehovah's Witness from the language he uses, the way he expresses himself, the things he talks about. A brother or sister will always quote from the Bible if he or she discusses a certain problem. Jehovah's Witnesses use words from the Bible other people do not use. That's how you can recognize a Jehovah's Witness. Doctors have that medical language and we have our language. We have our own words, which we use in our daily language. When we go into the field ministry, we should always be smiling to prevent arousing suspicion. Those are the techniques we learn, and that's how you recognize a Jehovah's Witness. The only thing is that many non-believers have heard us preaching and some of them have started copying our language and the way we express ourselves. Different people here have their own language I can say. In town, slang originates at the markets and bus stations, places where people meet. But some people here speak deep Lala and that's why people here cannot always understand each other. People with a town background use their own language, their own codes. It's a language of thieves, to pass on information which should not be heard by everybody. Within the congregation, we learn how to read properly so that we do not misinterpret the message. We learn how to raise our voice, to bring it down, to stop at full stops and raise our voice when we see a question mark. Emphasizing a point is important, making good gestures to underline what you want to tell, you should not behave like a dummy. Taking a breath, not speaking in a monotonous way, speed up and slow down, those are all techniques we learn. The way we dress is also important. We cannot talk about peace to others wearing a T shirt with Bruce Lee, a Kung Fu fighter. We can wear our traditional clothes. Here we wear a suit but in Japan, for instance, women wear a kimono. We also learn how to interpret what we read, to grasp it. All of us, we should be able to interpret the Bible in the same way. At our School we learn all these things and on form 548 we get marks. All these things should be kept in mind not only at the Kingdom Hall but also in daily life when we talk to each other and to non-believers.' (E)

7. One of my respondents, a young male Witness, made the following remark concerning the articles in *Awake!* and *The Watchtower* and the importance of staging plays in order to address issues that are relevant to the Witnesses in Nchimishi:

'For many people, the topics that are discussed in *Awake!* and *The Watchtower* are just too far removed from their situation. That's why we prepare dramas to relate to the situation here, to our local problems. For example beer drinking, the relationship with our in-laws, or people going to *inanga*, these witch doctors. In town they have their specific problems so they make their own plays. When we prepare a drama, say on beer drinking, an elder is always responsible. He selects the actors and prepares the Scriptures from the Bible that relate to this topic and the setting of the scene. Usually a drama shows alternatives, two faces. For instance, one couple who is in favour of brewing beer and a couple that is against it. Dramas also show that people can change and correct wrongful behaviour. The advantage of presenting plays is that you can relate the problems people face to the Scriptures. If people just listen to elders talking on the platform in the Kingdom Hall or if they just read the magazines, they may think all this is meant for somebody else. A drama is just like a persuasive advert on television, it shows the home situation and how people should or should not act.' (E) (see also Long's discussion of plays staged by the Witnesses: Long 1968: 211-5).

Appendix 1. Extract from The Bulawayo Chronicle, June 1st 1950

AFRICAN PEASANT FARM EXPERIMENTS IN N. RHODESIA

60 "GUINEA-PIG" FAMILIES IN TWO AREAS

From Our Northern Rhodesia
Representative

Lusaka, Monday.
EIGHT months ago Northern Rhodesia began an experiment with "native peasant farm settlement"—a scheme which if successful may revolutionise African agriculture and may eventually radically change for the better the traditional village life of Africans without destroying their ties with the land.

A progress report on the results and possibilities so far revealed in the formative stages of the scheme was given to me today by Mr. John Moffatt, Commissioner for Native Development.

The scheme involves 60 "guinea-pig farmers" and their families, who have been chosen specially for the experiment. The farmers are organised in four groups in the Serenje district and two groups near Fort Jameson. Each group consists of ten farmers with from 30 to 40 acres of land each.

The outcome of the tests will depend upon whether each individual farmer can make a living from his plot and at the same time repay the whole of the Government's assistance to him within a maximum period of five years.

DIFFERENT TYPES

The two areas chosen for the experiment were picked for special reasons. In the Fort Jameson area, centre of the Northern Rhodesian tobacco industry, the Africans are familiar with agriculture and have some knowledge of European methods and implements. In the Serenje district—a remote area in the central province—the Africans are primitive and unfamiliar with present-day farming.

While the Fort Jameson African is already an agriculturist, the Serenje African is still a tree-feller and pursues this primitive method of crop-raising in his villages. His normal procedure is to fell trees over an area of, say, 40 acres. His wife then drags the branches into piles, and after the first rains the piled wood is fired and the acreage is then left roughly cleared and with a crude fertiliser of wood ash, which is washed in with the following rains.

Long use of this ancient method means a continual devastation of a new acreage every growing season. The cultivated lands are situated further and further from the village until, when they pass beyond walking distance, the village is deserted, a new one built elsewhere and the devastation of a new tract of land begins.

MUST STAY PUT

Much of the planning of the peasant farm scheme was devoted specifically to dealing with this type of traditional native cultivation. Each peasant farmer's plot of, say, 40 acres is rectangular. The cutting up into separate sub-divisions is made according to contour, but each farmer is instructed to plant ten acres only each year. The remaining 30 acres remains fallow for a period of three years and to sow any crop on it is forbidden.

Grazing land is provided outside the main settlement on a communal basis. Great care has been taken to select areas where there is sufficient arable land to permit the expansion of each settlement to include a maximum of 20 farmers. Each man's holding is also placed alongside that of his neighbour so it is no longer possible for the African to follow his traditional method of planting indiscriminately and changing his boundaries continually to take in new soil and leave devastated that which he has exhausted.

Present tendencies among Northern Rhodesian African farmers is to crowd in as close as possible to the line of rail, to work a piece of land to death under maize and then to move

to virgin land a little further on. Under the peasant scheme he must nurse his land and make a living from it or go under.

INITIAL HELP

The Government provides initial help only. Tree clearing is done and a supply of implements—ox-drawn ploughs, harrows, cultivator and farm cart for composting—are provided and used on a communal basis. Each farmer signs an undertaking to pay his share of the purchase price of the communal implements and the cost of tree stumping within five years.

In return for Government help and the assistance of a European agricultural officer the peasant farmer is compelled to undertake to grow what crops the Government tells him. He must grow them where he is told and he must compost where he is told. He must look after his cattle and keep them at a standard acceptable to the Government veterinary department. His irrigation, composting, draining and crop rotation must also be according to instructions. He must observe the rules laid down in each settlement by the native authorities. He has to repay each year one fifth of his share of the settlement's debt for implements and he must cultivate his own plot and no other land.

SIZE OF PLOTS

The size of the plots are determined by the amount which an average African family can cultivate fully without requiring any labour outside the immediate family circle.

For the experimental first season basic crops are being grown—beans, ground nuts, kaffir corn and maize—the traditional crops which Africans understand. Until the season ends it is impossible to make any final estimate as to the permanent value of the settlement idea, according to Mr. Moffatt, but the chances of success are considered good. If encouraging results are obtained the scheme will be extended by the formation of other similar settlements.

WAITING LIST

That there will be no difficulty in this direction seems clear from the attitude of Africans near both existing settlements, where there are waiting lists of over 100 applicants who want to come into the scheme.

If it should succeed permanent benefits may follow. Once the African village community becomes tied to a small area they will be encouraged to improve their villages, set up rudimentary communal services and take a pride in their homes and lands, which is impossible to a community which, in its present stage, looks on its huts and lands as a mere stopping place before moving elsewhere to ruin further tracts of potentially useful lands.

Appendix 2. Population structure, household size and farm composition

Table 1: Sample population by sex and age (percentages in brackets)

SEX AGE GROUP (YEARS)	MALES	FEMALES	
< 15	129	112	241 (47.2)
15-24	55	53	108 (21.1)
25-34	21	33	54 (10.6)
35-44	20	19	39 (7.6)
45-54	11	17	28 (5.5)
55-64	11	11	22 (4.3)
> 64	12	7	19 (3.7)
	259 (50.7)	252 (49.3)	511 (100.0)

Table 2: Household size distribution in survey sample

NUMBER OF PERSONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS
1	13
2	15
3	10
4	17
5	14
6	18
7	9
8	9
9	1
10	0
>10	5
Total	111

Table 3: Farm composition in survey sample (percentages in brackets)

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER OF FARMS	
1	33	(51.5)
2	20	(31.3)
3	8	(12.5)
4	2	(3.1)
7	1	(1.6)
TOTAL	64	(100.0)

Table 4: Male and female headed farms (in survey sample)

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
MALE HEADED FARMS	47	(73.4)
FEMALE HEADED FARMS	17	(26.6)
TOTAL	64	(100.0)

Table 5: Male and female headed households (in survey sample)

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
MALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS	74	(66.7)
FEMALE HEADED HOUSHOLDS	37	(33.3)
TOTAL	111	(100.0)

Appendix 3. Education, literacy and ability to speak English by sex

Table 1: Formal education by sex (adult individuals in survey sample)
(percentages in brackets)

	MALES	FEMALES	ROW TOTAL
ATTENDED SCHOOL	92 (80.0)	70 (52.6)	162 (65.3)
DID NOT ATTEND SCHOOL	23 (20.0)	63 (47.4)	86 (34.7)
TOTAL	115 (46.4)	133 (53.6)	248 (100.0)

<u>CHI-SQUARE:</u>	<u>D.F.:</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE:</u>	<u>MIN E.F.:</u>	<u>CELLS WITH E.F. <5:</u>
17.98338	1	.000	27.402	NONE
19.28157	1	.000	(Before Yates correction)	

Table 2: Ability to write and/or read by sex (adult individuals in survey sample)
(percentages in brackets)

	MALES	FEMALES	ROW TOTAL
READ	5 (4.4)	6 (4.6)	11 (4.5)
READ AND WRITE	86 (75.4)	56 (42.8)	142 (58.0)
NONE	23 (20.2)	69 (52.7)	92 (37.5)
TOTAL	114 (46.5)	131 (53.5)	245 (100.0)

<u>CHI-SQUARE:</u>	<u>D.F.:</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE:</u>	<u>MIN E.F.:</u>	<u>CELLS WITH E.F. <5:</u>
28.38601	2	.000	5.118	NONE

Table 3: Ability to speak English by sex (adult individuals in survey sample)
(percentages in brackets)

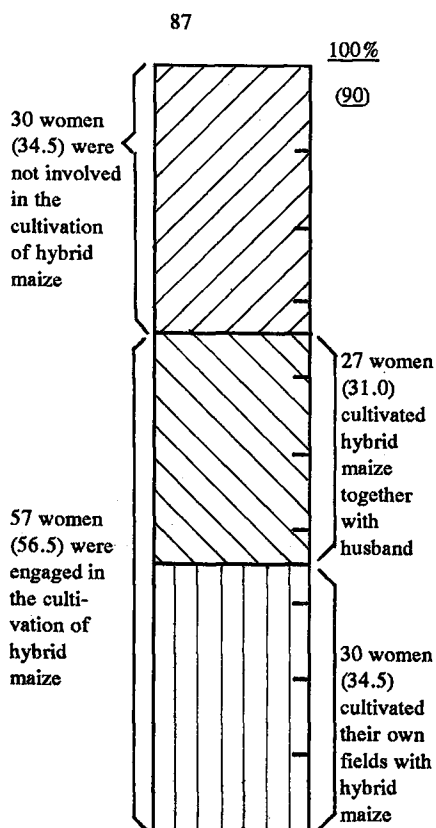
	MALES	FEMALES	ROW TOTAL
SPEAK ENGLISH	42 (37.8)	17 (13.3)	59 (24.7)
DO NOT SPEAK ENGLISH	69 (62.2)	111 (86.7)	180 (75.3)
TOTAL	111 (46.4)	128 (53.6)	239 (100.0)

<u>CHI-SQUARE:</u>	<u>D.F.:</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE:</u>	<u>MIN E.F.:</u>	<u>CELLS WITH E.F. <5:</u>
17.98338	1	0.000	27.402	NONE
19.28157	1	0.000	(Before Yates correction)	

Appendix 4. Women, the cultivation of hybrid maize and the ownership of ploughs and cattle

Figure 1: Women and the cultivation of hybrid maize in 1988 (percentages in brackets)

87 WOMEN IN THE SURVEY SAMPLE
WERE OLDER THAN 24 YEARS OF AGE
IN DECEMBER 1988



35 WOMEN IN THE SURVEY SAMPLE
WERE OLDER THAN 44 YEARS OF AGE
IN DECEMBER 1988

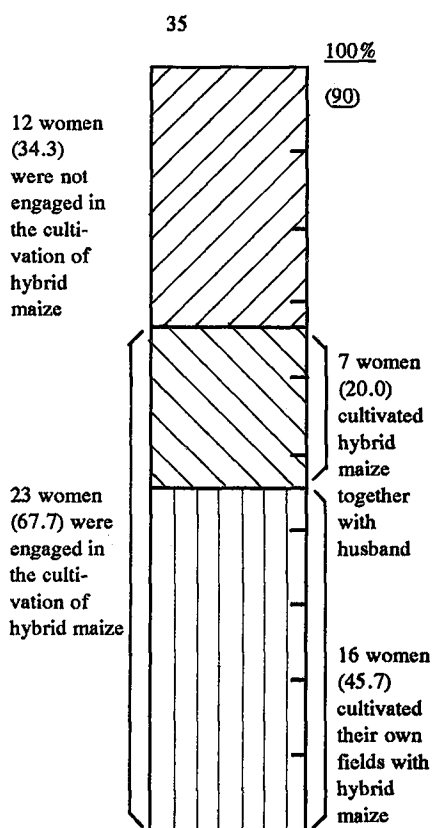
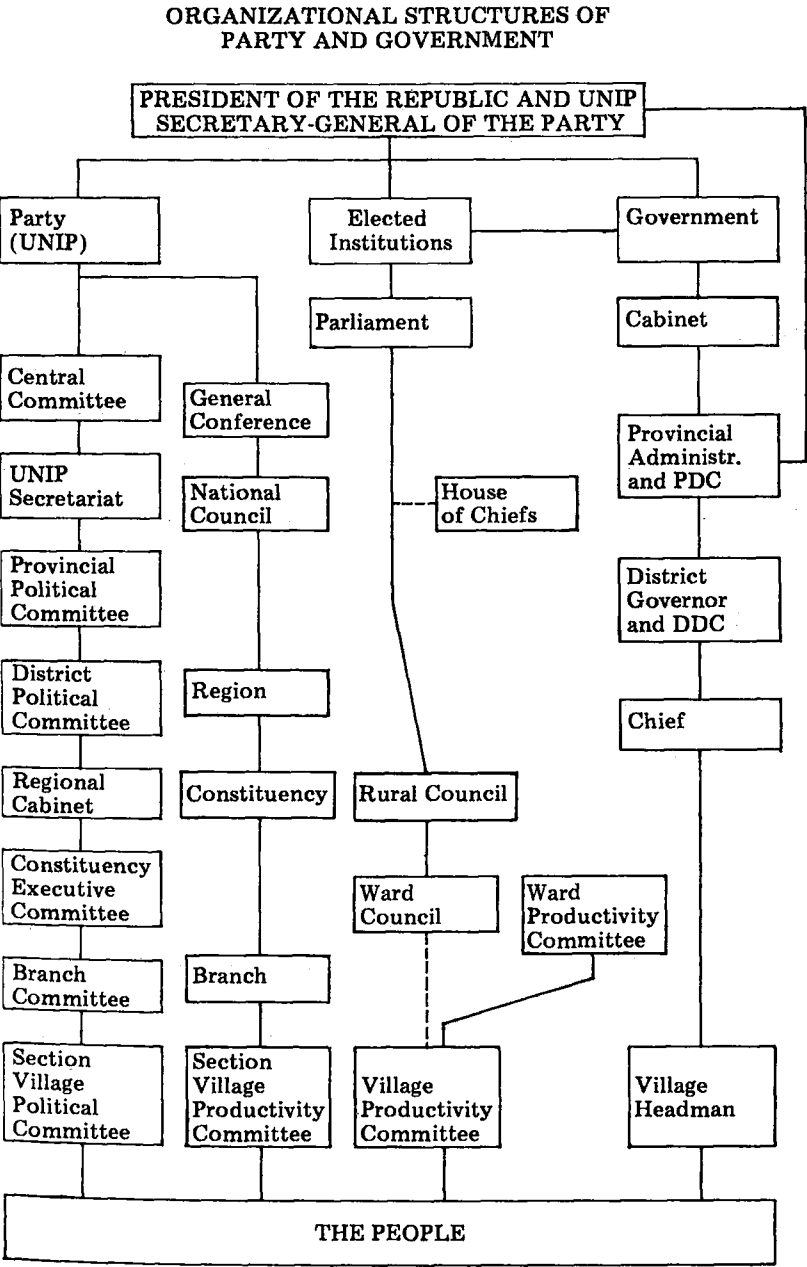


Table 1: Plough ownership by sex (adult women and men in survey sample)
(percentages in brackets) =

Appendix 5. Organizational structures of Party and Government in 1979



Source: Ollawa 1979: 263

Appendix 6: A comparison of the social characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses as against the rest of the population (see also Long 1968: 245-249)

Table 1: Primary occupations of male Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized) and male non-Witnesses in 1963/1964 (percentages in brackets)

OCCUPATION	WITNESSES		NON-WITNESSES		ROW TOTAL	
SUBSISTENCE CULTIVATOR	23	(48.9)	135	(80.8)	158	(73.8)
SUBSISTENCE CULTIVATOR GROWING TOBACCO	8	(17.0)	13	(7.8)	21	(9.8)
PEASANT FARMER	3	(6.4)	2	(1.2)	5	(2.4)
PEASANT FARMER GROWING TOBACCO	9	(19.2)	11	(6.6)	20	(9.3)
STOREKEEPER	3	(6.4)	2	(1.2)	5	(2.4)
STOREKEEPER GROWING TOBACCO	1	(2.1)	2	(1.2)	3	(1.4)
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE	—	—	2	(1.2)	2	(0.9)
TOTAL	47	(100.0)	167	(100.0)	214	(100.0)

* Both are chief's messengers. Combining all those deriving some cash income (i.e. all but 'subsistence cultivators' category):
 $n = 1$ $\chi^2 = 17.7$ $p < 0.001$

Source: Long 1968: 246

Table 2: Type of agriculture practised by male Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized) and male non-Witnesses in 1963/1964 (percentages in brackets)

TYPE OF AGRICULTURE	WITNESSES		NON-WITNESSES		ROW TOTAL	
CITEME ONLY	15	(31.9)	121	(72.5)	136	(63.6)
PLOUGH ONLY	22	(46.8)	30	(17.8)	52	(24.3)
PLOUGH AND CITEME	10	(21.3)	16	(9.7)	26	(12.1)
TOTAL	47	(100.0)	167	(100.0)	214	(100.0)

$n = 2$ $\chi^2 = 23.07$ $p < 0.001$

Source: Long 1968: 247

Table 3: Witnesses, non-Witnesses and plough ownership (percentages in brackets)

	BAPTIZED WITNESSES	NON-BAPTIZED WITNESSES	NON- WITNESSES	ROW TOTAL
OWN A PLOUGH	11 (35.5)	4 (9.3)	23 (13.1)	38 (15.2)
DO NOT OWN A PLOUGH	20 (64.5)	39 (90.7)	153 (86.9)	212 (84.8)
COLUMN TOTAL	31 (100.0) (12.4)	43 (100.0) (17.2)	176 (100.0) (70.4)	250 (100.0)

CHI-SQUARE: D.F.: SIGNIFICANCE: MIN E.F.: CELLS WITH E.F. < 5:
 11.67609 2 .0029 4.712 1 OF 6 (16.7)

Table 4: Witnesses, non-Witnesses and cattle ownership (percentages in brackets)

	BAPTIZED WITNESSES	NON-BAPTIZED WITNESSES	NON- WITNESSES	ROW TOTAL
OWN CATTLE	14 (45.2)	5 (11.4)	36 (20.5)	55 (21.9)
DO NOT OWN CATTLE	17 (54.8)	39 (88.6)	140 (79.5)	196 (78.1)
COLUMN TOTAL	31 (100.0) (12.4)	44 (100.0) (17.5)	176 100.0) (70.1)	251 (100.0)

CHI-SQUARE: D.F.: SIGNIFICANCE: MIN E.F.: CELLS WITH E.F. < 5:
 12.87258 2 .0016 6.793 NONE

Table 5: Literacy and level of education of adult Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized) and adult non-Witnesses in 1963/1964 (percentages in brackets)

EDUCATION/ LITERACY	MALES		FEMALES		TOTALS
	WITNESSES	NON- WITNESSES	WITNESSES	NON- WITNESSES	
ILLITERATE	6 (12.8)	82 (49.0)	30 (68.1)	211 (88.3)	329 (66.2)
LITERATE NO FORMAL EDUCATION	10 (21.2)	14 (8.1)	9 (20.5)	4 (1.7)	37 (7.4)
1-4 YEARS SCHOOLING	17 (36.2)	40 (24.5)	3 (6.8)	16 (6.7)	76 (15.3)
5-8 YEARS SCHOOLING	14 (29.8)	31 (18.4)	2 (4.6)	8 (3.3)	55 (11.1)
TOTALS	47 (100.0)	167 (100.0)	44 (100.0)	239 (100.0)	497 (100.0)

Combining all literate groups:

Males : $n = 1$ $\chi^2 = 18.53$ $p < 0.001$
 Females : $n = 1$ $\chi^2 = 10.34$ $0.01 > p > 0.01$

Source: Long 1968: 249

Table 6: Literacy among Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized) and non-Witnesses in survey sample (percentages in brackets)

	WITNESSES		NON-WITNESSES		ROW TOTAL	
READ	3	(4.0)	8	(4.7)	11	(4.5)
READ AND WRITE	44	(59.5)	98	(57.6)	142	(58.2)
NONE	27	(36.5)	64	(37.7)	91	(37.3)
COLUMN TOTAL	74	(100.0)	170	(100.0)	244	(100.0)
	(30.3)		(69.7)			

CHI-SQUARE: D.F.: SIGNIFICANCE: MIN E.F.: CELLS WITH E.F. < 5:
 .09631 2 .9530 3.336 1 OF 6 (16.7)

Table 7: Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized), non-Witnesses and their ability to speak English (percentages in brackets)

	WITNESSES		NON-WITNESSES		ROW TOTAL	
SPEAK ENGLISH	23	(31.5)	36	(21.8)	59	(24.8)
DO NOT SPEAK ENGLISH	50	(68.5)	129	(78.2)	179	(75.2)
COLUMN TOTAL	73	(100.0)	165	(100.0)	238	(100.0)
	(30.7)		(69.3)			

CHI-SQUARE: D.F.: SIGNIFICANCE: MIN E.F.: CELLS WITH E.F. < 5:
 2.05489 1 .1517 18.097 NONE
 2.54804 1 .1104 (Before Yates correction)

Table 8: Proportion of male Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized) and male non-Witnesses skilled in 1963/64, if bricklaying, sawing, tailoring, metalwork, carpentry, driving and shoe repairing are considered as skills (percentages in brackets)

WHETHER SKILLED OR NOT	WITNESSES		NON-WITNESSES		TOTALS	
NON-SKILLED	20	(42.5)	131	(78.4)	151	(70.6)
SKILLED	27	(57.5)	36	(21.6)	63	(29.4)
TOTALS	47	(100.0)	167	(100.0)	214	(100.0)

$$n = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 21.05 \quad p > 0.001$$

Source: Long 1968: 246

Table 9: Proportion of adult male Witnesses (baptized and non-baptized) and adult male non-Witnesses skilled in 1988, if bricklaying, sawing, tailoring, metalwork, carpentry, driving and shoe repairing are considered as skills (percentages in brackets)

WHETHER SKILLED OR NOT	WITNESSES		NON-WITNESSES		TOTALS	
NON-SKILLED	21	(58.3)	54	(65.9)	75	(63.6)
SKILLED	15	(41.7)	28	(34.1)	43	(36.4)
TOTALS	36	(100.0)	82	(100.0)	118	(100.0)

<u>CHI-SQUARE:</u>	<u>D.F.:</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE:</u>	<u>MIN E.F.:</u>	<u>CELLS WITH E.F. < 5:</u>
.32931	1	.5661	13.119	NONE
.61086	1	.4345	(Before Yates correction)	

Glossary

akabungwe:	an organized gathering which has as its purpose to settle conflicts and disputes
ama acre:	ploughed or hoed field
amafunde:	norms or rules of conduct
bakulakula:	see the description of the 'small circle' cite me system in Chapter 3
basambashi:	according to Long (1968: 191-2), the basambashi way of life implies that one wears good-quality clothing, eats good foods, and acquires consumer-durables, like furniture and household equipment
chikeni:	kitchen
chilemba:	runner beans
chipumu:	traditional beer made from finger millet
cibunde (plural: fibunde):	long beds where Livingstone potatoes (mumbu) are cultivated (see Chapter 3)
cisebe (plural: fisebe):	type of garden where "Lala maize" and beans are cultivated (see Chapter 3)
citaba (plural: fitaba):	garden where cassava is cultivated (see Chapter 3)
cite me (plural: fiteme) or 'small circle' c(h)itemene (plural: fitemene) system	(see Chapter 3 for a detailed description)
citenge:	cloth worn by women
Copperbelt:	copper mining area where most of Zambia's major cities (Kitwe, Ndola, Luanshya, Mufulira, Chingola and Chilabombwe) are found

daka:	hemp
dambo:	a treeless, grassy and often swampy plain bordering seasonal or perennial watercourses
ibala (plural: mabala):	type of field where sorghum is cultivated (see Chapter 3)
ichipia:	tall elephant grass mainly found in and near dambo areas
ichonde (plural: (i)fyonde):	the branch sites in citeime gardens
ifwamu:	farm
(i)nanda:	house or household
inkule:	type of field where cereals but also groundnuts or groundbeans are cultivated (see Chapter 3)
kamushi:	villager
kashaba:	cow peas
katata:	beer made from maize and finger millet
katobela:	the term refers to the activity of: cultivating the dry soil, splitting old mounds and making new ones (see Chapter 3)
Kwacha(K):	Zambian currency. K 8.054 was equal to US \$ 1.00 in May 1987
mabwela:	the second planting (see Chapter 3)
masaka:	sorghum
mataba:	maize
mawo:	finger millet (eleusine coracana)
mbalala:	groundnuts
mealie meal:	maize flower which is used to prepare nshima

- mikose:** type of field where "Lala maize" and other crops are cultivated (see Chapter 3 for a detailed description)
- mumbu:** Livingstone potatoes
- munkoyo:** a soft drink made from a type of root
- mutipula (plural: imitipula):**
type of garden where "Lala maize", runner beans and other crops are cultivated (see Chapter 3)
- mwina tauni:** name given to townsmen or recently returned migrants
- myunda:** see description of the 'small circle' citeme system in Chapter 3
- nfula:** rain
- Ngwee:** 100 ngwee are equal to one Kwacha
- nkutu:** temporary grass encampment built near the citeme garden in which people live during the cutting period which begins in April and lasts until the end of August (see Chapter 3)
- nsaka:** open-sided hut or shelter
- nsala:** hunger
- nshima:** porridge made from maize, millet and/or cassava
- relatives:** when English speaking respondents used this term they, in most cases, referred to close matrilineal kinsmen
- relish:** food is a too general a word to convey the full significance of the term relish, as it is mostly used to describe the meat, fish, vegetables or pulses eaten to accompany the staple food
- scotch cart:** ox cart
- sul(u)tani (or mwine mushi):**
village headman
- sundowni:** beer party where people dance to live music
- ubutala (plural: butala):**
grain bin

ubwali or nshima:

porridge made from maize, millet and/or cassava

ukungula:

the use of magic to transfer crops from someone else's field to one's own

umushi:

village

umushinshi:

respect

UNIP:

United National Independence Party

witchcraft:

see Note 1 in Chapter 2

Samenvatting

In de periode 1963-64 verrichtte Norman Long onderzoek in een rurale gemeenschap in Chibale Chiefdom, een van de Lala Chiefdoms in Serenje District, Zambia. Zijn

in Chibale Chiefdom, een van de Lala Chiefdoms in Serenje District, Zambia. Zijn onderzoek richtte zich voornamelijk op de analyse van de differentiële reacties van verschillende groepen op veranderende agrarische, sociale en economische omstandigheden alsmede op interventie door de koloniale overheid.

Een belangrijk thema in Long's werk was de vraag waarom de Jehovah's Getuigen (die in die dagen 19% van de volwassen bevolking uitmaakten) meer nog dan andere boeren in het gebied er toe geneigd waren om na de introductie van de dierlijke tractie en de ploeg alsmede de invoering van Turkse tabak als handelsge- was, nieuwe sociaal-economische rollen te ontwikkelen (Long 1984: 4). Long vroeg zich tevens af op welke wijzen de Jehovah's Getuigen in staat waren ruimte voor zichzelf te creëren met als doel 'projecten' uit te voeren die soms lijnrecht stonden tegenover de belangen en politiek van de koloniale overheid. In *Social Change and the Individual* toont Long aan dat de Jehovah's Getuigen succesvoller bleken in het opzetten van stabiele en gezonde agrarische bedrijven omdat:

'zij zich gemakkelijker wisten te onttrekken aan matrilineaire verwantschapsverplichtingen dan wel deze een nieuwe inhoud konden geven, terwijl zij tegelijkertijd additionele, op de kerk gebaseerde en moreel geaccepteerde, sociale netwerken ontwikkelden, zowel binnen als buiten het gebied. Deze sociale netwerken werden gemobiliseerd om problemen van tekorten aan arbeid, kapitaal en kennis van boerenbedrijfsvoering op te lossen.' (Long 1984: 5).

Een ander thema, waaraan Long aandacht besteedde, was de verschillende wijzen waarop boeren reageerden op de verslechterende ecologische situatie en de wijzen waarop zij nieuwe technologische of organisatorische innovaties incorporeerden in hun bedrijven, vaak op een manier zoals die door de koloniale overheid niet was voorzien.

Tijdens een kort bezoek aan Nchimishi in 1984 kwam Long tot de conclusie dat sinds zijn onderzoek het gebied enorme veranderingen had ondergaan. In het begin van de zestiger jaren was de ploeg slechts in gebruik bij 36,4% van de volwassen mannelijke bevolking, maar het scheen alsof nu een aanzienlijk groter gedeelte van de boeren deze technologie gebruikten. In 1964 was slechts 25% van de mannelijke bevolking actief geweest in de landbouw, maar nu was de landbouw een hoofdactiviteit geworden.

teruggekeerde migranten waren geopend) verdwenen waren, was de welvaart van het gebied door de ontwikkelingen in de landbouw aanzienlijk toegenomen.

De indrukken opgedaan tijdens dit korte verblijf in Nchimishi brachten Long op de gedachte dat het wellicht interessant zou zijn een 'restudy' van zijn eerder onderzoek te verrichten.

Bij het schrijven van het onderzoeksvoorstel werd door ons daarom veel aandacht geschonken aan de voor- en nadelen die zich voordoen als men toegang heeft tot onderzoeksgegevens die betrekking hebben op hetzelfde gebied, dezelfde bedrijven en dezelfde respondenten.

Zo besloten we bijvoorbeeld te onderzoeken of Jehovah's Getuigen, of netwerken die voor een groot deel bestaan uit Getuigen, wederom een belangrijke rol hebben gespeeld in het proces van agrarische verandering.

Een ander thema dat onze interesse had, is de mate waarin boeren in staat bleken nieuwe technieken, methoden en gewassen te integreren in hun bedrijven en binnen het meer traditionele landbouwsysteem dat gebaseerd was op het werken met bijl en hak.

Vervolgens wilden we nagaan in hoeverre de verspreiding van ossentraction en de ploeg kan worden toegeschreven aan interventie door de koloniale en Zambiaanse overheid, of meer gezien moet worden als het gevolg van een meer autonoom proces dat in gang is gezet door de boeren zelf.

Tijdens onze zoektocht naar studies die de sociale, economische en ecologische gevolgen van de introductie van dierlijke tractie en de ploeg behandelen, bleek dat aan dit onderwerp tot nu toe weinig aandacht is besteed. Dit is verwonderlijk omdat de introductie en verspreiding van dierlijke tractie en de ploeg door veel onderzoekers, project medewerkers en overheden (in Afrika evenals in het Westen) als een belangrijk deel van de oplossing wordt gezien voor de problemen van ruraal Afrika, alsmede voor de voedsel problemen waarmee veel steden kampen. Veel literatuur draagt een wat 'impressionistisch' karakter en staat vol van generalisaties en veronderstellingen die niet worden ondersteund door gedetailleerd onderzoek. Gesteld wordt bijvoorbeeld dat de introductie van handelsgewassen, nieuwe landbouwmethoden en mechanisatie technieken vrijwel zonder uitzondering leidt tot de marginalisatie van vrouwen. Terwijl mannen zich concentreren op de cultivatie en verkoop van handelsgewassen trekken vrouwen zich terug in het huishouden en/of worden gedwongen zich (nog) meer te richten op de verbouw van voor het huishouden bestemde voedselgewassen, daarbij gebruik makend van meer traditionele technieken die geen of weinig kapitaalinvesteringen vereisen. In andere publicaties wordt beweerd, of vanuit gegaan, dat vrouwen worden gedegradeerd van zelfstandige boerin tot de onbetaalde, afhankelijke en uitgebuite hulpkracht van haar echtgenoot of van andere mannen binnen de gemeenschap. De overgang van een zelfvoorzienende naar een meer op de markt georiënteerde landbouw wordt daarom ook vaak gezien als de overstap van een 'female' naar 'male farming system'.

Een ander thema dat onze belangstelling had betreft de wijd verspreide veronderstelling dat het matrilineaire systeem van verwantschap en vererving incompatibel is met een meer gemechaniseerde en commerciële landbouw, daar de ontwikkeling van

dit type landbouw alleen kan plaats vinden als individuen permanente rechten op land en roerende goederen kunnen laten gelden.

Kortom, een van de doelstellingen van het onderzoek was om de boven genoemde hypothesen en generalisaties te relateren aan de agrarische, economische en sociale veranderingen zoals die de afgelopen decennia zich in Nchimishi hebben voorgedaan.

Een andere doelstelling van de 'restudy' was om over een langere periode de differentiële reacties van boeren op de introductie van innovaties en op andere veranderingen in de landbouw te traceren en analyseren. Daarnaast wilden we tevens de gevolgen van deze reacties op de verhoudingen en relaties binnen het huishouden, boerenbedrijf en 'extended family' onderzoeken.

Tenslotte waren we geïnteresseerd of, en in welke mate, de introductie van de ploeg en dierlijke tractie, misschien tezamen met een aantal andere factoren, heeft bijgedragen tot het ontstaan van, of het richting geven aan veranderingsprocessen.

Het boek is als volgt opgebouwd. Hoofdstuk 1 schetst het onderzoeksprobleem. In hoofdstuk 2 wordt een benadering geïntroduceerd die het mogelijk maakt de differentiële sociale en economische reacties van boeren op de introductie van ossentraction en andere landbouwkundige innovaties te bestuderen en te analyseren. In dit hoofdstuk wordt het onderzoekprobleem gekoppeld aan de gehanteerde methodologie en centrale analytische concepten.

Een beschrijving van de diverse teeltmethoden en gewassen alsmede van de verschillende landbouwtechnieken en methoden die door boeren in Nchimishi worden aangewend, is te vinden in hoofdstuk 3.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de introductie en geleidelijke verspreiding van de ploeg en een aantal door de overheid geïntroduceerde handelsgewassen. Door middel van een historische analyse wordt aangetoond dat boeren zeer goed in staat zijn een door de overheid geïntroduceerd pakket, bestaande uit een aantal gewassen, technieken, landbouw- methoden en bodembeschermingsmaatregelen, uit elkaar te nemen en de delen naar eigen inzicht te transformeren zodat ze ingepast kunnen worden binnen het bestaande bedrijfssysteem.

Als gevolg van een sterke toename van de bevolkingdruk kunnen de bewoners van een gebied gedwongen worden op meer intensieve landbouwmethoden over te schakelen. In hoofdstuk 5 toon ik aan dat dit niet betekent, zoals door sommige onderzoekers wordt beweerd, dat boeren, indien de verkorting van braakperioden een bepaald niveau heeft bereikt, zich genoodzaakt zien over te stappen van de hak naar de ploeg.

Boeren reageren op verschillende wijzen op landschaarste die veroorzaakt wordt door de snelle groei van de bevolking. De keuzes die zij maken met betrekking tot de adoptie van landbouwmethoden en technieken worden niet alleen beïnvloed door problemen die gerelateerd zijn aan landschaarste doch ook door een aantal in dit hoofdstuk beschreven economische en sociale motieven en veranderingsprocessen.

In de literatuur worden de bedrijfseconomische voordelen van ossentraction en de ploeg meestal verklaard in termen van lopende kosten. Weinig aandacht is er voor de problemen die boeren ondervinden bij het vergaren van voldoende investeringskapi-

taal. Dit is waarschijnlijk te wijten aan de wijd verspreide veronderstelling dat als gevolg van een gerichte interventie door de overheid of ontwikkelings projecten - met andere woorden door het aanbieden van o.a. voorlichting, training, veterinaire voorzieningen en krediet - de verspreiding van ossentRACTIE en de ploeg snel kan plaats vinden. Hoofdstuk 6 analyseert de problemen van jonge boeren die besloten hebben over te stappen op de ploeg en beschrijft hoe zij ondanks gebrek aan voorlichting en krediet faciliteiten toch in staat zijn binnen enkele seizoenen het benodigde kapitaal te vergaren. Het hoofdstuk laat tevens zien waarom verbeterde krediet voorzieningen niet hoeven te leiden tot de snellere adoptie en verspreiding van de ploeg.

Hoofdstuk 7 schetst een beeld van de economische differentiatie in het onderzoeksgebied. De verspreiding van ossentRACTIE en de ploeg en de introductie van nieuwe gewassen hebben sterk bijgedragen tot dit differentiatie proces dat echter niet verklaard kon worden zonder een onderzoek naar de veranderende waarden, normen, en praktijken die verband houden met de vererving van goederen.

Zoals reeds eerder werd gesteld, beweren (of veronderstellen) veel onderzoekers dat de introductie van handelsgewassen en landbouwmechanisatie uiteindelijk resulteren in een situatie waarin mannen de controle verwerven over productiemiddelen en het inkomen van hun familie of huishouden. In de hoofdstukken 8, 9 en 10 laat ik zien dat de introductie van cash crops en de ploeg niet hoeft te leiden tot de marginalisatie van vrouwen. Veel vrouwen in het gebied zijn actief in de verbouw en verkoop van mais en bonen, de twee belangrijkste voedsel en handelsgewassen. Indien men de positie van vrouwen in de landbouw wil begrijpen dient men niet alleen aandacht te hebben voor zaken die direct verband houden met agrarische productie en mag men er niet van uitgaan dat het huishouden de kleinste levensvatbare productie-eenheid is. De rol van vrouwen in de lokale economie en landbouw kan veelal alleen worden begrepen indien men vraagstukken met betrekking tot consumptie, distributie en ruil in de analyse betreft. Ook kan de veranderende economische en sociale positie van vrouwen niet los gezien worden van andere veranderingsprocessen die de afgelopen decennia hebben plaats gevonden. Processen zoals de grootschalige migratie naar de steden van Copperbelt, de re-migratie die nu plaats vindt en het veranderende nederzettingen patroon.

In veel literatuur die handelt over systemen van verwantschap en vererving wordt gesteld dat binnen de Afrikaanse context vrouwen die behoren tot matrilineaire ethnische groepen veelal vervente verdedigers zijn van de matrilineaire ideologie en het traditionele verervingssysteem omdat deze hun meer zekerheden verschaffen. In matrilineaire samenlevingen, zo word gesteld, hebben vrouwen een betere toegang tot essentiële hulpbronnen zoals land en arbeid. In Nchimishi echter, kunnen vrouwen zeker niet worden aangemerkt als kritiekloze aanhangers van de traditionele matrilineaire ideologie. In tegendeel, veel vrouwen verwerpen belangrijke aspecten van het verwantschaps- en verervingssysteem omdat deze in hun ogen de recent verworven economische onafhankelijkheid van vrouwen aantast.

In hoofdstuk 11 onderzoek ik de veranderde relatie tussen vrouwen en mannen voor zover deze verband houdt met de toegang tot, het gebruik van en de controle

over bepaalde ruimten en sociale arena's. Het hoofdstuk laat zien hoe gedurende de afgelopen decennia vrouwen zich toegang hebben weten te verschaffen tot ruimten die in het verleden als het exclusieve domein van mannen werden beschouwd. Deze verandering wordt door zowel vrouwen als mannen gezien als een teken dat in Nchimishi de macht van vrouwen, zowel binnen het huishouden als daar buiten, is toegenomen ten koste van de invloed van mannen.

In hoofdstuk 12 worden de veranderende praktijken met betrekking tot land behandeld. Ik toon aan dat boeren als gevolg van processen als de groei van de bevolking, het veranderde nederzettingen patroon en de introductie van de ploeg en nieuwe handelsgewassen een grotere waarde zijn gaan toekennen aan het land dat ze controleren en/of bewerken. Het sterk toegenomen aantal landconflicten toont dat land vandaag de dag wordt beschouwd als een schaarser wordende economische hulpbron. Boeren wenden een groot aantal strategieën aan om hun land te verdedigen en om de controle over nog ongebruikt land te verwerven. Ondanks het feit dat in het verleden het erven van land niet gebruikelijk was, heb ik tijdens het onderzoek verschillende malen waargenomen dat boeren controle over stukken land trachtten te verkrijgen door op een handige manier het traditionele matrilineaire ververvingssysteem te manipuleren en toe te passen op onroerende goederen.

Hoofdstuk 13 behandelt het verband tussen de religieuze ideologie van de Jehovah's Getuigen en de diverse stijlen van bedrijfsmanagement. Ik stel dat indien we de houding van veel Jehovah's Getuigen ten aanzien van hun boerenbedrijf willen doorgronden, we niet alleen de ideologie moeten analyseren doch tevens aandacht moeten hebben voor de wijzen waarop verschillende Getuigen bepaalde aspecten van hun doctrine interpreteren en er waarde aan toe kennen. Als we de landbouw en economie in ogenschouw nemen kan gesteld worden dat gedurende de zestiger jaren de Jehovah's Getuigen een prominente plaats in namen. Long laat in zijn werk zien dat veel Jehovah's Getuigen behoorden tot de categorie van meest innovatieve en voortuitstrevende boeren. Toen respondenten werden geconfronteerd met het werk van Long (Long 1968) en Weber (Weber 1989) werd duidelijk dat de minder vooraanstaande economische positie die de Getuigen vandaag de dag innemen voor een groot deel verklaard kan worden uit het feit dat de religieuze ethiek van deze groep sinds de zestiger jaren wezenlijke veranderingen heeft ondergaan.

Hoofdstuk 14 analyseert de religieuze, sociale en economische differentiatie die bestaat binnen de gemeenschap van Jehovah's Getuigen.

Het thema dat vrijwel alle hoofdstukken in dit boek verbindt betreft de sociale en economische consequenties van de introductie en verspreiding van ossentreactie, de ploeg en de verbouw van handelsgewassen. Tevens bestaat een belangrijk gedeelte van dit boek uit een analyse van de diverse veranderingsprocessen die op hun beurt een invloed hebben gehad op deze ingrijpende veranderingen in de landbouw.

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Times of Zambia, June 15, 1989.

Newsweek, March 9, 1992.

Cover painting:

Split Stream

Han Seur Sr.

Curriculum Vitae

- Family name : Seur
First name : Han
Date of birth : 23.03.1957
Place of birth : Apeldoorn, The Netherlands
Nationality : Dutch
Sex : Male
Marital status : Married
Education : Wageningen Agricultural University (1977-1984)
- Main discipline : Development Sociology, Rural Economy and Anthropology
 - May 1984: Masters Examination
 - Subjects: Development Sociology; Agrarian Law of the Tropics; Social and Economic History of Africa
 - Dissertations : Research Report. " The Social and Economic Relations between the Nomadic Fulani and the Sedentary Population in Northern Benin (West-Africa) ". Report in French.
 - Dissertation in Development Sociology: Literature Study: "Strategies used by Trading Minority Groups to Defend their Social and Economic Position". Report in Dutch.
- Positions held :
- Staff member of the Foreign Relations Bureau (Agricultural University Wageningen) (August 1985 - March 1986).
 - Researcher for the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) (March 1986 - May 1990).
 - Conducting research in Serenje District, Central Province, Zambia (August 1986 - November 1989). The aim of the research was to investigate the differential social and economic responses to the introduction of ox-ploughing and other agricultural innovations by farmers in Chibale Chiefdom. The research included a restudy of original research on socio-economic change in the early 1960's by Prof.Dr. Norman Long. This provided the opportunity to trace out, over a long time-period, the process by which ox-plough technology has been incorporated into, and reshaped by, existing farming and social systems.
 - Analysis and writing up of field data (December 1989 - October 1991).
 - Completion of Ph.D. thesis (March 1992).
 - Researcher for the Kreditanstalt fuer Wiederaufbau (KfW) (June 1992 - November 1992). Conducting a socio-economic study including a household survey for the "Rural Water Supply Project" in Central Province.
 - Defending Ph.D thesis (November 1992).
- Publications :
- Differential Social Responses to Agricultural Innovation in Serenje District, Central Province Zambia, With Special Reference to the Position of Women. (WOTRO Report for the year 1988).
 - The Engagement of Researcher and Local Actors in the Construction of Case Studies and Research Themes: Exploring Methods of Restudy. In: *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development*. Norman and Ann Long (eds.) Routledge, 1992.

Han Seur

Angelapad 5, 5281 HT Boxtel, The Netherlands Tel: 31-4116-76799